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MOROCCO - RUZZ'IK

E. J. BRILL'S FIRST ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

1913-1936

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OF ISLAM

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EDITED BY

M. TH. HOUTSMÁ, A. J. WEMMINGER,
E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, E. J. BRILL'S and W. HEFTENING
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MOROCCO, a country and Muslim state of northern Africa. The name (Spanish *Marruecos*, French *Maroc*) is a corruption of *Marrākush*, the largest town in southern Morocco [see the article *MARRĀKUSH*].

1. GEOGRAPHY.

Morocco occupies the western part of Barbary; it corresponds to the Maghrib al-Akṣā of the Arab geographers [see the article *MAGHRIB*]. Lying between 5° and 15° W. longitude (Greenwich) on the one hand and between 36° and 28° N. latitude on the other, it covers approximately an area of between 500,000 and 550,000 square kilometres. On the North it is bounded by the Mediterranean, on the West by the Atlantic and on the South by the Sahara. On the eastern side it stretches to the Tell and to the plateau of Oran. The boundary which separates it from Algeria is quite conventional and fixed definitely only on the northern side, for a length of 80 miles, from the mouth of the Wādī Kīs to Thenyet al-Sāsi.

Although Morocco forms one with the northern part of Africa it is chiefly oriented to the West. It is, one might say, the Atlantic slope of Barbary; it is nevertheless a continental country. The coast does not lend itself to a maritime population; the Mediterranean coast is steep and inhospitable, the Atlantic coastline straight and lacking in natural shelters. The estuaries of the rivers are of very little value because of the sandbars which obstruct their entrances. The geological structure is somewhat complicated. Below the folds of the primary age, of which there still exists much eroded evidence covered by secondary deposits, have risen strata contemporary with the Alps. The actual relief which has resulted from these movements of the earth's surface and from these successive modifications consists of folded mountain chains, plateaux and plains. The chains are two in number, the Rif and the Atlas. The Rif is the continuation from the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar of the Baetic Cordillera [cf. *RIF*]. The Atlas chain forms the backbone of Morocco. It breaks into the High Atlas oriented West-North-East, linked by the volcanic massif of Sirwā to the Anti-Atlas which lies more to the South, and also to the Middle Atlas running in a diagonal line from the South-West to the North-East, as far as the country of the outer foothills of the Rif, from which it is separated by the corridor of Tāzā [see the article *ATLAS*]. From these different chains stretch plateaux. Those of the east connect the High Atlas to the Saharan Atlas of Algeria; those of the West gradually descend towards the Atlantic. Amongst the latter some are only the vestiges of the primary layer raised and eroded; others are composed of sedimentary deposits of varying origins.

In consequence of the oblique orientation of the middle Atlas, which gradually draws away from the coast, the plains, which occupy in Morocco a more important place than in the rest of Barbary, lie mainly on the Atlantic side. They are composed of two series, the one stretching diagonally from the mouth of the Wādī Tensift to that of the Muluya (the sub-Atlantic plains, the plain of Sebū, the corridor of Tāzā, the plain of the lower Muluya). The other stretches to the foot of the High Atlas (Hawz of Marrākush) and disappears in the heart of the middle Atlas.

Climate. The climate of Morocco has been defined as "an Atlantic variety of the Mediterranean climate" (Gentil). This however must not be taken to apply to the whole of the country; the different regions differ as much in regard to temperature as in the distribution of rain. On the Atlantic coast the climate is relatively mild in winter and cool in summer; only small differences are recorded between the coldest month and the warmest (5°7 at Mogador and 10° at Rabat). In the interior on the other hand, the seasonal variations and even the daily ones increase the farther one goes inland. They become excessive in character in eastern Morocco where the climate is distinctly continental. The rainfall is equally lacking in uniformity. Brought by the West and S.-W. winds, the rains are abundant in the autumn, the winter and the beginning of spring but they are very rare during the summer. The Atlantic coast has everywhere a copious rainfall although the quantity which falls decreases as one goes from North to South (Tangier: 32 inches, Casablanca: 16 inches). It also enjoys the benefit of an atmosphere which is saturated with moisture even in summer. The interior is not so well served. The rains diminish in quantity from West to East. The mountain massifs always form an exception. They condense the moisture in the form of rain and even snow which, although it is by no means perpetual, nevertheless covers the high summits of the Atlas mountains until the beginning of the summer. Eastern Morocco on the other hand, isolated by the barrier of the Middle Atlas, is not subject to oceanic influences and only receives, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the Mediterranean, rare and irregular downfalls of rain.

The flora reveals in striking fashion these variations of climate. Forests of evergreen oak, of oak and of cedar clothe the peaks of the High and the Middle Atlas and of the Rif. The cork tree is found in extensive forests in the massifs of the Za'ir and Zayān and as far as the region of the Atlantic (forest of the Ma'mūra). The thuya and the arganier (a tree peculiar to the S.-W. of Morocco) are already more disseminated. Poplars, willows, elms and tamarisks form a fringe of verdure along the wādīs. The olive tree is met almost everywhere in its wild state. But, as the rain-fall decreases, the forest gives place to scrub where the jujube tree and the mastic abound, then to prairie and steppes. The prairie, which hardly goes beyond the limits of the maritime plain, is the home of plants which are used for fodder and of bulbous plants. The steppe is the home of shrubs and bushes (artemisia, drin, alfa) which are adapted to a dry soil and to extreme variations in temperature. The steppes cover a part of the interior plains of Western Morocco and practically the whole of Eastern Morocco, where they extend to the neighbourhood of the Mediterranean. As regards the desert, it is devoid of vegetation in the *ḥammāda* [see *ṢAḤARĀ*], although the oases form spots of verdure in the midst of the general desolation.

Hydrography. The structure of the country and the relative abundance of rainfall affect the hydrography. Morocco is much richer in running streams and in subterranean waters than any other country in Northern Africa. Wādīs (weds) are here more numerous; their courses are longer and their volume larger. A number of them even deserve the name of rivers. The waters flow in three different

directions: towards the Atlantic, towards the Mediterranean and towards the basin of the Sahara. The Atlantic rivers are in all respects the most important. They can be divided into three groups: those of the North (Lūkkos and Sebū), those of the centre (Bū Rārag and Umm al-Rabī'), and those of the South (Tensift and Sūs). The Lūkkos drains the districts of the Gharb; the Sebū, those of the Middle Atlas, of the Zārḥūn, and the southern slope of the Rif. On emerging from the mountains it takes numerous turns and windings across the alluvial plain and reaches the ocean after a course of 300 miles. Although subject to considerable variation in volume, according to the season, it never dries up completely. It is even navigable in its lower course. The Bū Rārag and the Umm al-Rabī' run for a part of their course through the Central Plateau, the Moroccan "Meseta". The irregularity of their courses makes them useless for navigation. The Tensift, to the North of the High Atlas, the Wādī Sūs to the South, which are much less in volume approach more nearly to the classic type of wādī of Northern Africa. The watercourses of the Sahara (Wād Gīr, Wād Ziz, Wād Dar'a) diminish in volume as they go farther away from the mountains and end by disappearing in the sand. The Dar'a alone reaches the Atlantic, but it only flows intermittently in its lower course [see the article DAR'A]. As for the Mediterranean rivers, they are only torrents with violent and rapid floods. The Muluya alone forms an exception. It collects water from the slopes of the Middle Atlas but only reaches the sea in much diminished volume on account of the loss it suffers in crossing the steppes.

Although the common characteristics of all the countries of Barbary are found in Morocco, the greater or less differences in relief, the differences in climate, the peculiarities of vegetation bring in their train a diversity more marked than in Algeria or Tunisia. The combination of these different elements determines the existence of regions which differ the one from the other in their configuration, their resources, the density and manner of existence of their population. We may distinguish six such regions: Northern Morocco, the basin of the Sebū, Central Morocco, the country of the Atlas, Eastern Morocco, and Moroccan Sahara.

Northern Morocco. Northern Morocco comprises a mountainous zone (the mountains of the Rif properly so-called which are to the North-West continued in the "domes" of the Dжебāla as far as the Strait of Gibraltar) and regions less rugged in character which to the South-East and the West form the transition into the adjoining countries. The mountains, split into deep ravines by the courses of the wādīs, for the most part only leave between their last escarpment and the sea-shore a narrow strip, or a few bays enclosed between the rocky promontories. A few cuttings which run across the ranges afford communication between the two watersheds. The Rif, therefore, must seem to be a world very little accessible to influences from without. Arab influence has scarcely grazed it. The population has always vigorously opposed the political measures of the sultāns as well as the attempts of Europeans to settle themselves there. Crowded into a limited territory, since the highest parts of the mountains are useless, the Rifans find their chief means of subsistence in the cultivation of vegetables and fruits. A number of them gain from temporary emigration an addition to their

resources. They are not nomadic but inhabit villages perched on the slopes. Towns are represented only by Shāfāwān and Wazzān, religious and commercial centres, situated the one on the northern side and the other on the southern side of the Dжебāla. Towards the South-East, plains interspersed with mountain masses extend as far as the Muluya. The lack of rain gives to these plains (Salwān, Gāret) the aspect of steppes more fitted to a pastoral life than to agriculture and a settled life. Towards the West the lowlying coastland, still a very narrow border at the strait of Gibraltar, increases gradually from the North to the South between the Atlantic coast and the last slopes of the Dжебāla. This district commonly called the Gharb is a corridor. It still keeps in this respect its historical significance, but its economic value is diminished by the stagnation of its waters in the hollows in the flat bottoms of the valleys, and by the insecurity resulting from the proximity of the warlike tribes of the high mountains. A few townships have however succeeded in establishing themselves, either at the crossing of roads such as al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabir [q. v.] or in proximity to the coast like Ceuta, Tangier and Larache [see the articles TITTAWIN, CEUTA, TANGIER, al-ARĀ'ISH].

The valley of the Sebū. The valley of the Sebū lies between the Rif, the Middle Atlas, Moroccan Meseta and the Atlantic. The situation of the region, the abundance and variety of its natural resources makes it of exceptional value. The Sebū links up the whole of it. Through its tributary the Innāwan, the valley of which leads to the pass of Tāzā, it makes communication with the rest of Barbary easy. The mountain masses there (Zerhūn, Zālāgh, mountains of Gerwān) offer no inseparable obstacles to communication. The high plains of Sā'is and Meknes are contrasted with the lower plains of the Shṛārda and the alluvial plains of the lower course of the Sebū. The influence of the Atlantic is felt far into the interior and combines with the numerous streams that flow into the Sebū and its tributaries and the subterranean waters to promote the development of all forms of vegetation. Forests cover the higher slopes of the mountains; fruit-trees flourish on the sunny slopes and cereals on the high plains; the *merdja*, temporary marshes produced by the Sebū, in its lower course are used for grazing until they are sufficiently dry to be of use to agriculture. This combination of circumstances, so auspicious for human habitation, has made the valley of the Sebū a centre of intensive settlement. The most diverse ethnic elements have settled together and mixed there. All types of habitation are found as well as all degrees of attachment to the soil from a nomadic to settled town life. Human activities are displayed in the most varied forms (grazing, agriculture, arboriculture, commerce, industry). The country villages, douars of "nuwālas" in the plains, villages of houses of clay in the mountains, are numerous, the towns are flourishing. Mawlāi Idris is the sacred city of Morocco, Sefṛū on the borders of the plain of Sā'is and the high limestone plateau lives by trading with the people of the mountains and the industry of its weavers and makers of slippers. Fās and Meknes are among the great cities of Morocco.

The first of these towns has remained to this day the political, religious, intellectual and economic centre of Morocco. It has resisted all the usual

causes of decline. From all time the ownership of the high plains of the Sebū has been bitterly contested. Their possession has been the condition for the establishment and survival of the dynasties which have succeeded one another in Morocco. Their political significance and role in history corresponds very exactly to their geographical position and economic value.

Central Morocco. Between the valley of the Sebū, the ranges of the Atlas and the Atlantic, covering about a quarter of habitable Morocco, lies the region called by the geologists the Moroccan Meseta. It includes districts of very different character, the only feature uniting them being the possession of a common substratum, the Hercynian paenoplain covered almost everywhere by sedimentary horizontal formations. Differences of structure and of climate distinguish clearly the various parts: the Atlantic plain, the plateaux of the centre, and the interior plain of the Hawz. The maritime plain lies along the Ocean from Rabat to Mogador. Very narrow at its northern and southern ends, it broadens near the centre (Dukkāla, *Shāwiya*) to a width of 50 miles. To the rains and the constant moisture from the vicinity of the Atlantic, the abundance of running streams and subterranean waters, the natural fertility of the soil further adds to the conditions for prosperity. The *īrs* or black lands which run in an unbroken line behind the coast from the Bū Ragrag to Tensift are admirably suited for the growth of cereals. The rural population, almost everywhere settled, is therefore considerable. The land of the Dukkāla has 40 people to the square kilometre, a density very much greater than that of the other districts of Morocco. The towns of the coast, Salé, Rabat, Casablanca, Mazagan, Azemmūr, Safi, Mogador [q. v.], benefit by the richness of the hinterland. The exportation of agricultural produce has at all times been a branch of commerce, and has been much developed since the settlement of Europeans there. While facility for communications and the continental relations with the valley of the Sebū opened the plain to Arab influences, the ports of the coast maintained contact with abroad and permitted the infiltration of European influences.

The interior is much more broken. The ground rises gradually up to a height of 2,000–2,500 feet. The predominant formation is plateaux terminating on the north in the very old massifs of the Za'ir and Zayān, which are really mountains in character, in the south in the equally old but less elevated massif of the Raḥamna. These plateaux deeply cut into by the course of the Umm Rabi' overlook on the west side the lowlying coastlands from the top of cliffs, and slope gently on the S. E. to the plain of Tādā. This is a depression, over 120 miles in length, running to the north into the heart of the Middle Atlas where it terminates in a cul de sac, while it broadens greatly in its southern part. A low pass enables communication to be made between the Tādā and the Hawz of Marrākush, a basin shut in by the High Atlas in the south, the Middle Atlas in the east, the Djbilāt in the north and the hills of the *Shiyādma* in the west. The economic value of this inner region is very unequal. On the mountains of the north the rains and streams support forests and the natives devote themselves to cattle-rearing. The plateaux of the centre covered with a surface of limestone have great stretches of bare rock and cultivation

is barely possible. The Tādā is no better favoured except in the zone adjoining the Atlas, watered by torrents descending from the mountains. The plain of the Hawz would also suffer disastrously from drought, if human industry had not averted this danger. An ingenious system of irrigation has transformed the country round Marrākush into a vast palmgrove and resulted in a particularly dense population (100 to the square kilometre). Comparatively large towns (Amismiz, Demnāt, Tāmaṣ-luḥet) and especially Marrākush [q. v.] have been enabled to rise and prosper. Between this region, already half Saharan, and the high lying plains of the Sebū, the plateaux of the centre and the mountains of the north which come down to within a short distance of the shore, interpose a barrier which the attitude of its inhabitants makes still more difficult to cross. The Zayān, the Za'ir, the Zemmūr, over whom the authority of the Maḥzen has never been very securely exercised, have more than once cut direct communication between Fās and Marrākush. These two cities have been at different periods the capitals of distinct and even hostile kingdoms.

The region of the Atlas. In spite of the marked differences between the different elements of the Atlas, the whole region nevertheless has general characteristics of its own. Between Atlantic Morocco on the one hand and Saharan Morocco on the other, the Atlas lies as an almost continuous barrier. Only the few transverse fractures in the Middle Atlas permit passage between the basin of the Sebū and the Saharan oases, while in the High Atlas valleys running right into the heart of the massif give access to passes opening on the valleys of Sūs and the Wādī Dar'a. Moist and colder, the Middle Atlas is covered with forests which are denser and more extensive than those of the High Atlas. Both however are great watersheds. From the Middle Atlas come the great rivers of the Atlantic slope (Sebū, Gīgū, Umm Rabi', Wādī 'l-'Abīd), from the High Atlas the Tasa'ut and the Tensift. The lands of the Atlas are nevertheless poor. The high mountains offer little to support mankind. Human activities are found mainly in the zones of contact between the mountains and the plains (*dir*) of the Middle Atlas and in some specially favoured valleys of the High Atlas. Except in the Middle Atlas, where the nomadic mode of life results in the exodus in the bad season of the inhabitants who lead a pastoral life, and on the plateaux of the High Atlas on the Atlantic side (*Hāḥa*, *Shiyādma*) the inhabitants of which are mainly engaged in cattle-rearing, the natives are settled. They live in villages perched on the slopes and terraces between wādīs or scattered along the valleys. There is nothing approaching a town in size. These regions, defended by the nature of the country, have almost completely escaped outside influence: they are still almost exclusively the domain of Berber tribes (Berāber in the Middle Atlas and *Shluḥ* in the High Atlas). The customs and institutions peculiar to this people [cf. BERBERS] have survived to a greater extent here than in any other region of North Africa. In particular their political organisation is still most rudimentary: municipal republics administered by a *djamā'a* in the Middle Atlas, feudal lordships ruled in patriarchal and despotic fashion by a few powerful families in the High Atlas. The people of these regions have also always opposed vigorously the

central power; the authority of the *Makhzen* over the Berbers of the High Atlas has never been exerted except through the local chiefs. As to the tribes of the Middle Atlas they have retained to the present day almost complete independence. Even the most vigorous sultāns have never succeeded in forcing them into obedience for any length of time.

Eastern Morocco. Eastern Morocco may be described as the continuation of the Central Maghrib of which it has the distinctive characteristics. In it, as in Orania, we have a *tell* zone and a zone rising by successive stages up to 6,000 feet. The upper valley of the Muluya separates them from the Middle Atlas. The monotony of these vast spaces is only broken by the outcrops of *gūr*, flat beds of rocks cut up by erosion and by the depressions of the *shott* [q. v.]. Beaten by the winds, exposed to the rigours of an extreme climate, these lands are only fit for the pastoral life led by the nomads who raise sheep. The valley of the Muluya is no better favoured, except in the vicinity of the Atlas, where villages surrounded by vineyards with a settled population are found along the tributaries of the river. As to the Tell, hills of no very great height (the most important being that of the Benī Snāssen which does not exceed 5,000 feet) divide it up into compartments occupied by plains (plains of the Awlād Maṣṣūr, on the coast, of the Trifa, of the Angād which in the south reaches the cliffs in which the high plateaux end). The dryness of the climate frequently gives these plains a steppe-like character; only the western part of the plain of the Angād with a fertile and well watered soil lends itself to cultivation. The nomads come here to procure grain. But this region owes its importance less to its natural resources than to its situation on the natural route between Atlantic Morocco and the rest of Barbary. Ujdja [q. v.] which commands the passage, has thus been enabled to escape various causes of decay that have threatened it. A border district, eastern Morocco has always been a disputed region, a march for which the lords of Tlemcen and Fās have contended. The authority of the latter was never solidly enough established here to impose itself on the settled inhabitants of the mountains and on the nomads of the plateaux and plains. Down to the French occupation the country was left to anarchy and disorder.

The Moroccan Sahara. The Moroccan Sahara is the N. W. corner of the Sahara. There we find the general characteristics of this desert region [cf. *ṢAḤARA*]. Only the parts adjoining the Atlantic and the threshold of the mountains offer favourable conditions for man. In the plain of Sūs [q. v.] shut in between the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, the rivers and the irrigation canals enable shrubs to grow. The Dar'a, Ziz and Gir are in their upper courses fringed by a thin border of cultivated land, pasturage, vineyards, and in their middle course assure the growth of palmgroves of which the best known, if not the most prosperous, is that of Tāfilālt [q. v.]. The richness — only relative it is true — of these oases is in contrast with the desolation of the rocky plateaux (*hammāda*) which form the greater part of the Moroccan Sahara. These natural conditions determine the mode of life of the inhabitants. Some lead a nomadic life and drive their flocks up and down the plateaux; others are permanently settled on the Sūs, in the high valleys and in the oases. Sūs contains numerous villages and

even towns (Āgādīr, Tiznīt, Tārūdānt); the oases have a settled population in the *kṣūr*. Those of Tāfilālt, Tamgrūt, Bū Dnib and Figīg carry on a certain amount of commerce between Atlantic Morocco and the Sahara. But this very circumstance has prevented them escaping as completely as the lands of the Atlas from the political and intellectual influence of Western Morocco, especially Tāfilālt where considerable groups of Arab *shorfā* have been long established in the midst of Berber populations. But, although the present dynasty actually came from Tāfilālt, the people of this region have frequently escaped Sharīfan authority.

Begun in the last years of the 19th century, methodically pursued since the French occupation, the scientific exploration of Morocco is not yet completed. From the results so far attained one thing is clear: the lack of uniformity in the country. Thus its geography may explain to some extent the historical development of the country.

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II. HISTORY.

Morocco before Islām. Morocco, like the other parts of North Africa, has probably been inhabited from a very remote period. We know, however, nothing definite about its earliest inhabitants. The traces which they have left, weapons and tools of chipped flint, pottery, rock-paintings, some of which represent animals of the quaternary period, now extinct, megalithic monuments identical with those found all round the Mediterranean basin, give us no information in this respect. At most, we may suppose that the primitive population consisted of emigrants from southern Europe, the Sahara and perhaps from Egypt. The fusion of these diverse elements gave birth to a race, the members of which, frequently different in type and physical features, were united by a community of language. The ancient writers called them Libyans and Moors. They were the ancestors of the present Berbers [q. v.].

The first historical fact known, and that only imperfectly, is the appearance in the xith century B. C. of the Phoenicians on the Moroccan coast. The sailors of Tyre and Sidon built factories there, where they exchanged goods of eastern origin for local products (cattle, wool, hides) and slaves. But Phoenician influence was exercised mainly through the intermediary of Carthage when it in turn had become the metropolis of a great maritime empire. The Carthaginians rebuilt the ruined factories and added new ones. In the middle of the fifth century, Hanno in the course of his celebrated "periplus" established on the Atlantic coast seven colonies of which one was at the mouth of the Sebū. Rusaddir (Melilla), Septem (Ceuta), Tingis (Tangier), Lixus (Larache), Sala (Salé) were the principal Carthaginian establishments. It does not seem, however, that Carthage sought to extend her power into the interior. She was content no doubt to conclude treaties with the native chiefs and to recruit mercenaries from the country. Morocco remained independent, but the tribes who inhabited it were not organised into states, except perhaps in the east, where ancient writers mention in the period of the Punic Wars the existence of a kingdom of Mauretania or Marusia, extending along both banks of the Muluya.

The destruction of the Carthaginian empire hardly altered this state of affairs. For two centuries Rome administered only the "Province of Africa" directly and left the other regions of Barbary in the hands of native chiefs under a more or less severe protectorate. Northern Morocco shared the fate of Mauretania down to the annexation of this kingdom in 42 A. D. The region to the east of the Muluya formed part of Caesarean Mauretania. The lands stretching from the Muluya to the ocean formed Mauretania Tingitana, an imperial province governed by a procurator. When the empire was reorganised by Diocletian, it was attached to Spain.

Roman Morocco never covered more than a small portion of the modern Morocco. On the

Atlantic coast, it barely extended beyond the mouth of the Bū Ragrag, and in the interior to the massifs of the Zarhūn. The plateaux and sub-Atlantic plains and the mountains of the Rif, Middle and High Atlas escaped the authority of Rome. It was the same with the Sahara. The expedition of Suetonius Paulinus, who in 41 A. D. advanced as far as the wādī Gir, remained an isolated incident.

To defend herself against the rebellions of her own subjects and to protect the country from Berber inroads, Rome had to keep in Tingitana an army of ten thousand men, to build strategic roads and to establish fortified posts on the sides of the triangle: Sala, Zarhūn, Tingis. With the exception of Volubilis, the importance of which has been revealed by its ruins, methodically excavated in recent years, and which was undoubtedly a centre of influence of Roman culture on the people of the interior as well as a military base, the towns were all on the coast. They were Lixus and Tingis raised to the rank of "*coloniae*", and Ceuta. They owed their prosperity mainly to trade with Spain to which were exported oil and wheat, the two main products of the country. On the whole, however, Rome's influence on Morocco was superficial and has left little trace.

Without any really firm hold on the country, weakened by native risings and by the quarrels between the donatists and the orthodox, Roman rule was to collapse suddenly at the beginning of the fifth century. Germanic invaders, the Vandals, came from Spain and in 429 A. D. conquered without opposition Tingitana which they gave back a few years later to the Romans. Soon afterwards the western empire disappeared and the natives seized the opportunity to become independent. The Byzantines, who in the sixth century destroyed the Vandal kingdom, were content to re-occupy the two strongholds of Ceuta and Tangier. The rest of Morocco was in the hands of the Berbers. The latter were divided into a large number of tribes, of whom the principal were the Ghomāra on the Mediterranean coast, the Barghawāta [q. v.] on the Atlantic coast between the strait of Gibraltar and the mouth of the Sebū, the Miknāsa, in the central district, the Maṣmūda, on the western slope of the High Atlas and on the coast from the Sebū to the Sūs; the Haskūra between the Sūs and the Dar'ā; the Lamta and Lamtūna on the left bank of the Dar'ā. These Berbers were all of Ṣanhādja stock; some professed Christianity or Judaism but the majority still followed the old nature worship. The Arab conquest brought them a new religion: Islām.

The Introduction of Islām. The Arabs appeared in the extreme Maghrib at the end of the viith century A. D. Tradition relates that Sidi 'Oḳba, the founder of Ḳairawān, in 684–685 undertook an expedition which carried him as far as the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. This raid, however, if it ever took place, was too transitory to have any permanent results. But at the beginning of the following century, Mūsā b. Nuṣair [q. v.] who had just completed the conquest of Ifrīkiya, took Tangier, installed a governor there and set himself to conquer and convert the natives. He succeeded without much trouble. Attracted by the hopes of gain, the Berbers adopted Islām and enrolled themselves in the armies which were invading Spain. They were not long, however, in

rising against the Arabs. Dissatisfied with the share allotted them of lands taken from the Christians in the Peninsula, and exasperated by the exactions of the governors of Tangier, they took up arms in 740 on the call of the porter Maisāra [q. v.]. The rebellion was both religious and political in character. With the same readiness with which they had adopted Islām, the Berbers adopted *Khāridjī* doctrines from the east, teachings which also appealed to their equalitarian tendencies and to their spirit of independence. The army sent from Syria to establish order was destroyed on the banks of the Sebū (742) and the extreme Maghrib was lost at one stroke to the caliph and to orthodoxy. Berber principalities were organised in the Rif [see *SIDJILMĀSA*]; in the west, the Barghawāta [q. v.] recognised the authority of a certain Šālih, founder of a rival religion to Islām, who had composed a *Qurʾān*, that is a sacred book, in Berber. None of these little states was strong enough to impose its authority on the others and to collect all the Berber tribes under one rule.

It looked for a time as if the Idrisid dynasty [q. v.] were to play this part. Idris I and his successor Idris II, actually enforced their authority over the greater part of the tribes of northern Morocco and successful expeditions extended their kingdom from the shores of the Mediterranean to the High Atlas and from the Atlantic to beyond Tlemsen. Ardent champions of Islām, they imposed their religion on those peoples who did not yet practise it or who had abandoned it after once adopting it. The conversion of the extreme Maghrib to Islām is their work much more than that of the Arab conquerors. Zealous defenders of orthodoxy, in spite of their 'Alid origin, they fought the *Khāridjīs* with the same vigour but did not, however, succeed in completely extirpating the heresy. It is not without good reason that legend has transformed these rude warriors into saints, the one Idris I, patron saint of Morocco, the other Idris II, the patron saint of the city of Fās [q. v.] which he had founded. The building of this city had enduring results. It gave northern Morocco a religious, political and economic centre which it had lacked since the disappearance of Roman rule. Favoured by its position, Fās prospered rapidly. It survived all causes of decline, even the collapse of the Idrisid power.

The Idrisids indeed rapidly declined. The various groups which had recognised the authority of the founders of the dynasty were not long in casting it off and fighting with one another. These rivalries were taken advantage of by the Fātimids of Ifrīkiya and the Umayyads of Spain, who during the tenth century A. D. disputed the possession of the extreme Maghrib. With the assistance of the Miknāsa, the Umayyads in the end remained masters of the country. They were in their turn ousted by the Maghrāwa [q. v.], whose chief Ziri b. 'Aṭiya, abandoning the cause of the Umayyads, seized Fās where his descendants ruled for three quarters of a century.

The Almoravids and the Almohads. The extreme Maghrib seemed to be condemned to anarchy and to be broken up among small factions when the Almoravid invasion came [cf. *ALMORAVIDS*]. After having first of all subjected all the lands south of the High Atlas, then established themselves solidly on the northern slopes, at the foot of which Yūsuf b. Taṣḥfin founded Marrā-

kush [q. v.] in 1062, these Saharan hordes turned to the centre, east and north of Morocco, sweeping everything before them: Fās, Tangier, the Rif, Oran and Ténès fell before them. The Berber principalities of the Maghrāwa, the Barghawāta and Banū Ifren disappeared. In less than twenty years, Yūsuf b. Taṣḥfin became sole master of the extreme Maghrib as far as Algiers. To these territories, already vast, was soon to be added half of Spain. Summoned by the Muslim emirs who were threatened by the king of Castille, Yūsuf b. Taṣḥfin checked the Christian advance at Zallāka (1086), then dispossessed the petty Muslim rulers to his own advantage. Morocco was thus extended across the Straits of Gibraltar as far as the Ebro and to the Balearic Islands. The fortunes of the Almoravids were, it is true, as ephemeral as they were brilliant. In contact with Andalusian civilization, the Saharans rapidly became decadent. The rigid orthodoxy, which had been their strength, relaxed; they in their turn were regarded as infidels, "anthropomorphists" (*muḍjassimūn*), whom it was lawful and even meritorious to fight. It was in the name of orthodoxy that the Maṣmūda and the Hintāta of the High Atlas under the leadership of Ibn Tūmart and 'Abd al-Mu'min entered into the struggle against the Almoravids.

This struggle ended in the displacement of the Almoravids by the Almohads [see *ALMOHADS* and 'ABD AL-MU'MIN]. In seven years (1139—1146 A.D.) 'Abd al-Mu'min conquered all Morocco; Sidjilmāsa, Oran, Tlemsen, and Ceuta fell one after the other into his hands. Next came the turn of Salé, Fās, and finally of Marrākush, the gates of which were opened to him by the treachery of the Christian mercenaries. Muslim Spain was also conquered with the exception of the Balearic Islands. Even in Africa, the Ḥammādid kingdom of Bougie was conquered in 545—546 (1151—1152). A few years later (554—555 = 1159—1160) a new expedition led 'Abd al-Mu'min into Ifrīkiya and secured him possession of the interior and of the coast, which he took from the Normans of Sicily who had occupied it some time before. Morocco in the strict sense of the word was now merely a province in the vast Berber empire. The unification of these territories under one ruler had important consequences for the Maghrib. It facilitated the diffusion in North Africa of the Hispano-Moorish civilization, which was to be perpetuated in Morocco after it had disappeared from the Peninsula itself. Further it brought into the extreme Maghrib a new ethnic element: the Arab. 'Abd al-Mu'min, as well as his successors, on several occasions deported Hilālī tribes from the Central Maghrib and Ifrīkiya, where they continually created unrest, to the sub-Atlantic plains where other groups of Arabs joined them of their own free will.

The Almohad empire was too vast, it comprised regions of too different a nature, peoples too foreign to one another to last long united. The Almohad caliphs were powerless to restrain the separatist tendencies which revealed themselves on all sides. In the first half of the xiiith century A. D., the Almohad empire broke up. Ifrīkiya and the Central Maghrib recovered their independence; local dynasties set up in Tunis (Hafṣids) and Tlemsen ('Abd al-Wāḍids). The extreme Maghrib ended by slipping away from the descendants of 'Abd al-Mu'min who were replaced by the Merinids [q. v.].

The Merinids. Berbers of Zanāta stock, driven by the Hilālī Arabs on to the plateaux of Oran and into the central valley of the Muluya, the Banū Merin had at first entered the service of the Almohads, then turned against them, when the power of the dynasty began to decline. By repeated razzias they made themselves masters of almost all northern Morocco. After the death of the caliph al-Saʿīd, who had been able to arrest their progress for a time, their leader Abū Yahyā (1243—1258) seized Fās, Meknes, Rabat and Sijilmāsa. The capture of Marrākush (1269) by Abū Yūsuf, successor of Yahyā, marked the final triumph of the Merinids. Heirs of the Almohads, the first Merinids endeavoured to reconstitute the empire of their predecessors. In Spain, they enforced their authority on the Muslims of Andalusia. In Africa, they endeavoured to take the central Maghrib from the ʿAbd al-Wādids. They were successful when Tlemsen, besieged seven times in sixty years, finally fell into the hands of Sultān Abū ʿl-Ḥasan (1337 A. D.). Ten years later, the same ruler took Bougie, Constantine and Tunis, but his hold on these was very insecure. At the end of barely a year, Abū ʿl-Ḥasan, defeated by the Arabs, found himself forced to abandon Ifrikiya, the Ḥafṣids returned to Tunis and the ʿAbd al-Wādids to Tlemsen, while the sultān's own son Abū ʿInān rose against him in Morocco. Attaining to power, Abū ʿInān renewed his father's efforts. He re-occupied Tlemsen and Tunis, it is true, but could not retain them (1360 A. D.). The Ḥafṣids and ʿAbd al-Wādids recovered their kingdoms almost at once.

Separatist tendencies thus triumphed and on this occasion in a most definite fashion. The extreme Maghrib, the history of which had hitherto been so often that of Barbary, began to live its own life. The Merinid kingdom, while its boundaries in the east were still vague and changing, already corresponded roughly to modern Morocco and the Merinids may be regarded as the first strictly Moroccan rulers. Lacking the religious prestige of their predecessors, they endeavoured to secure the moral authority which they lacked by taking as their patron saints the apostles of Islām in the Maghrib. The cult of Mawlāi Idris in the xivth and particularly the xvth century assumed an importance which it has retained to the present day. No less characteristic is the development of intellectual life and the arts. The Hispano-Moorish civilisation never flourished more brilliantly in Morocco than in the Merinid period. The rulers attracted to their court the poets, men of letters and lawyers of the Iberian Peninsula and of the Maghrib. The university of al-Karawiyyin attracted students from all the lands of the western Muslim world. Fās, which the Merinids, abandoning Marrākush and Rabat, the capitals of their predecessors, chose as their royal residence, was given splendid buildings by them, palaces, mosques and madrasas. It was at the same time a commercial city in which African and Spanish merchants mixed with Christian traders.

This brilliant exterior, however, was quite deceptive. Merinid Morocco was never able to organise itself on a solid basis. The central power was very weak and did not succeed in imposing its authority everywhere. The accession of each sultān was an occasion for outbreaks. The pretenders who arose always found supporters readily, either

among the Arabs or the Berbers. Powerless in the interior, the sultāns were no more fortunate in their enterprises against their neighbours of the Central Maghrib or against the kings of Granada. Their prestige and their authority could not survive these checks. The Merinids in the strict sense disappeared from the scene in 1465, after the assassination of the sultān by an Idrisid sharif. The Banū Wattās, descended from a collateral branch, the chief of whom seized the power in 1470, had themselves a wretched existence. Their kingdom broke up into a large number of independent little groups, principalities at Fās and Marrākush, Berber republics in the Atlas, Marabout fiefs in the Rif, the Gharb and in Darʿa and Sūs. The sultāns were quite powerless to prevent this decomposition.

The Christian offensive and the revival of Islām. Of all the causes which combined to enfeeble and discredit these rulers, the principal was undoubtedly their impotence against the offensive of the Christians against the Maghrib. In 1415 the Portuguese took Ceuta, in 1465 al-Kaṣr al-Ṣaghīr, in 1471 Tangiers. They thus secured themselves a base of operations in the north while by the occupation of Aṣīlā and Anfā (Casablanca; q. v.) they secured a footing on the Atlantic coast. In the early years of the xvth century, they built fortified posts at Santa Cruz (Agādīr) and Mazagan [q. v.] and took by force of arms Safi and Azemmūr [q. v.]. Holding all places of importance except Larache [see AL-ʿARĀʾISH] they brought under their protectorate all the lands near the coast (Shawiya, Hāḥa, Dukkāla), forced the natives to pay them tribute and to hand over to them strategic points up to the environs of Marrākush. Their expeditions had no other aim than plunder, no other result than to exasperate the inhabitants who saw their towns destroyed, their douars burned, their women and children massacred or sold as slaves.

Menaced in the west by the Portuguese, Morocco was threatened in the east by the Spaniards also. The latter completed the *reconquista* by the taking of Granada (1492). Thus free to go further afield, and still fired with the religious enthusiasm of Ximenes, they too went over to fight the Muslims on African soil. The occupation of al-Marsā al-Kabīr (1507) and of Oran (1509) and the establishment of a Spanish protectorate over the kingdom of Tlemsen constituted a serious danger to the Muslims of Morocco.

The threat from the Christians produced an awakening of religious sentiment. This renaissance of Islām in the xvth and xvth centuries, the results of which are still to be felt at the present day, is beyond question the great event in the history of Morocco since the Idrisid period. The way for it had, moreover, been prepared by the Ṣūfī teachings imported from the east and by the development of the brotherhoods in which the adepts of these doctrines were organized. It also found a favourable soil owing to the persistence of maraboutism among the Berbers. The *bahṭūl* or the charlatan, who had always been an object of public consideration, became readily identified with the shaikh, the possessor of the *baraka*. Co-operating with one another, these pious individuals became the religious leaders of the people of Morocco. They strengthened orthodoxy, excited the zeal of the faithful, preached the holy war, and led the defenders of the faith into battle. The ascendancy

which they exercised, the wealth they accumulated in their *zāwiyas*, made them independent of the sultān. They thus became temporal leaders also, all the more readily as the sovereigns could not fulfil their office of defenders of Islām owing to lack of energy and also of means. The activity of these religious leaders was always of a local nature; it was only effectively exercised within a limited area and did not extend over the country generally. The religious solidarity thus established, the kind of common conscience thus created, did not put a check to the political decline until the time when the Sa'dian *shorfa* took direction of the movement and exploited it for their own benefit.

The Sharifian dynasties. A. The Sa'dians [q. v.]. The Sa'dian *shorfa* benefited by the prestige which the religious awakening had restored to the descendants, real or presumed, of Fātima, the daughter of the Prophet. Coming from Arabia at the end of the xivth century and settling in the valley of the wādī Dar'a, while another branch of the family settled at Tāfilālt (Ḥasani or 'Alid *shorfa*), they were not long in acquiring a considerable influence over the tribes of the south. Thus they were naturally led to support the people of the south, who were exposed to the attacks of the Portuguese of Santa Cruz. In 1511, the *sharif* of Tāgmādāret, requested by the Muslims to put himself at their head against the Christians, agreed to do so. Supported by the marabouts who gave him valuable assistance, he began hostilities against the Portuguese. The holy war regularly waged secured to his sons, Aḥmad al-A'radj and Muḥammad al-Mahdī, the possession of the whole of southern Morocco up to the Umm al-Rabī'. The intervention of the Merinid sultān in the quarrels which broke out between the two brothers only resulted in his own downfall being hastened. Muḥammad al-Mahdī took Fās in 1550; the foiling of an attempt to restore the Merinids in 1554, with the help of the Turks of Algiers, secured the definite triumph of the Sa'dians.

The coming of the Sa'dians meant a regular reconstitution of Morocco. Muḥammad al-Mahdī and his successors imposed their authority on the whole country, protected it against foreign foes and increased the extent of their territory by distant conquests. They finally triumphed over the difficulties created by the Turks of Algiers, and at the battle of al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr in 1578 arrested a counter-offensive of the Portuguese. Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (1578—1610) occupied Timbuktu [q. v.] and destroyed the Askia empire of Gao. For half a century the Moroccans were masters of the Western Sūdān, from the banks of the Senegal as far as Bornū. The plunder taken on this campaign of conquest enabled the sultān to keep a splendid court, the hierarchy of which was modelled on the Ottoman court, and to adorn his capital Marrākush with magnificent monuments.

To the same period also belongs the organisation of the *makhzen* [q. v.]. The early Sa'dians had relied for support on the Arab tribes of the south. To these al-Manṣūr added the Arab tribes of the region of Tlemsen and Ujda driven into Morocco by the Turkish conquest. These *shirāga*, as they were called, received lands around Fās in return for the military service they were forced to give. Reinforced by a regular army formed of renegades, Spanish Moors and negroes, trained by Turkish deserters, the *makhzen* provided the

sultān with the means of preserving order and levying taxes; it was thus the essential instrument of *sharifian* government and tended to become the government itself.

This instrument proved sufficient in the hands of an energetic ruler but was inefficacious in weaker hands and in moments of crisis. The Sa'dians very soon found this out. The tendencies to disruption which had been held in check by the energy of al-Manṣūr broke out again on his death. The dispute for the throne set his sons against one another. One of them, Zaidān, ended by triumphing over his rivals but could not prevent the break-up of the empire. Larache was occupied by the Spaniards; Fās cast off *sharifian* authority. The Andalus of Rabat and Salé [q. v.], enriched by their piracy, formed an independent republic. Finally the Sa'dians, although they had owed their elevation to the religious movement, now found the marabouts rising against them. Delivered from the restraints which the distrust of al-Mahdī and his successors had placed upon them, the latter began to gain more and more hold over the people and contributed to the ruin of the *sharifian* authority. Sūs was in the control of one of them, Sidi 'Alī; Tāfilālt was under the Ḥasani *shorfa*, the *Gharb* under al-'Aiyāshi, leader of the "volunteers of the faith". In the centre, the power of the marabout of Dila' (a *zāwiya* on the upper course of the Wādī l-'Abid) increased. Muḥammad al-Ḥādjī, their leader, victorious over the Sa'dians and over al-'Aiyāshi, lord of Salé and Fās, seemed on the point of founding a new Berber empire from the Atlantic to the Muluya. Incapable, in spite of the support given them by the English and Dutch, of disposing of their adversaries, the Sa'dians now held only Marrākush and its immediate environs. The last representative of the dynasty died in 1660, assassinated by the *shaikh* of the tribe of Shabbānāt.

B. The Ḥasani *Shorfa*. The disintegration of Morocco was arrested by the coming of the Ḥasani *Shorfa*. The latter had taken advantage of the disorder to assert their authority in Tāfilālt, then by expeditions, which partook of the nature of brigandage as much as of warfare, they had conquered eastern Morocco. One of them, Mawlāi Muḥammad, had even tried, without success, it is true, to take Fās from the Dila'is. His successor Mawlāi al-Rashīd (1660—1672) was more successful. He took Fās, disposed of Ghailān, an adventurer who had established himself securely in the *Gharb*, destroyed the *zāwiya* of Dila', reconquered Marrākush, thus rebuilding as it were piece by piece the *sharifian* empire. Installed by force of arms, the new dynasty recognised the necessity of securing the moral prestige which their origin could not give them. They therefore sought to attract to their side the *sharifian* families. They heaped favours on the *shorfa* of Wazzān, whose patronage was a guarantee even for the rulers.

The work begun by Mawlāi al-Rashīd was continued and brought to a successful conclusion by his successor Ismā'il (1672—1729). During the first fifteen years of his reign, he did not cease to wage war on the rivals who disputed the districts of Marrākush and Sūs with him. While fighting his enemies, he was engaged in building up an army which would work his will. To the *makhzen* formed by the *Shirāga* and *Udaya* he added a body of black slaves, the 'Abid al-Bukhārī (Būāḳher), the property

of the sultān; their children were specially trained for military service. The number of effectives in this corps by the end of the reign numbered one hundred and fifty thousand men. The sultān was thus able to reduce to obedience the Berbers of the Atlas and the upper Muluya. Defeated and disarmed, the latter were kept in control by garrisons placed in *kašbas* built at the exits to the valleys or commanding the lines of communication. The notables whom the sultān had taken into his service or united to himself by matrimonial alliances forced their tribesmen to live in peace. The *bilād al-makhzen*, i.e. the country where tribute was regularly paid, extended over almost the whole of the extreme Maghrib. The pacification of the interior did not cause Mawlāi Ismā'il to forget the obligations imposed on every Muslim ruler to fight the infidels. He therefore continued the holy war against the Christians of the coast. He recaptured al-Mahdiya, Larache, Aṣilā, and Tangier, evacuated by the English in 1684, but could not take Ceuta from the Spaniards in spite of a siege or rather uninterrupted blockade for seventeen years. He was no more successful in his enterprise against the Turks of Algiers, who disputed with the Moroccans the possession of the plains of eastern Morocco and the *ḡsūr* of southern Oran. The expeditions which he directed against the Algerians ended in failure, and the lower course of the Muluya continued to be the boundary of the *sharifian* empire. In spite of his lack of success here, Mawlāi Ismā'il is nevertheless the great figure of the Ḥasanī dynasty, the model the Moroccan sultāns have set themselves to the present day. Morocco, however, remained what it was before, i.e. an aggregation of different groups, the cohesion of which depended on the personal energy of the sovereign. The processes of administration were in no way altered; the *sharif* enforced obedience by drastic executions; he squeezed his subjects to the utmost to get the money necessary for the building of his capital Meknes [q.v.], the palaces of which were built by the forced labour of the natives and of Christian slaves.

On the death of Mawlāi Ismā'il, a reaction set in. For thirty years his sons fought with one another. The real masters of the situation were the 'Abid who made and unmade sultāns as they pleased. One of them, Mawlāi 'Abd Allāh, was proclaimed and deposed six times. He succeeded, however, in triumphing over his competitors by playing the Berbers off against the 'Abid, the importance of whom gradually diminished with the wars. The remedy, however, was not much better than the disease. This period was for Morocco one of misery and ruin. The authority of the *sharifs* emerged much weakened from it.

Mawlāi Muḥammad (1757—1792) succeeded, however, in restoring it. Inheriting the energy and vigour of his grandfather Ismā'il, he brought the rebel Berbers back to their allegiance, and by the taking of Mazagan in 1769 destroyed the last trace of Portuguese power on the Atlantic coast. Convinced, on the other hand, that the weakness of the central power was mainly due to a lack of financial resources, he endeavoured to procure money by encouraging the development of foreign trade. He inaugurated a mercantile policy, concluded treaties of commerce with Denmark, Sweden, England, and France and endeavoured to attract foreign merchants to his kingdom by founding for them the town of

Mogador [q.v.] in 1764. Heavy taxes, however, severely impeded the progress of this policy. Morocco remained a poor country and did not open itself, as had been hoped, to European penetration. It also remained in a perpetual turmoil. Under Mawlāi Yazīd (1792—1794) the country was once more handed over to anarchy. Mawlāi Slimān (Sulaimān) (1794—1822), after at first being able to restore order, had to spend the last ten years of his reign in putting down the continual risings of the Berbers of the middle Atlas; in the course of one of these expeditions he actually fell into the hands of the rebels. This rebelliousness caused the sultān much misgiving; he also wanted to prevent the infiltration of foreign and anti-Muslim influences which he believed would aggravate it. He forbade his subjects to leave the country and restricted to a minimum their intercourse with Christians. The diplomatic and consular agents were relegated to Tangier, and access to the interior was made almost impossible for Europeans. His successors followed his example. Down to the end of the sixteenth century, Morocco was more rigorously closed than it had been in the time of the Merinids and Sa'dians and even in the early days of the Ḥasanī *sharifs*. In spite of this systematic isolation, the sultāns had nevertheless to face the same difficulties as Mawlāi Slimān and had no more success than he in overcoming them.

For half a century the domestic history of Morocco was a series of rebellions which the sovereigns had great difficulty in suppressing. The regions remote from the centre, Rif, Tafilalet, Figig, eastern Morocco, escaped the authority of the *makhzen*. In the very heart of the country, the Berbers cut communications between Fās and Marrākush, forcing the sultāns when they wanted to move from one capital to the other to make a great detour by Rabat. The empire broke up more and more. Mawlāi al-Ḥasan (1873—1894) postponed for a few years the inevitable collapse. His reign resembled that of Mawlāi Ismā'il. At the head of his army, the artillery of which had been reorganised by a French military mission, he was continually in the field raiding the rebels and tearing down *kašbas*. He re-established order in the region of Uḍja, forced the people of Sūs to recognise his *ka'ids*, reduced to obedience the Za'ir and Zayān, endeavoured to extend the *makhzen* country by expeditions against the independent Berbers, endeavoured to develop his influence in the Saharan regions and to restore his authority in Tuāt. But he died before completing his task and all had to be begun again.

Morocco and the Christian powers. The situation was the more critical that the fate of Morocco could no longer be a matter of indifference to the European powers. It increased the cupidity of some and aroused the cupidity of others. In spite of their desire for isolation, the sultāns had not been able to break every link with Europe. They had also to take account of the proximity of Spain, established for three centuries in the "presidios" of the Mediterranean coast, and of the French who had replaced the Turks in Algeria [q.v.]. The conquest of the old Regency, destroying all the *sharifs'* hopes of extension eastwards, had caused great irritation in Morocco. 'Abd al-Qādir [q.v.] found followers among the peoples of this country and support hardly disguised on the part of the *makhzen*. This hostile

attitude resulted in the Franco-Moroccan war of 1844. The *sharīfian* army was crushed at the battle of Isly, the ports of Tangier and Mogador bombarded. The moderation of France alone enabled the *makhzen* to come fairly well out of this unfortunate escapade. Henceforth the relations between France and Morocco remained peaceful, although the impotence of the *sharīfian* government to guarantee security on its borders forced France to military demonstrations like the B. Snāsen campaign (1859) and the wādī Gīr expedition (1870). Spain in turn being unable to obtain satisfaction from the attacks directed against her garrisons decided also to resort to arms. The campaign of 1859—1860, ended by the victory of O'Donnell, revealed the military weakness of Morocco. The treaty of Tetwān (1860) granted to Spain, along with some trifling territorial aggrandisement, an indemnity of 100,000,000 reals. To pay this debt, the *sharīfian* government had to raise a loan in London on the security of the Moroccan customs and to accept the control of European commissioners. For the first time foreigners intervened in the domestic administration of the empire. The breach thus made was continually enlarged. The exercise of the right of protection, the erection of a lighthouse on Cape Spatel, served as a pretext for diplomatic negotiations and for the extension of international control. European ambitions were not dissimulated. In order to protect itself against them, the *makhzen* tried to play one off against the other and confined itself to granting, as it did at the conference of Madrid (1880), concessions devoid of all practical significance. Mawlāi al-Ḥasan excelled in this difficult game and the vizier Bā Aḥmad, who directed affairs during the early years of the reign of 'Abd al-'Azīz, Mawlāi al-Ḥasan's successor, displayed no less skill. Morocco was thus the object of a very keen struggle for influence. England wanted to maintain her economic preponderance along with the control of the Strait; France wanted to ensure the security of her Algerian possessions and of the roads leading to the Saharan oases occupied in 1901—1902; Spain appealed to her "historic rights"; Germany lastly was preparing to seize the opportunity to acquire openings for her commerce and emigrants.

The Moroccan crisis and the establishment of the French protectorate. Such a position could not last. The imprudences of Sulṭān 'Abd al-'Azīz precipitated the crisis. The whims of the sovereign and his immoderate desire for European innovations displeased the stricter Muslims. The modifications in the fiscal policy made by the *ṭarīb* disturbed the people already taxed to the utmost. Rebellion broke out everywhere. A pretender, the *rūgī* Bū Ḥamāra, rose in the region of Tāzā and routed an army sent against him. It was in vain that France by the agreements of 1901 and 1902 endeavoured to organise the activities of the *makhzen* against the rebels and to postpone the inevitable catastrophe. On the failure of this effort, France decided to arrange with England and Spain to settle the Moroccan question and prevent the dismemberment of the empire. In return for recognition of the protectorate *de facto* exercised by England in Egypt and the granting to Spain of a sphere of influence in northern Morocco, these two powers recognised the right of France to act as her interests best demanded. France hastened to propose to the

sulṭān a plan for reforming the *sharīfian* administration. The intervention of Germany prevented its realisation. On March 31, 1905, William II landed at Tangier and in a sensational speech posed as the defender of the independence of the sulṭān. On the advice of the German representative, 'Abd al-'Azīz appealed for the constitution of an international conference to study the reforms to be introduced into the Maghrib. The conference met at Algéciras (Jan. 15—April 7, 1906) and affirmed the three principles of the sovereignty of the sulṭān, the territorial integrity and economic freedom of Morocco. It did not, however, settle the Moroccan question. The two international bodies which it decided to set up, the police for the ports and the state bank, both capable of being of great service, could not take the place of the general reforms necessary for the salvation of the empire. Disorders continued, acts of hostility against Europeans in Morocco itself and acts of brigandage on the frontiers increased in number. Not being able to obtain satisfaction for outrages on its subjects, the French government ordered the occupation of Ujdja and Casablanca in 1907. The country was then pacified around these two centres and order restored in eastern Morocco and in the *Shawiya* to the great benefit of the natives themselves. The Spaniards in their turn for similar reasons intervened in 1908 in the adjoining region of Melilla and after a severe campaign in 1909 occupied Salwān and a number of strategic points.

During this period war broke out between 'Abd al-'Azīz and his brother Mawlāi 'Abd al-Ḥafīz, proclaimed sulṭān at Marrākush and then at Fās. Supported by the anti-foreign party, the pretender was victorious. All the powers, including France and Spain, recognised him, after he had promised to respect the agreement of Algéciras, the international treaties and all the engagements entered into by his predecessors. France and Spain announced their intention of not prolonging their occupation of *sharīfian* territory. The Franco-Moroccan agreements of March 4, 1910, and the Hispano-Moroccan of Nov. 19 of the same year, stipulated that the occupation should cease as soon as the *makhzen* should have a force sufficient to guarantee the security of life and property and peace within its frontiers. This settlement seemed all the more desirable as there had been occasional friction between France and Germany which had only been smoothed over with great difficulty, the most serious being the affair of the deserters from Casablanca in Sept. 1908. A disquieting state of tension remained between these two powers, although France had endeavoured to give satisfaction to Germany in signifying, by the agreement of Feb. 8, 1909, her willingness not to impede the economic freedom nor hinder the development of German interests.

The aggravation of the situation in the interior hastened the dénouement. The sulṭān's rule was no more effective than that of his predecessors; the exactions of the *sharīfian* agents in the spring of 1911 provoked a rising of the Arab and Berber tribes in the region of Fās. Besieged in his capital and on the point of succumbing, the sulṭān appealed to the French. They decided to send an expeditionary force to the help of the sulṭān but ordered its commander to avoid any injury to the independence of the sulṭān and any occupation of new territory. Vigorously commanded by General

Moinier, the military operations had the desired effect. Fās was relieved on May 21, and after certain police operations necessary to secure the peace of the district, the expeditionary force returned to the coast. But, while the danger was thus banished from the interior, unexpected complications resulted. Spain, taking advantage of the occasion to take possession of the sphere of influence reserved for her by the agreement of 1904, established herself in Larache and al-Ḳaṣr. Germany, feeling the moment was decisive, claimed compensation in her turn and sent a warship to Agādīr. This demonstration provoked the greatest alarm in France and in Europe generally. In the end, however, a peaceful settlement was reached. After four months of difficult negotiations, the agreement of Nov. 4, 1911 put an end to the dispute. Germany abandoned all political claims to Morocco and admitted with certain reservations, chiefly of an economic nature, the principle of the French protectorate. There was no longer any obstacle to the establishment of this régime, which the sultān accepted by the treaty of March 30, 1912. This diplomatic document stipulated the maintenance of the sovereignty of the sultān, the representation of and protection by French diplomatic and consular agents of Moroccan subjects and interests abroad, the carrying out, with the collaboration of and under the direction of France, of a number of administrative reforms, judicial, financial and military, intended to "give the sharīfian empire a new régime, while safeguarding the traditional prestige and honour of the sultān, the practice of the Muslim faith and the institutions of religion".

The French protectorate now extends over the whole of Morocco, but the Spanish sphere of influence enjoys by the agreement of Nov. 27, 1912 complete autonomy from the administrative and military point of view, while Tangier and its environs form an international zone, the status of which is not yet definitely regulated.

The establishment of the protectorate was to have had as its first result the restoration of the authority of the sharīf, whose support was essential for the carrying out of the reforms. This could only be attained by a considerable effort. The central power was weaker than it had ever been at the time when the conclusion of the protectorate treaty put an end to the crisis. The *biṭād al-makhzen* was almost non-existent. France had to conquer Morocco for the sultān. The name of Maréchal Lyautey, appointed High Commissioner and Resident General, will remain inseparable from the history of the pacification of Morocco, like that of Bugeaud in the history of the conquest of Algeria. Very difficult in itself, for it brought the French into contact with warlike tribes, some of whom had never recognised the authority of the makhzen, the task was further complicated by events abroad. Order had hardly been restored around the chief towns, Fās, Meknes, Marrākush and communication restored between eastern and western Morocco, when the War of 1914 broke out. For a moment it was feared that the French were going to abandon the interior and fall back on the coast, but the progress of the pacification of the country was only slowed down, not interrupted. All the conquered positions were retained and the rebels held on all fronts. The counter-offensives of the rebels in the Tāzā corridor, along the Middle Atlas and in Sūs were crushed. The War finished,

the offensive was resumed to reduce the districts still unsubdued (Middle Atlas, south of the High Atlas, upper valley of the Muluya). Three years of difficult fighting (1921—1924) ended in the occupation of "all Morocco of value", i. e. those regions of economic, political or military importance. The Rifan offensive in 1925, however, threatened to compromise all the success achieved. A Rifan chief, 'Abd al-Karīm, had gathered around him the greater part of the tribes of northern Morocco and inflicted serious reverses on the Spaniards and forced them to abandon a portion of the territory which they had occupied. Crossing the Spanish zone, he invaded the valley of the Wargha and threatened Fās. The resistance of the posts echeloned along the frontier gave reinforcements time to reach the scene of hostilities. Checked in the autumn, the Rifan advance was definitely crushed in the spring of 1926 thanks to the combined action of France and Spain. At the moment of writing, the conquest may be regarded as completed: only a few tribes of the Central Atlas and of the oases of the Sahara have not yet been reached by the French, but their reduction is only a matter of time.

The administrative reorganisation has kept pace with the pacification. The old machinery has been retained but submitted to a control which guarantees the natives against abuse of their power and excesses by the agents of the makhzen. Technical services have been created to give the country the works necessary for its economic life. The remarkable results obtained in all fields have been facilitated by the influx of European immigrants and capital. Morocco seemed condemned to vegetate. Now it is being completely transformed. A new epoch is beginning, very different from any that have preceded it.

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(G. YVER).

III. POPULATION.

a. Total population and density. It is difficult to fix with any precision the total population of Morocco. The attempts made at a census in recent years in the parts subject to the *sharīfian* *makhzen* enable, it is true, comparatively accurate estimates to be made for the greater part of the country and corroborate for most districts the estimates made by European travellers before the establishment of the French protectorate. But the parts of the *sharīfian* empire still outside the authority of the *makhzen* and those whose southern boundaries are not exactly known have not been seriously investigated from this point of view, and until they have been scientifically studied it will not

be possible to estimate the total population of Morocco to within a few hundred thousands.

The total usually given is 5,000,000, of whom a tenth, 500,000, are in the zone of the Spanish protectorate. This population is very unequally distributed and its density varies with geographical conditions. The most thickly populated part is that of the plains of western Morocco between the massif of the *Djāla* in the north and the Great Atlas in the south: *Gharb*, *Shāwīya*, *Tādā*, *Dukkāla* and *ʿAbda*. The density of the population also varies with the fertility of the soil. The population of this region is estimated at two fifths of the total. The mountainous regions, *Djāla*, *Rif*, Middle Atlas are not thickly populated, as we might have expected from the comparatively dense population of *Kabylia*, in another mountainous region of North Africa. As to the Sahara zone, outside the belts of oases in the *Wādī Gīr*, the *Wādī Zīz* (*Tāfilālt*) and the *Wādī Darʿa* (*Dra*), it is very sparsely inhabited.

b. Elements of the population. The population of Morocco consists for the most part of Berbers and Arabs, the former being the older element and the latter invaders. As to the Berbers, who do not seem to be a homogeneous race and whose origin is obscure, see the separate article on them. As to the Arabs, they are in a minority, but it is often difficult to attribute an exact ethnic origin to certain tribes or confederations, so much have the Arabs and Berbers become mixed since the Muslim conquest, and intermingled either by peaceful or warlike methods. It will be more prudent and will give a more accurate result if we distinguish in Morocco between those who speak Arabic and those who speak Berber (see below VII. LANGUAGES). The former live entirely in the plains, while with the exception of the massif of the *Djāla*, the inhabitants of the mountains speak Berber.

1. Berbers. Three main groups may be distinguished among the Berbers of Morocco: in the north the *Rifāns* and the *Benī Znāsen*; in the centre the *Znāga* (*Ṣanhādja*) and the *Brāber* (*Barābir*), who form the population of the Middle Atlas; the third group is that of the *Shlūh* [cf. the article *SHILLUH*] who occupy the western part of the High Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas, as well the plain of *Sūs*. In addition to these main groups, we may mention the *Djāla*, arabicised Berbers, to the N.W. of *Fās*, and the *Harāṭin* (plur. of the Arabic *ḥarṭānī*), who seem to be regarded as an intermixture of Berbers and *Sūdānese* and form the basis of the settled population of the zone of the Saharan oases.

2. Arabs. The early invasions at the time of the Muslim conquest do not seem to have appreciably modified the ethnology of the country. Down to the xiiith century A.D., the country districts of Morocco were almost completely Berber; it was the great Almohad ruler *ʿAbd al-Muʿmin* [q.v.] who was the first to introduce into Morocco *Hilālī* Arab tribes hitherto settled in the Central *Maghrib* or in *Ifrikiya*; these importations, continued by the successors of this prince and by the *Merīnid* dynasty, soon drove the Berber element into the mountains or absorbed and arabicised it. Evidence of such assimilation is still found in the fact that tribes with clearly Arab names contain sections whose names show their Berber origin.

These Arab tribes, who are all settled in the

plain, may be divided into two main ethnic groups: the Banū Hilāl [q. v.] and the Ma'kil. The latter occupies almost exclusively the valley of the Upper Muluya as well as the lands south of the Atlas. The Banū Hilāl occupy the sub-Atlantic plains and the steppes of Eastern Morocco.

3. Jews. There are about 150,000 Jews in Morocco, mainly living in the towns. There are also a considerable number among the tribes of the Great Atlas. They also form the principal element in the population of the two little towns of Debdū and Demnāt [q. v.]. The origin of the earliest elements in this Jewish population is obscure: it is difficult to ascertain whether they were Jews who had migrated from Palestine or were judaicised Berbers. The modern element is made up of Jews who fled from Spain to Morocco in the xvth century. The former call themselves *phlishṭīm* (Palestinians) and are called *forasteros* (foreigners) by the Spanish immigrants, who are practically all settled in the towns of the coast and are rapidly becoming Europeanised.

4. Miscellaneous elements. The negroes, of whom there are considerable numbers in Morocco, do not however form a distinct group there. In the north we find many, who are almost all of slave origin. The predilection of the townsmen of Morocco for black concubines, noted for their domestic virtues, has brought into the population, especially in bourgeois circles, a very considerable amount of negro blood. To the south of the Atlas in the oases, the intermarriage of negroes and Berbers has produced the Ḥarāṭin. Finally the negroes of the Sūdān, since the Middle Ages, have always been esteemed as mercenaries to form the imperial guards, especially since the taking of Timbuktu by the armies of the Sa'dian Sulṭān Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [q. v.].

Large numbers of Muslims from Spain, whether of Arab origin or descendants of Christian inhabitants of the Peninsula, have contributed to form the population of the towns at various times: Cordovans banished by al-Ḥakam I at the beginning of the third century A. H. after the "revolt of the suburb" and Muslims expelled from Spain at the "Reconquista".

We must not omit the influence that may have been exercised on the population of Morocco by Europeans (renegades, who had adopted Islām, mercenaries recruited outside Morocco and settled in the country), and finally we may note that frequently the sulṭāns have purchased women for their harems in Constantinople.

IV. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE.

a. Country. The population of Morocco, although for the most part rural, nevertheless has a larger proportion of town-dwellers than Central Barbary and, like the rest of North Africa, might be divided into nomadic and settled; this division does not at all coincide with that into Arabs and Berbers; there are still nomadic Berbers, while certain Arab tribes are becoming settled on the lands which they cultivate.

It has been shown that the nomadic or settled life of the country-people in North Africa does not depend, as was long thought, on ethnic factors, but is entirely conditioned by geographical considerations. It is the rule for dwellers in the mountains to be settled while the people of the desert steppes, forced to move about in search

of pasture for their flocks, are nomads. There are however means between these two extremes and especially in Morocco, where we find many semi-nomads, who move only short distances, principally on the borders of the various mountains of the centre and south. But generally nomadism is the outcome of pastoral migration and its geographical area is in direct relation to the rainfall and therefore to the nature of the vegetation.

It is in eastern Morocco, in the steppes which lie to the east of the Muluya, and to the south of the Great Atlas, towards the Sahara, that we find the principal groups of nomads in Morocco. In eastern Morocco, we may mention among the large tribes which lead a nomadic life the confederation of the Benī Gil, between Bergent and Figig; on the other side of the Atlas, the Ait Seddrāt, the Ait Djallāl, the Īdā-ū-Biāl, the Ait-ū-Mribeṭ; lastly to the south of the Dar'a (Dra) country, the Rgiba, the Shkārna and the Awlād Dīm. As to the semi-nomads, we find them, outside the Middle Atlas, in the great plains of the Gharb, in the north, the Rḥāmna and the Shyādma, in the south, where a pastoral life has not yet completely disappeared before a more settled state of society.

Nevertheless Morocco is, of the three countries of Barbary, that which has in its rural population the largest proportion of settled people, of fixed habitat and living not only in tents but also in houses. The latter are rarely found isolated in the country, but on the contrary are grouped into villages of more or less importance and more or less near one another, according to the density of the population.

The type of dwelling varies with the district. In the mountains we find houses built of unbaked bricks or stone with a gabled thatch or a flat flat roof. In the plains, the tent predominates, more or less fixed to the spot, and with it we find more and more the hut of branches with a conical roof called *nurwāla*. In the Saharan oases, the population collects within a walled area or *ḥṣār* (sg. *ḥṣar*, from the class. *ḥṣar*); these conglomerations sometimes possess the elements of town-life. The villages are called *duar* (*duwwār*) in the plains, and *dṣhar* in the mountains. In some hill regions we find survivals of cave-dwelling.

b. Town. Among the towns of his country, the Moroccan distinguishes a certain number that he definitely regards as cities (*ḥaḍariya*). These are Fās, Rabat-Salé and Tetwan, which have been more than others subjected to the influence of Spanish culture. It must however be noted that in the majority of the other towns we can still find traces of the existence of colonies formed by Muslims from Spain, especially from the xvth century onwards. The population of the non-*ḥaḍariya* towns is found to be composed of rustic elements but little urbanised. This is the case with Ujda and Mazagan (country Beduins) and also with Tangier (countrymen from the hills). Marrākush and Meknes owe their special urban character to the fact that as capitals they have contained the courts of two Sharifian dynasties, both of Beduin origin; they are *makhzanīya* towns in which the standard of civilisation does not reach the refinement of the *ḥaḍariya* Spanish towns. The ports Tangier, Larache, Mazagan, Safi and Mogador were for long the only points of contact between Morocco and European influences, politically as well as commercially. Lastly in the mountains,

little towns like *Shefshāwen*, *Wazzān*, *Şefrū*, *Debdū*, *Demnāt* owe their existence to political reasons. The two first were founded as bulwarks against the Portuguese advance in northern Morocco in the xvth century. *Demnāt* and *Debdū* are mainly Jewish towns. As to *Şefrū*, it seems probable that it is a survival of an old Berber town. We may also mention as towns of secondary importance, on the Mediterranean coast, *Ceuta*, completely europeanised for several centuries, on the Atlantic coast *Arzila* (*Aşailā*), *Casablanca*, which owes its origin to the little port of *Anfā*, *Azemmūr*, *Agādir*. In the interior, *al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr* (*el-Ḳṣar*, Spanish spelling: *Alcazarquivir*), *Tāzā*, *Tārūdānt*. Several ancient towns have now disappeared, e.g. *Nakūr* and *Bādīs* on the Mediterranean, *Tīt* to the south of *Mazagan*, the two *Aghmāt* and *Tīnmallal* to the south of *Marrākush* and several others, descriptions of which have been given by the geographers like *al-Bakrī*, *al-Idrīsī* and *Leo Africanus*.

As a rule, the Moroccan town is grouped round a citadel or *ḡaṣaba* (pop. *ḡaṣba*) which is the seat of authority. Under the protection of the citadel lies the *mellāḡ* or Jewish quarter. All around spreads the town proper or *mdīna* with its great mosque, markets and *ḡaṣariya* [q. v.]. It is surrounded by a rampart (*sūr*) beyond which there are usually the suburbs more or less rural in character. The town itself is divided into quarters (*ḡauma*) with streets (*zanḡa*), alleys (*darb*) and squares (*raḡba*).

c. Economic Life. The country people, whether settled or nomadic, who form at least four fifths of the population of Morocco, live on the land, either by agriculture or stock-raising, most often combining the two. Those in the highlands grow cereals (wheat, barley), certain leguminosae (broad beans, chick-peas, vetches) and fruit-trees. They also exploit their forests in a very primitive fashion (thuyas, cedars). The people of the plains devote themselves mainly to cereals and the rearing of cattle, sheep, camels, horses and asses. In the oases of the south, the population cultivates the date-palm and understands the art of irrigating the land.

The rural industries are very primitive. They are limited to supplying the necessary implements of agriculture, and weaving wool into the material for garments, tents and carpets. The Berbers of *Sūs* show a certain aptitude at metal-working (arms and jewels). *Sūs* no longer exports the cane-sugar and copper, which formed considerable articles of trade under the Sa'dians.

Each tribe has a certain number of markets (*sūk*) which are held in the open country and bear the name of the day on which they are held. It is in the *sūk* that the peasant sells his produce and buys the manufactured articles that are brought by the merchants from the towns. Cereals are preserved in siloes (*maḡmūra*); in the Great Atlas and to the south of it we find fortified storehouses, which belong to the community and are called *āḡādir*.

It is in the towns that we find industrial activity concentrated. Each trade, which originally formed a gild (*hanḡa*), is grouped in one street which bears its name. In it the articles are made and sold. The stocks are kept in the *fonduks* (Ar. *fondaḡ*) which correspond to the *khān* and *wakālah* of the east. Some products, like grain, oil, coal, wool, are sold in special places called *raḡba*.

The monopolies of exporting (*sāḡa*) corn and hides established by the sultāns at the end of the xixth century have now been abolished. Several European products have become of the first necessity in Morocco and form the subjects of an important traffic: cotton goods, tea and sugar and candles. For the history of the weights, measures and coins in use in Morocco before the establishment of the protectorate see the works by Massignon and Michaux-Bellaire quoted in the *Bibliography*. The very vivid picture drawn by *Leo Africanus* of the commercial and industrial activity of *Fās* in the Middle Ages is still very valuable.

The Jews, who devote themselves specially to certain trades that flourish in larger centres (goldsmiths, embroiderers), also play an important part as brokers. The citizens of *Fās*, who have a large number of converted Jews among their number, had almost a monopoly of the import trade of Morocco, especially from England, and for this reason had little colonies in the sea-ports.

The Berbers of *Sūs* like to settle in the towns as grocers (*baḡḡāl*) and having made their fortunes return to the country. Since the war of 1914—1918 a large number of them have migrated to France as labourers and they settle in groups, according to their original tribes, in the suburbs of certain large industrial towns.

V. POLITICAL ORGANISATION.

It is only at rare intervals and for short periods that Morocco has been entirely under the authority of the sultān: whence the distinction between the territory subjected to the government (*bilād al-maḡhzen*) and the territory unsubjected (*bilād al-saiba*). As a rule, the *maḡhzen* territory included the towns, valleys and plains. The mountains, on the other hand, remained more or less independent, according to the degree of power possessed by the sovereign. For further details cf. the article *MAḤZEN*.

Outside the towns the population is grouped into tribes (*ḡabila*). Several are sometimes grouped together under a common name, without however being a confederation in the strict sense of the word; this is the case with the *ḡhumāra* in the north, the *Hāḡa*, the *Dukkāla*, the *Shāwiya* in the south. The tribe is subdivided into sections (*ruḡ*, *ḡhums*, *fakhḡḡa*), which are subdivided into sub-sections comprising a certain number of villages of tents or houses.

The tribes who own the sultān's sway are governed by a *ḡā'id* appointed by the *maḡhzen*. His duty is to allot and levy the taxes, to raise contingents of soldiers and keep good order. He has under his command a *shaikh* for each section under whom are the *muḡaddam* of the sub-sections.

For the distinction between *maḡhzen*, *ḡaiṣh* (vulg. *ḡish*) and *nā'iba* tribes see the article *MAḤZEN*.

In the tribes not subject to the *maḡhzen*, political activity is confined to the *ḡjamā'a*, i. e. an assembly of men able to bear arms. The *ḡjamā'a* deals with all the business of the tribe, civil, criminal, financial and political. It administers justice following local custom (Arabic *'urf*, Berber *isref*). It elects a *shaikh* (Berber *amḡhār*) who is only an agent to carry out its decisions. Alongside of the *ḡjamā'a* of the tribe, there are *ḡjamā'as* of the sections and sub-sections but their powers are limited.

All the tribes of the *bilād al-saiba* are divided into opposing factions or *laḡf*. When a tribe of

a certain *laff* is attacked, those neighbouring tribes who belong to the same faction take up arms and come to its assistance.

In the towns, the *makhzen* is represented by a governor whose official title is *kā'id* but in certain large towns he is often called *bāshā*. The title of *āmīl* has been sometimes given to the governor of Ujda. The *kā'id* of the town, generally speaking, has the same powers as the *kā'id* of the tribe and acts as judge in case of any violation of the law. He has an assistant or *khalīfa*. Alongside of him, the *muhtasib* supervises the corporations, fixes their average prices and looks after public morals.

The *kā'id* has under his orders the *muqaddam* of the quarter and his police (*makhzanīya*) carrying out his instructions. Among the officials sent by the *makhzen* to each town may also be mentioned the *nādir* or inspector of endowments (*hubūs*), the trustee of vacant inheritances (*wakīl al-ghurabā*), popularly *bū-mwāreth* = *abu 'l-mawārith*, the collector of local taxes and market-dues (*amīn al-mustafād*). Lastly in the harbour and frontier towns, the customs are collected by officials called *umanā*² (sg. *amīn*).

Justice is administered by the *kā'id* or by the *kādī*, as the case may be. The latter deals with questions of personal law; official reports on the cases are drawn up by the *ūdūl*. In technical cases he appeals to experts: master-masons, agriculturalists, veterinary surgeons (*mwālīn en-naḍar*, *arḥāb et-turka*, *fallāh*, *baīṭār*). The legal opinions (*fatwā*) given by eminent jurists on the same question being often contradictory, the Sharīfian government has recently created a court of appeal (*maḍjlīs al-isti'nāf*) at Rabat.

Landed property takes a number of different forms. In the first place, there are the state-domains; they are either managed directly by the *makhzen* (crown-lands) or they are allotted to *gish*-tribes in return for the military service for which they are liable; others of these lands may be granted in temporary or definite ownership to private individuals by imperial edict (*ḡahīr* or *tanfīḍha*).

The *hubūs* lands may be urban or rural. In the towns, they not infrequently cover half the area. They are let out under special conditions which give the tenants special privileges, *meftāḥ* and *ḡzā* (class. Ar. *ḡjazā*). In the country, the *hubūs* lands consist mainly of fields and orchards. In all cases, the revenue from these lands is set aside for the maintenance of buildings of a religious character or of public utility (mosques, colleges, schools, fountains) and for the payment of the officials attached to these establishments.

In Morocco, there are vast tracts of land which are not the property of any one individual, either as a result of the insecurity prevailing or of the sparsity of the population. These lands belong undivided to the whole tribe; they are called common lands (*blād al-ḡimā'a*).

Lastly, lands which have come to belong to private individuals (*mulk*) by inheritance or purchase have their character confirmed by a certificate of ownership (*mulkiya*).

The old Muslim imposts (*zakāt* and *uṣhr*) have recently been merged into a single tax, the *tertib*. In addition to this tax, from which the state draws the essential part of its revenues, we may mention the duties levied at the gates of towns and in the markets (*maks*), unpopular with the

people and not countenanced by religion, and the urban tax on buildings (*darība*). In addition to these, the main taxes, there is the *hadiya* or present offered to the sultān on the occasion of the three great Muslim festivals. The *ḡizya* or poll-tax paid by non-Muslims and the *nā'iba* or payment for exemption from military service by certain Arab tribes have been abolished.

VI. RELIGIOUS LIFE.

a. The Berbers before Islām. For lack of documents it is difficult to get any accurate idea of the religious beliefs and practices of the Berbers of Morocco, before their conversion to Islām and it is only from the survival of animistic cults which can still be observed in the country, that we can guess what the primitive religion was. The figures on two carved stones found in Morocco seem to be evidence of the existence of a solar worship. On animistic practices surviving in modern Islām in Morocco see below d. Islām in Modern Morocco.

b. Conversion to Islām. At the time of their invasion, the Arabs found that in the districts around the towns the people were more or less under the influence of Jewish and Christian teachings; but there is little doubt that they did not practise these religions in their true form. It will be more correct to think of them as professing Judaism or Christianity rather than as real Jews or Christians. It seems evident that these influences had prepared the Berber population around the mountains to adopt the new monotheistic religion, which the invaders imposed upon them. The two earliest invasions, that of 'Uḡba b. Nāfi' in 640 and that of Mūsā b. Nuṣair in 711, could result only in a very partial and superficial islāmisation, for very few Arab elements remained in the country. Islām, a town religion, was for long confined to larger centres. The Berbers generally became converted in the hope of escaping the exactions of the conquerors; but when the latter wanted to treat them simply as tributaries, they did not hesitate to apostatise, on seven different occasions, if we may believe the Arab historians. One thing is certain, that while remaining Muslims, they were not long in trying to cast off the authority of the caliphs of Baghdād by adopting the heterodox doctrines of the Khāridjis [q. v. and the article AL-SUFRIYA]. The Berbers of Morocco went even further when new local religions arose among them more or less based on Islām, with their own prophets and Qur'āns. After the attempt at rebellion by the Berber of Tangier, Maisara [q. v.], which was quickly suppressed, the Barghawāta recognised as their prophet one of their number, Ṣaliḥ b. Ṭarīf, who gave them a religion and a Qur'ān in the Berber language. This religion, the progress of which was opposed by the early Moroccan dynasties, seems only to have been finally exterminated by the Almoḥad rulers of the xiiith century. This Barghawāta movement was the most lasting; we also note that which was created by Hā-Mīm (d. 313 A.H.) among the Ghumāra, near Tetwan.

In spite of these reactions, Islām, having become the official religion of increasingly powerful dynasties, gradually gained ground and penetrated slowly into the Berber mountains, but it is only from the death of 'Abd al-Mu'min, who destroyed the religion of the Barghawāta and put an end to the rule of the "anthropomorphist" (*muḡjassimūn*) Almo-

ravids, that we can date the complete unification of Islām in Morocco. Till then, Islām had had in Morocco champions who were soldiers rather than theologians, and who after forcing the people to adopt Islām at the point of the sword, were little fitted to instruct them in it. It required a Berber of the Great Atlas, Ibn Tūmart [q. v.], a theologian who had been educated in the east, to come back to his country and to secure the devoted support of a mass of followers in order to found the movement, which was political as well as religious, of the Almohads [q. v.] or "preachers of *tawhīd*" [q. v.].

If the Almohad reformation was only temporary in Morocco, it was nevertheless strong enough while it lasted to obliterate in the country all trace of schism or heresy and to establish thoroughly in it the school of Mālik b. Anas [q. v.] which it still follows.

c. Evolution of Moroccan Islām. From the time of the fall of the Almohad dynasty, Moroccan Islām rapidly acquired features of its own. Islām, defeated in Spain, was gradually driven out of it, then attacked in Morocco itself by the Christians of the Peninsula. The western frontier of the *Dār al-Islām* was brought back to its own territory and then thrust farther back. Islām in Morocco, attacked by Christianity and forced to *djihād*, became an active principle. It required all the moral forces of the country, even those of which the orthodoxy seemed doubtful; in order to utilise them, it did not hesitate to absorb them by covering them with a more or less superficial veneer of orthodoxy. It was at this period that the cult of dead and living saints, and to a certain point Sharifism, which had hitherto only existed alongside of Islām in Morocco, were adopted into it and received a kind of official recognition from the *makhzen*.

Before the Marinids, Islām had required the constant assistance of the temporal power to maintain itself and advance. From the time of this dynasty, sprung from a Berber nomad tribe, the roles are inverted; it is now the sovereigns who utilise Islām to increase their own power, and try to monopolise it by creating official colleges for religious instruction (*madrasa*); the first of these (*Madrasat al-Ṣaffārīn*) was founded in 679 (1280) by the Sultān Abū Yūsuf at Fās, the capital of the dynasty, which made it the great centre of Muslim culture in Western Barbary [cf. Fās]. The immediate successors of the Marinids, the Banū Waṭṭās, established in the same town the cult of their founder Idrīs II. The mausoleum in which he is said to be buried was henceforth an object of great veneration. He is the earliest in date and the most important of the innumerable canonised Muslims who are the objects of a regular cult in Morocco, even on the part of the religious leaders and the aristocracy. When the cult of Idrīs was established, his descendants — more or less authentic — claimed the title of *sharif* and soon played a preponderating part in Moroccan society, as a political and moral influence. The power of the Idrisid *shorfā* was soon reinforced by that of other *shorfā* descended from 'Alī through al-Ḥasan and this is the origin of the two great groups of *sharifs* in Morocco, the Idrisid and the 'Alid. To the latter belong the two Sharifan dynasties, the Sa'dian and Filālī, the latter still in power. From the moment of their accession to the throne, the

influence of the *shorfā* on the destinies of the country became more and more preponderant.

The phenomenon of *sharifism* is closely connected on the other hand with the development of religious brotherhoods [cf. the article *ṬARIQA*]. Although we find evidence of their existence at the end of the Almohad dynasty (Ḥudjdjādī, Māghiriyyūn, Amghāriyyūn), it is only as a result of al-Djazūlī's (q. v., d. 1645 A.D.) campaign in favour of a *djihād* against the Portuguese, that we find the principles of the brotherhoods, as we know them to-day, first coming into existence.

d. Islām in Modern Morocco. Here we will only give a survey of the principal points of detail in which the people of Morocco differ from the rest of the Muslim community as regards the practice of their religion. With the exception of a few isolated groups, still little studied, who are credited with heterodox or heretical practices (Zkāra, in the neighbourhood of the Bnī Znāsen, in eastern Morocco, Bdāwa, in the Ḡharb, not far from al-Kṣar al-Kabīr), all the Muslims of Morocco are Sunnis and since the Almoravid period have followed the Mālikī rite, which prevailed in the west over that of al-Awzā'ī. It is in the towns that the population observes most strictly the duties of religion. The Beduins of the plains and the Berbers of the mountains are rather lukewarm Muslims. The *Djbāla*, however, between Fās and Tangier, are very devoted to Islām, show great piety, and Qur'ānic studies are very much in favour with them; it is from them that are recruited a great number of schoolmasters who practise their calling in the plains [cf. *SHART*]. It is also practically only among the hillmen of the north and south that we find a mosque in every village.

In spite of the great distance they have to traverse, the Moroccans like to accomplish the canonical pilgrimage. A considerable number settle in the east (there are Moroccan colonies in Alexandria and Cairo); the importance of these colonies had even induced the Sultān 'Abd al-Aziz to appoint a Moroccan consul, *amīn al-Maghāriba*, for Egypt.

In addition to the two canonical festivals of Islām (*'id kabīr* and *'id ṣaḡīr*), the Moroccans celebrate the festival of the birth of the Prophet (*mūlūd*, class. *mawlid*) and that of 'Āshūrā' (10th Muḥarram). The *mūlūd*, established in Morocco by the Marinids, has become a kind of national festival, since the accession to power of sovereigns claiming descent from the Prophet; this festival in Morocco almost surpasses in importance the two canonical feasts.

The peculiarities just mentioned would not be sufficient to give Moroccan Islām a special character, nor would its religious brotherhoods, if the latter were confined to the practices of religion or exaltation of the faith and to satisfying the need for an elevated mysticism among their adepts. These religious brotherhoods are fairly numerous: Tidjāniya, Dārkāwa, Ṭaiyibiya-Tuhāma, Kattāniya [q. v.] etc. But alongside of these brotherhoods, whose members are almost exclusively recruited from the literate or well-to-do classes of the towns and country, there are popular brotherhoods in considerable numbers, in which preoccupation with religion gives place to charlatanish practices and sanguinary displays. Such are the *Djilāla*, the 'Isāwa, the Ḥmādsha, the Dghūḡhiya. Some of these brotherhoods recruit their members ex-

clusively from a particular class of society; thus the *rmā* (class. *rumāt*) is a brotherhood of marksmen, and the *Gnāwa*, a negro brotherhood. All these brotherhoods have this feature in common that their founder has become a famous saint (*walī*).

The cult of saints is highly developed in Morocco and undoubtedly was so before the introduction of Islām, which found itself obliged to tolerate it. There are however very different categories of saints, from the venerated patron saint of a capital or of a district to the local holy man whose name is forgotten, between whom comes the *saiyid* whose tomb is marked by a *ḥubba* (chapel surmounted by a dome), more or less elaborate. The more humble saints are recognised by the circular wall (*ḥawsh*) which surrounds their tombs.

These venerated individuals, male and female, have attained sanctity by very different ways, some in their lifetime, by their learning, devotion, asceticism, miraculous powers (*baraka*), sometimes even by more or less mystic mania (*madjdūb*); the others, after their deaths, have been distinguished by miracles, apparitions etc. The warrior in the holy war (*djihād, ribāṭ*), slain fighting against the infidel is frequently beatified — hence his name of *murābiṭ* (pop. *mrābeṭ* — French and English "marabout"). But the early significance of this term was frequently lost sight of and the term *murābiṭ* came to be generally applied to saints, who never took part in a *djihād* in their lifetime. *Murābiṭ* thus came into general use as a synonym of the other words used for saint in Morocco: *walī, saiyid, ṣāliḥ*. But it is the only one applied to the descendants of a saint, who possess the *baraka* of their ancestor. Among the Berbers, the saint is called *agurram*. The names of great saints have *mawlāi* prefixed, the others the title *sīdī*, while women saints of Berber origin are called *lalla*.

The saint to whom sanctuaries are most frequently dedicated — modest though they are (*maḥām, ḥalwa*) — was not a native of the country but the famous patron saint of Baghdad, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Gilānī, popularly called al-Djilālī, who undoubtedly never visited Morocco. But the saint whose cult is surrounded with the greatest splendour is the famous Mawlāi Idrīs, founder and patron saint of Fās. Among the other great Moroccan saints may be mentioned: Mawlāi 'Abd al-Salām Ibn Mashīsh, patron of the Djbāla, buried on the Djabal al-'Alam; Mawlāi Abū Salhām, in the Gharb; Mawlāi Abū 'l-Shitā' al-Khammār (Mawlāi Būshshā), in the north of Fās; Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Isā, patron of Meknès and founder of the brotherhood of the 'Isāwa; Mawlāi Abū Shu'aib (Būsh'ib), at Azemmūr; Mawlāi Abū Ya'azzā (Bū'azzā), in the Tādla; Sīdī Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Sabtī (Sīdī Bel-'Abbès), born at Ceuta and patron of Marrākush. All these and others less famous are the subjects of a hagiographical literature which will be dealt with later.

Devotion to individuals canonised in their lifetime or after their death is in Morocco not confined to Muslims. The Jews have also their saints, relatively as numerous as the Muslim saints. Some of the Jewish saints have acquired a reputation so great that even Muslims revere their tombs: e. g. those of the Rabbi 'Amrān in Azjen, near Wazzān and of Rabbi Ben Zmīro at Safi. On the other hand, the Jews of Morocco show a special

reverence for certain of the great Muslim saints of the country.

The area, surrounding the tomb of each of the principal saints is sacred (*ḥurm*) and hence regarded as an inviolable asylum; among the best known are the *ḥurm* of Mawlāi Idrīs in Fās and that of Mawlāi 'Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh in the mountains of the northwest. These pieces of ground are the exclusive property of the families who are descended or claim to be descended from the saint. They are exempt from state taxes; more than that, the descendants of the saints have the right to levy for their own benefit certain special dues, by a privilege officially recognised by the sultān. The levying of these dues is not the only way by which the saint's chapel benefits his descendants. The principal source of revenue is the offerings of pilgrims when visiting the tomb; this is the *ziyāra*. In general once a year, there is a kind of patronal festival at the tomb of the saint which is called *mūsem* (class. Ar. *mawsim*); a vast crowd, some of them from a considerable distance, gather there to pay their devotions to the *saiyid* and to see the display of fireworks given in his honour. On this occasion the offerings flow in and are shared among themselves by the saint's descendants.

In these circumstances, it is usual for every sanctuary of any importance to be regularly organised. The chapel which contains the tomb and the buildings attached to it, an oratory and guest-house, is called the *sāwiya*. It is superintended by a *muḥaddam* who collects and distributes the revenues. These do not come entirely from the *ziyāra*. The *sāwiya* often owns lands, sometimes extensive, which are let out and the profits shared with the tenants. They are called *azīb* and the tenants are called *azzāb*. These farms, sometimes acquired by purchase, often come from bequests or donations (*ḥubūs*) from pious private individuals.

We can thus see how certain famous and wealthy *sāwiyas* may exert a moral and political influence in the country round them, independent of their religious influence. The latter is however also very important. The great Moroccan *sāwiyas* are centres of orthodoxy and give life and vigour to Islām in the country. Some are centres of mysticism and they are always centres of religious instruction. This explains the enviable position occupied in Moroccan society by any group of descendants of a famous saint, or of marabouts. If their ancestor had, in addition to the virtues for which he was canonised, the honour to be a descendant of the Prophet, they are at the same time *shorfa*, which further increases their material privileges. The descendants of a saint who was not a *sharif* try to claim this origin for him by inventing more or less fictitious genealogies. The marabouts who have in this way "infiltrated" into the social category of the *shorfa* are very numerous in Morocco. A Moroccan *sāwiya* is not only a centre of hagiolatry; it is also in the majority of cases a body of *shorfa* and the centre of a religious brotherhood or of a branch of one, or of a secondary order affiliated to a brotherhood. The *sāwiya* itself may have offshoots. Many of the establishments of this name are daughters of a mother *sāwiya* and are sometimes at a considerable distance from it.

Hagiolatry, religious brotherhoods and *sharifism* thus form three special aspects of Islām in Morocco, which are profoundly intermingled, and it is diffi-

cult to study them separately. For a detailed account of the principal families of *shorfā* in Morocco of genuine *sharīf* origin or simply marabouts see the article *SHORFĀ*. Here we shall only mention the principal ones whose origin is considered authentic by the Moroccan genealogists. They are descended from al-Ḥasan and 'Abd Allāh al-Kāmil through the latter's three sons, Idrīs, Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiya and Mūsā al-Djawn. The descendants of Idrīs or Idrīsids, are subdivided into Djūṭiyūn (Shābihiyūn, 'Imrāniyūn, Ṭālibiyūn, Ḡhālibiyūn), Dabbāghiyūn, Kattāniyūn, 'Alamiyūn (descendants of Mawlāi 'Abd al-Salām Ibn Mashish, buried on the Djabal al-'Alam, whence their name, and are themselves divided into Shafshāwaniyūn, Raisūniyūn, Raḥmāniyūn and Liḥyaniyūn). The descendants of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiya are the *shorfā* of Sidjilmāsa or Filāla (Filāliyyūn; *nisba* from Taḥilāl), i.e. those of the reigning Sharīfian dynasty; lastly, the descendants of Mūsā al-Djawn are the *shorfā* Ḳādiriyyūn, who take their name from the great saint of Islām 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Gilānī. We also find in Morocco, but in small numbers, Ḥusainid *shorfā*, also descended from 'Alī through al-Ḥusain, the brother of al-Ḥasan; these are the *shorfā* called Ṣikilliyūn and 'Irākiyyūn, who came from Andalus. The great marabout families are that of the Nāṣiriya from Tāmgrūt in Dar'a, the Sharḳāwa [q.v.] in Tādla, the Darḳāwa and Wazzāniyūn to the northwest of Fās. The *shorfā* Wazzāniyūn (*sharīfs* of Wezzān), whose chief is also head of the great brotherhood of the Ṭaiyibiya-Tuhāma (cf. above), have for long played a considerable part in politics and have been the object of particular attention from the *makhzen*. Even more than the other representatives of the great marabout families, they have in fact rendered great services to the central power by using for its benefit the great moral and political influence which they possess among that part of the population, which is lukewarm or hostile to the *makhzen*. They have mediated in the most successful fashion between the sultān and the unsubjected body of the people.

The *shorfā* are thus at the head of Moroccan society. Some have assumed the power, others are the auxiliaries of the ruler, who in return shows them great deference. We shall see that they have occupied a very high place in the intellectual life of Morocco since the end of the middle ages. Lastly *sharīfism*, an important social factor, has been able still further to strengthen itself by the support which maraboutism has brought it, by incorporating itself in it, and the religious brotherhoods which very frequently spring directly from it.

2. *Survivals of Berber cults.* The cult of saints, accepted and even recognised, as we have seen above, by Islām, is in Morocco much earlier than the introduction of this religion. Indeed, alongside of saints of note, there are others who are essentially popular, in the country as well as in the towns. In the large cities like Fās, the great *saiyids* venerated by all classes of society rub shoulders with humble marabouts whose names show clearly their popular origin; these are Sidi 'l-Mukḥfi (Rev. the Hidden One), Sidi Amsa 'l-Khair (Rev. Good Evening) or Sidi Ḳāḍi Ḥādja (the reverend gentleman who procures what is wanted) and notices are given of them by hagiographers like the author of the *Salwat al-Anfās* (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*,

p. 383 *infra*). The humble, often anonymous *khalwas*, which abound in Morocco, undoubtedly are to be connected with earlier mythical individuals, already worshipped in the same place before the coming of Islām. Besides this devotion to popular saints, there are the animistic cults, which we see everywhere in Morocco observed by the lower classes of the population: worship of high places, of caves, springs, trees and rocks. These cults are now being seriously studied and the results will perhaps enable us to reconstruct without too great risk of error, the type of religion practised by the Berbers before the introduction into their land of the three great monotheistic religions.

It is hardly possible to separate from these animistic cults that of Mawlāi Ya'ḳūb in Morocco, who always has a *ḥubba* beside thermal springs whose curative virtues are recognised.

Survivals of paganism in every case completely foreign to orthodox Islām may be found everywhere in Morocco; they are hardly distinguishable from what one finds in other parts of Barbary. The rites which accompany birth and the ceremonies connected with it (giving of the name and circumcision), marriage and death are now beginning to be well known. They constitute practices quite foreign to the prescriptions of the Sunna but they are not regarded by those who follow them as in any way heterodox.

It is especially in the life of the country people that we see most clearly traces of pre-Islamic practices. Many of them are strangely like agricultural customs of the Romans. The Moroccan peasant has retained the use of the Julian calendar, no doubt introduced into the country by the Romans; it is of course much more suitable for the needs of agriculture than the Muslim lunar calendar. The names of the months are retained in their Latin form with little change: January is *yennāir* from the Latin *ianuar(ius)*. The beginning of the solar year in Morocco is the occasion of a festival celebrated, especially in the country, under the name of *ḥāḡūsa*; the festival of the summer solstice (*anḡra*) is also celebrated and on that day it is usual to have fireworks. Similarly the agrarian rites, which are still scrupulously observed by the peasants of Morocco, are completely foreign to the canonical prescriptions of Islām. They are mainly ceremonies of inauguration (of death and rebirth of the land, first day of labour, first day of harvest); rites to protect the crops from the evil eye, or to preserve the *baraka* which they contain while standing, finally special rites to secure rain and good weather. These various ceremonies, to which ethnographers like Biarnay and Westermarck have already devoted detailed studies to which the reader may be referred, are sometimes closely linked up with ceremonies prescribed by Islām; thus the different pagan rites for producing rain (carnival processions, a large spoon dressed in women's clothes and solemnly carried round) do not exclude the worship of saints specially noted as rain-makers like Mawlāi Būshshā, nor the celebration of the orthodox ceremony of *istisḡā*.

It is also in the worship of spirits (*djinnī*, pop. *djinn*, plur. *djinnūn*) that we find ceremonies of a strongly Islāmic stamp associated with quite profane rites. This cult is especially practised by the lower classes of society, and in the towns

particularly by women. The djinns are regarded as supernatural powers, who have to be conciliated to avert their evil influence or fought when one is attacked by them. The rites which deal with them are either propitiatory or intended to overcome harm done. In spite of the many sacred formulae of Islām, which are found in the celebration of these two kinds of rites, one gets a strong impression of paganism from them; they undoubtedly remain practically what they were before the introduction of Islām into Morocco.

Bibliography: For the general bibliography of Morocco down to 1891 cf. R. L. Playfair and R. Brown, *A Bibliography of Morocco from the earliest times to the end of 1891*, London 1893. A very complete annual bibliography of Morocco has been given since 1921 in *Hespéris*, publ. by the Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines de Rabat (bibliography begun by MM. P. de Cenival and C. Funck-Brentano). Cf. also the learned and the popular periodicals dealing with Morocco, *Archives Marocaines*, *Archives Berbères*, *Hespéris*, *l'Afrique française*, *France-Maroc*, *Bulletin de l'Enseignement public au Maroc*; also the monographs of the Section Sociologique du Maroc entitled *Villes et tribus du Maroc*. — Here we shall only give in alphabetical order the essential works dealing with sections iii., iv., v. and vi.; E. Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1907; H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920; do., *Le Culte des Grottes au Maroc*, Algiers 1920; do. and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chella, une nécropole mérinide*, Paris 1923 (iv., legends and cultes); A. Bel, *Coup d'œil sur l'Islam en Berbérie*, Parts 1920; A. Bernard, *Le Maroc*⁶, Paris 1921; do. and P. Moussard, *Arabophones et berbérophones au Maroc*, in *Annales de Géographie*, Paris 1924, p. 267—282; S. Biarnay, *Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord-africaines*, Paris 1924; J. Bourrilly and E. Laoust, *Siècles funéraires marocaines*, Paris 1927; R. Brunel, *Essai sur la confrérie religieuse des Aïssaoua au Maroc*, Paris 1926; L. Brunot, *La mer dans les traditions et les industries indigènes à Rabat et Salé*, Paris 1921; Budgett Meakin, *The land of the Moors*, London 1901; do., *The Moors*, London 1902; do., *Life in Morocco*, London 1905; O. Depont and J. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1867; E. Doutté, *Notes sur l'Islam maghribin*, *Les Marabouts*, Paris 1900; do., *Merrakech*, Paris 1905; do., *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909; do., *En tribu*, Paris 1914; J. Drummond Hay, *Le Maroc et ses tribus nomades*, Paris 1844; J. Erckmann, *Le Maroc moderne*, Paris 1885; de Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc (1883—1884)*, Paris 1888; Gaillard, *Une ville de l'Islam: Fes*, Paris 1905; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes and L. Mercier, *Manuel d'arabe marocain*, Paris n. d. (introduction); J. Gouven, *Les Mellahs de Rabat-Salé*, Paris 1927; G. Hardy and L. Brunot, *L'enfant marocain*, Paris 1925; L. Justinard, *Les Chleuh de la banlieue de Paris*, in *Revue Etudes Islamiques*, Paris 1928, p. 477—480; E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, Paris 1920; do., *Noms et cérémonies des feux de joie chez les Berbères du Haut et de l'Anti-Atlas*, in *Hespéris*, Paris 1921; N. Larras, *La population du Maroc*, in *la Géographie*, Paris 1906, p. 337—348;

Doctoresse Légey, *Essai de folklore marocain*, Paris 1926; do., *Contes et légendes populaires du Maroc*, Paris 1926; A. R. de Lens, *Pratiques des Harems marocains*, Paris 1925; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfes*, Paris 1922; do., *Notes d'hagiographie marocaine*, Paris 1920; G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XI^{ème} au XIV^{ème} siècles*, Paris 1913; L. Massignon, *Le Maroc dans les premières années du XVI^{ème} siècle*, *Tableau géographique d'après Léon l'Africain*, Algiers 1906; do., *Enquête sur les corporations musulmanes d'artisans et de commerçants au Maroc*, Paris 1925; E. Michaux-Bellaire, *Maroc*, in *Nouveau Dictionnaire de Pédagogie*, Paris 1911, p. 1230—1240; do., *Les Confréries religieuses au Maroc*, Rabat 1923; do., *Conférences (A. M., vol. xxviii.)*, Paris 1928; do., in *Archives Marocaines*, *passim*; L. Milliot, *Les terres collectives au Maroc*, Paris 1922; do., *Démembrements du Habous*, Paris 1918; E. Montet, *Les confréries religieuses de l'Islam marocain*, Paris 1902; do., *Le culte des saints dans l'Afrique du Nord et plus spécialement au Maroc*, Genova 1909; A. Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, Oran-Paris 1895—1899; S. Nouvel, *Nomades et sédentaires au Maroc*, Paris 1919; P. Odinet, *Le monde marocain*, Paris 1926; M. L. Ortega, *Los Hebreos en Marruecos*, Madrid 1919; V. Piquet, *Le Maroc*, Paris 1920; do., *Le peuple marocain*, Paris 1925; Quedenfeldt, *Division et répartition de la population berbère au Maroc* (transl. Simon), Algiers 1904; P. Ricard, *Maroc* (Guides Bleus), Paris 1919; *Rif et Jbāla*, Paris 1926; G. Salmon, in *Archives marocaines*, *passim*; de Segonzac, *Au cœur de l'Atlas*, *Missions au Maroc (1904—1905)*, Paris 1910; N. Slouchz, *Etude sur l'histoire des Juifs au Maroc*, Paris 1905; do., *Hébreo-Phéniciens et Judéo-Berbères*, Paris 1908; Ubach and Rackow, *Sitte und Recht in Nordafrika*, Stuttgart 1923; T. H. Weir, *The Shaikhs of Morocco*, Edinburgh, 1904; E. Westermarck, *Sul culto dei santi nel Marocco*, Rome 1899 (XII^{ème} Congrès Int. Or., vol. iii., part i., p. 151—178); do., *Marriage ceremonies in Morocco*, London 1914 (Fr. transl. by J. Arin, *Les cérémonies du mariage au Maroc*, Paris 1921); do., *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, London 1926. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL and G. S. COLIN)

VII. LINGUISTIC SURVEY.

Two languages are spoken in Morocco: Berber and dialects of Arabic. Berber is the oldest language attested in Morocco and we have no evidence of an earlier language being used; as to Arabic, it was introduced by the Muslim conquest of the vith and viiith centuries. But until the arrival in Morocco of the Banū Hilāl and of the Sulaim (xith century), it seems that Arabic, the language of an essentially urban culture, was spoken mainly in the towns while the country people continued to talk Berber; it was only after the occupation of the plains by the Arab tribes that their language spread there. With the exception of the region of the Jbāla to be mentioned later, the highlands of Morocco alone have remained faithful to the Berber language, while the towns and lowlands are at the present day almost completely Arabic speaking.

In his *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*³ (p. 162) L. Massignon gives a proportion of 60% of Berber speakers (3,200,000 to 2,200,000). A. Bernard

thinks this exaggerated and reduces it to 40% (cf. *Arabophones et Berbérophones au Maroc*, 1924, p. 278).

A. Berber.

1. Berber dialects. According to the works of E. Destaing, the Berber dialects of Morocco can be divided into two main groups.

The first is the northern group which includes the dialects of the Rif, those of the Bni Znāsen and of the Berber speaking tribes of the neighbourhood and those of the Ait Seghrūshshen, Marmūsha, Ait Warain etc. to the north of the Middle Atlas. These dialects are characterised phonetically by their strong tendency to spirantisation of the dentals and palatals. In comparing these dialects with those which in Algeria the natives call *Znātiya*, E. Destaing has been led to describe the group as the group of *Zanāta* dialects.

The second or southern group includes, according to the same author, the remainder of the Berber dialects of Morocco; he distinguishes two sub-groups:

a. that of the *Tamasight*, the dialect spoken by the Brāber of the Central Atlas, from the vicinity of Meknes to the edge of the Great Atlas; the dialects of the north are also distinguished from those of the south. It is with this sub-group that we should connect the dialect of the Ṣanhādja d-es-Srāir, an important highland confederation to the northeast of Fās, and perhaps also the language of the sections of the Ḡhumāra who still speak Berber.

b. Sub-group of the *Tashelhit*, the dialect once spoken by the Maṣmūda of the Great Atlas and by the Shlūh (usual French orthography: *Chleuhs*) of Sūs and the Anti-Atlas.

The three groups of Moroccan Berber dialects seem to correspond very exactly to the three main ethnic divisions of the Berbers of the country: *Zanāta* in the N. E., Ṣanhādja-Zanaga in the centre and Maṣmūda in the south. Going back to the old division of the Berbers given by Ibn Khaldūn, E. Destaing proposes to make the first group correspond to the Butr tribes and the two others to the Barānis tribes.

For the bibliography of Berber studies see the list of works given by E. Laoust at the beginning of his *Mots et Choses Berbères*, Paris 1920, p. xvii.; since that date see the Moroccan bibliography annually published by *Hespéris*. A map showing the division of Morocco between Arabic and Berber is given in the articles by A. Bernard and P. Moussard, *Arabophones et Berbérophones au Maroc* (in *Annales Soc. Géogr.*, vol. 33, Paris 1924). For the north, there is a more accurate map by R. Montagne and Pennès published at the end of the *Manuel de berbère marocain (dialecte rifain)* by Justinard (Paris 1926).

There is no evidence of the existence of another language before Berber in Morocco. Very few of those "Libyan" inscriptions have been found which, although they are not yet read, are admitted to be in old Berber; one was found in the Roman ruins of Tamuda, a few miles S. W. of Tetwān, and is preserved in the museum of the latter town. Other Libyan inscriptions have been found in the region of Petitjean.

The earliest evidence of the use of Berber in Morocco is given by the *Geography* of al-Bakrī (xth century) who says that the prophet Ḥā-Mīm, killed

in 927 A. D., had given the Berbers a *Qur'an* written "in their own language". This can only refer to their Berber speech; the same author tells us that the Baraghwāta had also a Berber *Qur'an* from their prophet Ṣālih (d. in 750). For the beginning of the Almohad period, a passage in *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, p. 67, says that at this time Berber was spoken on the Umm Rabī'. It is in the same work that we find the earliest recorded phrases in Moroccan Berber (*Tashelhit* dialect) transcribed in Arabic characters (cf. p. 26, 30, 36, 38, 39, 67, 117).

Ibn Khaldūn seems to have been the first to interest himself in the creation of a scientific system of transliteration of Berber into Arabic characters. Using certain graphic methods used by specialists in *taḍwīd*, he invented compound characters to render sounds peculiar to Berber (ḡ, ḡ [z emphatic] and ʒ). Unfortunately Ibn Khaldūn, who in his *Muḡaddima* gives interesting chapters on the urban and Beduin Arabic dialects, does not seem to have devoted any attention to the Berber language; one of the few passages to be noted in his book, as far as Morocco is concerned, is his reference to the existence of Berber speaking peoples among the Ṣanhādja tribes settled in the valley of the Wargha and around the fortress of Amargū (cf. *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, text, i., p. 273, l. 11). For the beginning of the xvth century, Leo Africanus (p. 28) gives us more detailed information. The five Berber ethnic groups (Ṣanhādja, Maṣmūda, Zanāta, Hawwāra and Ḡhumāra) have a special language which they call *aqel amarig* (= *awāl amasigh*), i.e. "noble language" (cf. the present name of the *Tamasight* dialect) (ed. Schefer, i.). Berber was still the language of a part of the Ḡhumāra, for, he says, Arabic is used by almost all the people (*op. cit.*, i. 29). It even looks as if the Shāwiya ("Soava") of the Tāmasnā still spoke Berber ("African language") like all the other Shāwiya of North Africa with the exception of some who lived to the south of Tunis (*op. cit.*, i., p. 83).

We have to come down to the Danish Consul G. Höst, in the xviiith century, to find the first Moroccan Berber vocabulary collected from a *ḡaleb* of "Tamenart", a place probably in the region of Agadir (cf. *Efterretninger om Marokos og Fex*, Copenhagen 1779, p. 128—133).

2. Berber literature of Morocco. Although Berber was the language of the Moroccan dynasties who followed between the Idrīsids and the Sa'dians, it does not seem that, contrary to what was done in Egypt for the Turkish of the Mamlūks, Berber was made the subject of grammatical studies in Morocco, nor that it was used for the purpose of literary expression. A passage in the *Ḳirṭās* recalls the fact that *khutbas* were pronounced in Berber in the great mosque of Fās but the text of them has not been preserved. The celebrated Almohad reformer Ibn Tūmart is said to have composed in Berber theological and legal treatises which have now disappeared. The Berber *Qur'āns* of the Ḡhumāra and Baraghwāta have also disappeared although al-Bakrī has fortunately preserved some extracts in an Arabic translation. The only texts which we now have are translations of or commentaries on religious works of the type of the *Risāla* of al-Ḳairawānī or of the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khallī; all these Berber texts come without exception from Sūs, whether because this region

had a more advanced culture or its dialect with a more occlusive consonant system and clearer vowel system was better suited than others for transcription in the Arabic alphabet. The Moroccan Berbers have a large stock of fables, legends, songs of love, war and work etc., many of which have already been collected by French and German students of Berber (on Berber literature, written and oral cf. Henri Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920).

Among Arab authors the Berber language is 'adjamiya, the non-Arab language; barbariya, Berber; raṭāna, "jargon"; in the *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade* we several times come across the expression *al-lisān al-gharbi*, "the Moroccan language". In Moroccan Arabic, Berber is usually called *esh-shelha*.

B. Arabic.

The Arabic dialects. The Arabic language was introduced into Morocco in at least two stages: first in the eighth century at the time of the first Muslim conquest, then in the xith at the coming of the Banū Hilāl and the Sulaim. Down to the coming of the latter, who were brought to Morocco by the Almohad ruler Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr, Arabic seems to have been spoken almost exclusively in the large towns of the north, where it was used by a considerable Arab population who enjoyed a double prestige, religious and political. It was the language of religion and law. From the towns Arabic spread among the people of the surrounding country, and al-Idrisi (*Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, text p. 79, transl. p. 90) already notes that in the xith century the Berber tribes of the southern hinterland of Fās (Banū Yūsuf, Fandalāwa, Bahlūl, Zawāwa, Maggāsa, Ghaiyāta and Salālgūtūn) spoke Arabic.

It is this linguistic influence exerted by the towns on the country around them that explains the arabicisation of the mountainous country of the Jbāla (plur. of *jebli*, "highlander") while the rest of the Moroccan highlands remained Berber speaking. The land of the Jbāla, in the wide sense, stretches in the form of a crescent from Tangier to Taza. It was surrounded by a cordon of towns: Nakūr, Bādīs, Tigiṣās, Tetwān, Ceuta, al-Qaṣr al-Saghīr, Tangier, Arzila, al-Qaṣr al-Kabīr, Baṣra, Azdjen, Banū Tawudā, Walili, Fās, and Taza, which were the only ports or markets available for the tribes of the region; besides, the massif itself was traversed by the most important commercial routes of Northern Morocco: the roads from Fās to Tangier, to Ceuta, to Bādīs, to Nakūr and to Ghassāsa; it was therefore natural that being subject to the direct and indirect influences of the towns, the highlands of Jbāla should be the first region of Morocco to be arabicised. The process was further favoured by several other factors: 1. the existence in the mountains of numerous large villages, almost towns, which became secondary centres of Qur'anic culture; 2. the settlement almost everywhere in the xth century among the Jbāla of Idrisid sharifs who, driven from Fās by Mūsā b. Abi'l-Āfiya al-Miknāsī, founded independent principalities in the mountains, which became centres of Muslim urban culture; 3. the tribes of the Jbāla furnished a considerable part of the contingents which went to wage the holy war in Spain and returned home after being more or less arabicised by contact with the great Muslim towns of Andalusia; 4. lastly the rebellions and civil wars

which so frequently disturbed Muslim Spain, the emigrations or expulsions caused by the progress of the Christian reconquest, brought to Africa, from the rising at Cordova (in 814) down to the xvth century, an important element which settled in the region of the Jbāla either in the towns around the mountains or in the villages of the highlands (resettlement of Tetwān, foundation of Shafshāwan) bringing there along with the Arabic language, the prestige of their cultural, intellectual and material superiority.

This rapid sketch of the spread of the Arabic language in Morocco explains why, after studying the question, three categories of Arabic dialects have been distinguished:

a. Urban dialects; b. highland dialects; c. Beduin dialects; and we may add: d. the Jewish dialects.

a. Urban dialects. In Morocco not all the town dialects are "urban dialects". There are towns like Casablanca, Mazagan, Safi and Mogador (and to a certain degree Miknās and Marrākush) the population of which is entirely or for the most part of rural origin and where the absence of an old nucleus of town-dwellers has not enabled them to become urbanised. The Moroccans however distinguish quite clearly such places from towns with a really urban culture, more or less influenced by Andalusian culture. The principal towns with urban dialects are Fās, Rabat-Salé, Tetwān, Taza, al-Qaṣr al-Kabīr; Tangier, Wazzān and Shafshāwan also have urban dialects but these are much contaminated by the surrounding highland dialects. Miknās and Marrākush have been influenced by the Beduin elements introduced by the *makhzen* groups into the dialects of these two old capitals. It is interesting to note the case of Azemmūr where the old town (Azemmūr al-Haḍar) has an urban dialect, while the new town, which has in recent years grown up beside it around the sanctuary of Mawlāy Abū Shu'aib (*vulgo* Bū Sh'aib), uses a Berber dialect. The urban dialects of Morocco form one group with those of the western part of the Central Maghrib, notably with those of Tlemcen, Nedroma and Algiers. Their phonetic characteristics are the loss of the interdentals of the classical language, the affricative pronunciation (*ʕ*) of *tāʕ*, the frequent attenuation of *kāf* to *hamza*. In Fās, b, m, k, g and *ḍim* assimilate the *lām* of the article and are treated as "solars"; the simple *ḍim* is pronounced like the French *j* (= Persian *ج*), but when it is geminated, it gives *jj* in Fās and *ḍj* in Tangier. The *rāʕ* is often pronounced very close to the French uvular *r*.

As peculiarities of the dialect of Fās, we may note the construction *ketbetto* "she has written it" for *ketbet* + o, and the use of an invariable relative *ḍi* representing the old dialectal *dhī*. Tangier and Tetwān have a preposition *n*, "to" which is used before nouns (*med-dār* "to the house") but not before suffixed pronouns. To translate "of", Marrākush uses *t*; the dialect of this town uses certain Berber adverbs: *ashku* "because", *helli* "only".

All the urban dialects use the characteristic prefix of the present indicative: *ka-* in the north, *ta-* in the south. Fās uses one almost as much as the other.

b. Highland dialects. These are at least as well known as those of the towns. In 1920 I published notes on that of the Tsūl and the

Brānes in the north of Taza; in 1922, E. Lévi-Provençal published texts, prefaced by a grammatical sketch, of the dialects of the middle valley of the Wargha; since then I have had an opportunity of studying those of the Bni Hōzmar (near Tetwān), of the Mestāsa (near Bādes) and of the Ghzāwa (near Shafshāwan).

The highland dialects are of course more differentiated than the urban dialects. The tribes which use them belong to two political clans probably originally of different racial origin: the Ghumāra, the old inhabitants, and the Ṣanhādja, the invaders. In the present state of our knowledge it does not seem possible to make the dialects coincide with political or racial boundaries; but we can nevertheless recognise two main groups of highland dialects:

1. The northern dialects, extending from the Straits of Gibraltar to the south of Shafshāwan and embracing in the east the confederation of the Ghumāra; 2. the southern dialects, from Wazzān to Taza, used by two great classes of tribes: first, the Ṣanhādja tribes of the valley of the Wargha: Ṣanhādja of the Central Wargha, Ṣanhādja of the Sun and of the Shade, of Moṣbāh and of Gheddo; secondly, the Butr tribes, more or less closely related to the Zanāta and occupying the lands north of the region of Taza: Mernisa, Brānes, Tsūl, Maghrāwa and Meknāsa. It seems to be a historical fact that these Zanāta and Ṣanhādja peoples only settled in their present habitats long after the first Arab conquest; the Ṣanhādja of the Central Wargha certainly now occupy lands which before the Almoravid period were peopled by the Ghumāra. We should therefore regard these southern highland dialects as younger than those of the northern group. The slight differences noted between the two groups may then be due to two main causes: 1. an evolution of the neighbouring urban dialects which would have taken place during the period between the arabicisation of the Ghumāra and that of the Ṣanhādja-Zanāta; 2. the non-identity of the Berber substrata.

To the two main groups: Ghumāra and Ṣanhādja-Zanāta, we may perhaps add two little islands in the south: the highlanders of the region of Šefrū to the south of Fās (Bhālil, Bni Yazgha etc.), and the Ghiyyāta to the south of Taza; they probably constitute the last vestiges of a continuous Arabic-speaking bloc which stretched to the south of the Fās-Taza corridor, the existence of which in the xiith century we know from al-Idrīsī.

Phonetically, the Moroccan highland dialects are characterised by the profound changes undergone by the Arabic consonantal system as a result of the spirantisation of the dental and post-palatal occlusives. We find the interdentals *ṭh* and *ḏh*, which do not represent the classical interdentals; *tā'-ṭhā'* and *dāl-ḏhāl* have given in these dialects *t* and *d* respectively, which remain occlusive only at the beginning of the word or after a consonant or geminated; but after a vowel we have *ṭh* and *ḏh*: *bent* "daughter", plur. *bnāṭh*; after a vowel also *kāf* is pronounced as a spirant like the *χ* of modern Greek. The representative of the group *ṣ-ṭ* of the classical language is usually *ṣ*, sometimes hardened to *t*; but among the Ghumāra we have *ḏh* (= emphatic *ḏhāl*). The sound *tsḥ* is fairly common. The short vowels are commoner than in the towns; many of the short vowels *i*

and *u* of the classical language are preserved; this is how we find a considerable number of imperfects *iR¹ R² uR³* and a few *iR¹ R² iR³*.

As to morphology, the fem. personal suffixes *-a* (< *-hā*) and pl. *-em* (< *-hum*) are characteristic: they are the complement of the series begun by the masc. *-u*, *-o* (< *-hu*). Among the northern Jbāla we find the use of a suffix *-esh* marking the plural: it seems really to be a borrowing from Latin. The dual, reserved for names of parts of the body which occur in pairs and for names of various measurements (of weight, length, volume and time) is in *-āyen*: *shahrāyen* "two months", *yiddāh* "his hands". The relative, pronoun and adjective, is *d*. The classical construct state (*iḏāfa*) is very rare and is only found in a few stereotyped phrases: it is in general replaced by analytical constructions in which the preposition *d* "of" is used, expressing possession as well as the material of a thing.

Almost everywhere the prefixes of the 2nd pers. com. and of the 3rd pers. fem. of the aorist are *de-* (and not *te-*): *dekteb* "thou writest, she writes". The passive participle of hollow verbs is often of the type *mef'āl*: *mebyā'* "sold", *meḥwās* "filled up". Finally we may note a few traces of a passive of the form *f'al-yef'al*: *kḥāṭ* "to be taken". As evidence of conservatism, we may mention that in these dialects we have the word *fā* "mouth" which seems to have disappeared since old Arabic.

Just as the urban dialects of Morocco may be linked with a number of urban dialects of Algeria, so have the highland dialects of Morocco correspondents in the latter country. W. Marçais, who is the first to have isolated and described this group of Maghribī dialects and prefers to use the name of "parlers villageois" for them, classes along with the dialects of the Moroccan Jbāla two other similar groups, also characterised by the defacement of the Arabic consonant system (liquidation, affrication, spirantisation), by the use of turns of syntax and structural forms taken from Berber and by the juxtaposition in the vocabulary of Arabic elements sometimes strangely archaic and very abundant Berber elements. These are firstly the Oran group of the Trāra in the country which extends from Lalla Maghniya to the sea, a mountainous country traversed by the roads connecting Tlemcen, the capital of the Banū 'Abd al-Wād, with the ports of Hunain and Arshgūn. It is with the dialects of the Trāra that the dialects of these Moroccan Jbāla show most agreement.

The second group, which differs more, is that of the highland dialects of Eastern Kabylia, a mountainous region of the department of Constantine, traversed by the roads connecting Constantine with the ports of Djidjelli and Collo; this was also the old habitat of the Kutāma, whom their support of the Fātimid movement must have caused to be rapidly arabicised. Alongside of these three groups of highland dialects (Jbāla, Trāra, Eastern Kabylia), W. Marçais classes a fourth in the villages of the Tunisian Sāhel, which lie in the coast zone traversed by the roads which connect Kairawān with the ports of Sūs, Mahdiyya and Monastir. These Tunisian dialects, of which that of Takrūna, studied by W. Marçais, is a specimen, are however much arabicised and hardly seem to have been subjected in their phonetics, morphology, syntax and vocabulary to the profound

Berber influences which characterise the first three groups.

In spite of their divergencies, which are due mainly to pronunciation and to the local use of words and phrases corresponding to two very distinct forms of culture, the urban dialects and the highland dialects cannot be either historically or linguistically separated. The fundamental disparity is that which exists between the urban and highland group and the Beduin group. It is the townsmen who have taught the highlanders to speak Arabic, but the urban dialects, used by individuals whose intellectual activity is greater, have evolved more rapidly. They are also more sensitive to external influence, literary and political. These facts added to the predominance of Berber blood in the highlands suffice to explain why the dialects of the Jbāla still seem coarse and quaint to the townsmen. On the other hand, the towns have been frequently repopulated, wholly or in part by people from the neighbouring hills. All this explains the family resemblance which the linguist finds between the dialects of the towns and those of the hills; perhaps the latter, being more conservative, are also the more interesting for the history of the language. W. Marçais regards them as valuable representatives of the Arabic spoken in the country district of the Maghrib before the coming of the Banū Hilāl and the Sulaim (cf. W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takrouna*, vol. i., preface, p. xxviii.).

The principal features which are common to the urban-highland group and which distinguish it from the Beduin group are the following:

- loss of the classical interdentals;
- pronunciation of *kāf* as *k* or *hamza* (and not *g* as among the Beduins);
- tendency to the syllabic grouping $R^1 R^2 e R^3$, when R^2 is not a laryngeal nor a sonant;
- rarity of the construct state;
- suffix of the 3rd pers. masc. sing. in *-u*, *-o* (and not *-ah*, as among the Beduins);
- relative rarity of the addition of personal suffixes, but regular use of the analytical phrase with *dyāl*: *ed-dār dyāl-i*, "my house";
- diminutive of $R^1 R^2 e R^3$ becomes $R^1 R^2 iyye R^3$: *kliyyeb*, "little dog";
- diminutive of adjectives of the types $R^1 R^2 e R^3$ (< class.: *af'al*) and $R^1 R^2 i R^3$ becomes $R^1 R^2 i R^2 e R^3$: *hmimer*, "a little red"; *kbiber*, "a little large";
- plural of the adjectives $R^1 R^2 e R^3$ (< class. *af'al*) becomes $R^1 ū R^2 e R^3$: *kōhal*, "black" (plur.);
- reductions of the plurals $C^1 C^2 ā C^3 i C^4$ to $C^1 C^2 ā C^3 e C^4$: *mfālah*, "keys";
- use of a verbal prefix to mark the indicative present: *ka-* or *ʿa-* in the towns and *la-*, *ka-*, *a-* in the hills;
- in the singular of the perfect, the feminine person is in general used for the masculine: e.g. *ktebtī*, "thou hast written" (m.), whence we find in Rabat for the plural, an analogous form *ktebtū*, "you have written";
- in the vocabulary, *shhāl*, "how much?"; *dāba*, "now"; *lkā* (*rka*, *kka*), "to do", are characteristic;
- in the imperfect of the defective verbs, the plural is formed on analogy of the singular: *yebkūu*, "they remain"; *yebkūu*, "they weep".

c. Beduin dialects. These are in Morocco the dialects of the plains: the Atlantic plain from Arzila to Mogador with its continuations into the interior, the valley of the Muliya, the plateaus of eastern Morocco and the region of the Moroccan Sahara (Wād Ghīr, Wād Ziz etc.); they are still little known; only that of the Hawwāra of Sūs has been studied, but only in Europe and from authorities who had already travelled a good deal elsewhere. That of the Dukkāla of the north (Ulād Bū 'Aziz, Ulād Fredj), have myself examined it corresponds in almost all its details to the dialect of the Ulād Brāhīm of Saīda (Orania) on which W. Marçais has written a monograph. There is no doubt that on examination one can divide the Beduin dialects into groups characterised by more or less conservatism; should those of the Ma'kil perhaps be separated from those of the Banū Hilāl? Perhaps a distinction should also be made between the dialects of the purely Arab tribes and those of the Atlantic regions where powerful Berber tribes (Hāha, Rāgrāga, Dukkāla, Baraghwāta) have been arabicised and more or less submerged by the Beduins. It should be remembered that in the historical period the latter have been infinitely less stable than the tribes of Berber origin (speaking Arabic or Berber); whether because they were taken to form the *gish*, which guards each large towns (environs of Fās, Meknes, Rabat-Sale and Marrākush) or because they were transported far from their original homes as a measure of repression (case of the Shārda), the Arab tribes of the Atlantic plains have become much broken up and mixed. The Beduin dialects which have most chance of having preserved their original character are those of the tribes of the Saharan steppes who have remained relatively stable and intact: Bni Gil, Mhāya, Dhwi Mni', Ulād Džir etc. In any case, the following are the main characteristics of these dialects: firstly the *kāf* is pronounced as *g* (= *kāf ma'kūda*), and it is already this pronunciation which for Ibn Khaldūn characterises the Beduin dialects of his time. The *thā'*, *dhāl* and *qād-qā'* are retained with their interidental value. The short vowels are indistinct: the sound *i* is almost completely absent and many short unaccented vowels sound practically like a labial *e*. Characteristic are the appearance of an extremely short transitional vowel of *u* character, which is developed after *k*, *g*, *kh* and *gh* placed before a consonant or an *ā*; e.g. *kūbār*, "great" (plur.), *igū'ed*, "he sits down", *khūrāfa*, "tale", *ghūzāl*, "gazelle", *shkwāra*, "saddle-bag", *rūgwāg*, "thin" (plur.); a similar sound is found after *bb*, *ff*, *mm* and *kk*, *gg*, *kk*, *kh-kh*; e.g. *luhgrubbwa*, "the crows", *nuffwākha*, "a blow", *rummwān*, "pomegranate", *sukkwār*, "sugar", *shukkwā*, "piece (of cloth)", *nukhkhkūwāl*, "sound"; by analogy the combinations *mw* and *fw* when the *w* corresponds to a classical *wāw*, are reduced to *mm* and *ff*; e.g. *lemmwīdā'*, "the (little) place", *leffwād*, "the entrails".

The retention of the accent on the first syllable causes "projected" syllabic forms: *yékteb*, "he writes", plur. *yékketbu*; *méghgherbi*, "Moroccan", *múkkahla*, "musket", *béggerti*, "my cow".

The personal suffix of the 3rd pers. masc. is *-ah*. The dialectal preposition translating "of" is *nā'* or *tā'*, from the classical *matā'*; according as the word before it is feminine or plural, this preposition becomes *nā't* (*tā't*) or *nāw* (*tāw*).

It does not seem that the Beduin dialects know the use of the verbal prefix indicating the indicative present. In the plural personal forms of the defective verb, there is a reduction of the diphthong: *glū-yégū*, from the verb *glā* "to fry"; *nsū-yénsū*, from the verb *nsā* "to forget".

We may also note the use of a preposition *li-*, "to": *gāl-līna*, "he told us".

From the point of view of vocabulary, some words are characteristic of Beduin dialects: *dār-idir*, "to make, do", *ba-ibi*, "to wish", *yemta*, "when", *yāmes*, "yesterday", *ḏharwek*, *ḏhurk*, "now", from the classical *ḏha'l-waqt*. We may add the particle *wāsh* used to indicate interrogation: *wāsh sheft flān?*, "have you seen so and so?" and the phrase *ma tlā-sh idji*, "he no longer comes".

d. Jewish dialects. The Jews who emigrated from Spain have as a rule retained the use of an archaic Spanish; many have also learned Arabic for business reasons. Alongside of the Spanish Jews, we have in the Berber highlands and in the towns of the interior Moroccan Jews of unknown origin whom the former call *forasteros* (Span. "foreigners"); according to the district, they speak Berber or Arabic, but in the towns their dialects have not yet been studied. They have a literature in an Arabic dialect written in Hebrew characters (and called, certainly wrongly: Judaeo-Arabic): *piyyutim*, songs at family festivals (cf. Tadjouri, in *Hesperis*, iii, 1923, p. 408—420), satirical songs and songs dealing with real happenings; some of these texts have been printed at Fās and Constantine; a newspaper written in an Arabic dialect and printed in Hebrew characters called *al-Hurriya* "The Liberty" has been published at Tangier for a number of years.

e. Relations of the linguistic groups of Morocco to one another. Morocco appears to the philologist a wonderful field for the study of the influence of the substratum on an imported language, since the language of the substratum, i.e. Berber, is still alive alongside of the Arabic and quite well known. The results of the examination are very meagre: the phenomena actually ascribable to the action of the substratum alone are infinitesimal; this may, however, be due to the fact that Arabic, a Semitic language, and Berber, a proto-Semitic language, are not sufficiently differentiated.

From the phonetic point of view, there is hardly any sound change found in the highland dialects of the arabicised Berbers, for which a corresponding change cannot be found in the dialectal phenomena of old Arabic; only, perhaps their tendency to spirantisation should be connected with the identical tendency observed in the northern Berber dialects found in the confines of the Jbāla country.

If we consider the morphology, we see that in the highland dialects the verb has lost feminine forms of the plural of the old Arabic, which still survive in some Beduin dialects and are still found in Berber. A Berber origin has been sought for the use of the verbal prefix indicating the present of the indicative; but similar prefixes are found in Egypt and in Syria where there are very different substrata.

Certainly Berber is the scheme *ta-*—*-t* which forms nouns indicating trades (*ta-bernaī-t*, "trade of a mason") and names of abstract qualities (*ta-ḥrāmī-t*, "rogue"); it is however curious to note

that in modern Berber, this scheme has not this significance and is only used to form the feminine and secondarily the diminutive.

In the syntax of the highland dialects, we find indisputable traces of Berber influence: plural treatment of singulars applied to liquids (water, urine), phrases translated or stereotyped, e.g. *ḥā-in Ḳaddūr*, "Ḳaddūr's brother", with retention of the Berber particle indicating belonging to, *-in*.

But it is in the vocabulary that the Berber sub-stratum makes its influence most felt. Whether surviving in the highland dialects or borrowed in the Beduin dialects, many of the terms relating to country life are Berber (names of plants, animals, rocks, agricultural implements and tools); they have often retained in Arabic the Berber pseudo-article *a-*, which, still felt to have its original value, makes them unfit to take the Arabic article also; alongside of the singular in *a-*, we usually have a Berber plural in *a-ān* also retained. It is curious by the way but intelligible to find in the highland dialects words of Arabic origin with the Berber article. These must be Arabic words borrowed and berberised at a time when the Jbāla still spoke Berber and which have been retained just as they were in their Arabic dialect after being arabicised, e.g. *a-ḥfir*, "ditch", plur. *a-ḥefrān*; in Tangier the nave of the mosque is called *a-blāt*; at Rabat two words imported from Europe have a Berber form: *a-ṣṣīf*, "the sultān's boat" and *a-tāy*, "tea".

Some Berber words have survived in the administrative language of the Makhzen: *afrāg*, "a wall of cloth surrounding the sultān's camp"; *agḏāl*, "a pasture reserved for the sultān's animals"; *anzel*, "lash to punish the guilty"; *meswār*, "syndic (*naḳīb*) of the *sharifs*".

The Beduin dialects naturally contain much fewer Berber elements than the urban dialects and still less than the highland dialects; their rustic vocabulary nevertheless made numerous borrowings from the technical vocabulary of the previous Berber tillers of the plains.

Within the Arabic area, the highland and urban dialects have borrowed a certain number of terms relating to the rural activities of the Beduins; they are as a rule revealed by the pronunciation of of *ḳāf* as *g*. The Beduin dialects in their turn borrow from the towns their words relating to a more advanced culture; but, for economic, political and, to a certain extent, aesthetic reasons, they give more than they borrow.

Some words, which are used in the urban and highland dialects as well as by the Beduin dialects but are unknown to the Spanish and Maltese dialects, are perhaps of "Hilālī" origin; the principal seem to be 'aud, "horse", ḥallūf, "boar" and ṣḥāf-ṣḥūf, "to see".

In addition to the Berber and Arabic elements, the Moroccan vocabulary contains a fairly important number of European loanwords. They come from the vocabulary of a higher culture and relate to the flora (in cultivation or its products), to agriculture, to food and dress, to furniture and housing, sometimes even to parts of the body. There are Greek or Latin borrowings of the oldest period, Romance or Spanish for later periods; but neither their meaning nor their phonetic treatment enables us always to be able to date accurately the time of their introduction and their origin.

These "European" loanwords are naturally found in larger numbers in Northern Morocco, which

has been more subject to Mediterranean influences which, through refugees from Spain, have been felt as far as the northern part of the Middle Atlas. The Beduin dialects have escaped these influences (cf. 1. Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los Morabes*, Madrid 1888; 2. Schuchardt, *Die romanischen Lehnwörter im Berberischen*, Vienna 1918; 3. G. S. Colin, *Etymologies magribines*, in *Hespérus* [1926 and 1927]; 4. A. Fischer, *Zur Lautlehre des Marokkanisch-arabischen* [chap. ii., iii. and *Excurs.*], Leipzig 1917).

Between the two extremes marked by the most conservative Beduin dialects and the most characteristic highland dialects lies a whole gamut of intermediate varieties, which are in the transitional stages; they include the highland dialects whose characteristic features have been reduced through contact with the plains of the southern periphery of the massif of the Jbāla, as well as certain dialects of Beduin type used in the Atlantic plains, notably in the non-*ḥadriya* towns. "But however extensive and deep may have been the interpenetration of the two types, it has not abolished their fundamental unlikeness" (W. Marçais).

In spite of the profound differences which separate them, the highland and Beduin dialects of Morocco (and of the Maghrib) agree in one essential and characteristic morphological feature: the forms sing. *n*—, plur. *n*—*u* in the first persons of the aorist. Now this fact is attested in the xiith century for Almoravid Spain and Norman Sicily, i.e. in languages from which Hilālī influence is clearly excluded; it is also found in Maltese; it must then be admitted that the two groups of dialects have independently brought about this innovation, which seems to have remained exceptional in the dialects of the east. The two groups agree also in the loss of short vowels in open syllables; this phonetic peculiarity is also found in many eastern dialects; but it is curious that it has become general in the Maghrib while the dialects of Spain and Egypt do not have it.

It is in the *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade* that we find the first information about Moroccan Arabic [use of *bāsh*, "in order that", *mtā*, "of", first persons of the aorist in *n*— (sing.), *n*—*u* (plur.)]; but we have to wait till D. de Torres to find a few phrases transcribed (cf. French transl., Paris 1636, p. 241, 323, 339). Mouëté, who was captured at sea by the Moors in 1670 and was for a long time a prisoner, has left us a *Dictionnaire arabesque* in French and Moroccan, in transcription (cf. *Relation de la Captivité* . . . , Paris 1683, pp. 330—362). The first grammatical notes were collected by Höst (cf. *Efterretninger* . . . , 1779, ch. 8, p. 202—210), who has also given us a Berber-Danish-Moroccan Arabic vocabulary (*op. cit.*, p. 128—133). It is to Fr. de Dombay that we owe the first monograph on Moroccan dialects, which is also the first serious contribution to the study of Arabic dialects; the dialect which he deals with is that of Tangier (*Grammatica linguae mauro-arabicae*, Vindobonae 1800). Since then, there have been a number of studies: for works before 1911 see the bibliography given by W. Marçais in his *Textes arabes de Tanger*, p. 207—213; for later works see the bibliography in *Textes arabes de Rabat* by L. Brunot (now in the press).

2. Literature of the Arabic dialects. Like all popular literatures, the literature of the Arabic dialects of Morocco is essentially poetical. The

only texts in prose are those which have been collected recently by European students of dialects.

In the Arabic poetry of Morocco two periods must be distinguished: the first extending down to the beginning of the Sa'dian dynasty; the first known texts are those which Ibn Khaldūn gives at the end of his *Muqaddima* among the specimens of the poetry of the towns. To these we may add a mass of poems composed in honour of the Prophet (*Mawlidīyāt*) of which numerous collections exist in manuscript. Leo Africanus (ed. Schefer, ii., p. 130) says that under the Marinids, poets used to compose verses in "vulgar African" on the Mawlid and also on erotic subjects. These poems were recited in the presence of the sulṭān, who gave prizes to the winners of the competition. From this group cannot be separated the poems which accompany classical Moroccan music, "Andalusian" music, many of which must have been composed in Morocco; these were collected and classified by al-Ḥā'ik, a musician of Spanish origin who had settled in Tetwān. All these poems belonging to this first period are written in the Spanish Arabic dialect, which after the great success of the Cordovan Ibn Kuzmān (xiith century) became the classical language of the new poetic genre called *zadjal*, which had this in common with the *muwashshah* that, while employing like it new metres, its prosody was based like the classical metre on the quantity long or short of the syllables, but the *zadjal* differed from the *muwashshah* in that it was written in the Spanish dialect and not in the classical language.

The main characteristics of the poetry of the Moroccan dialects of the first period are attention to the quantity of each syllable as in Latin and the use of the Spanish dialect.

The second period, on the other hand, is distinguished by a system of prosody founded exclusively on the number of syllables in each verse (as in French) and by the use of a special language called *melhūn*, a kind of *rowf* adapted to literary purposes, based on the Moroccan dialect but influenced partially by the Beduin dialects; it seems moreover that this poetry is of Beduin origin and it was under the beduinising dynasties of the Sa'dians and 'Alawids that it arose and flourished.

The first known author of a *ḥaṣida* written in *melhūn* appears in the xvth century: he was Abū Fāris 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maghrawī, who was one of the poets of the Sa'dian Sulṭān al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī (1578—1602). His fame is still great and is preserved in the proverb: *Kull ṭwīl khāwī, ghēr en-nekhla u-lmeghrāwī* "Nothing that is long is of interest except the palm-tree and al-Maghrawī". Other poets followed him. It was at this time that the saint 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Madjdhub al-Dukkālī (d. in 1569) wrote his mystic *rubā'iyyāt*, but many of the verses now attributed to him are apocryphal. After these we have the poets from Tlemcen, an important centre of *melhūn* poetry; first Sa'īd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Mindāsī al-Tilimsānī, author of the celebrated *Aḥkīya*, who left his native town to live at the court of the first 'Alawid Sulṭān Muḥammad b. al-Sharīf (d. in 1664) and al-Rashīd (d. in 1672); a pupil of al-Mindāsī, Aḥmad b. al-Turaiki, banished from Tlemcen in 1672 by the Turks, also came to settle in Morocco among the Bni Znāsen. But we have to come down to the xviiith and especially the xixth century for the coming of a whole school of poets writing in *melhūn*. The three principal centres of literary activity were Fās, Meknes and

Marrākush. The subjects treated are most varied: love poems, mystic, erotic and satirical (discussion between a white woman and a negress, between a townswoman and a Beduin woman etc.), political (on the occasion of the French conquest and the establishment of the protectorate), didactic (manufacture of powder, target-shooting, falconry) poems or burlesques (parodies of *khutbas* declaimed by the students at their fêtes).

Among the numerous authors we may mention: Si Muḥammad b. Sulaimān, Si al-Tihāmī al-Madaghri, al-Gandūz, al-Hunsh; he owes humorous *qaṣidas* to Si al-Madani al-Turkumānī of Marrākush; Si Qaddūr al-'Alamī buried at Meknes specialised in mystical and ethical poetry. The Darḳāwī Muḥammad al-Harrāk of Tetwān (d. 1845) also wrote mystical *qaṣidas* in *melhūn* which are collected at the end of the lithographed edition of his *Diwān* (Tunis 1331; Fās, n.d.). At the beginning of the 20th century, al-Sa'dānī of Fās was composing political *qaṣidas*.

Melhūn poetry has completely replaced poetry in the Spanish dialect; it constitutes a very vigorous branch of literature, much in favour with all classes of society; we frequently find almost illiterate authors, and people say that their talent is a poetic gift given by God (*mawhūb*); on the other hand, even the rulers have not disdained this popular poetry and one of the last 'Alawid Sulṭāns, Mawlāy 'Abd al-Ḥafīz, wrote numerous *qaṣidas* in *melhūn* which have been collected in a *Diwān* lithographed at Fās.

Alongside of this men's poetry, there are the songs of the women (songs of women working at the mill, songs of gleaners, songs of family fêtes, lullabies), the children's songs which are often strangely conservative, epigrams and proverbs [cf. A. Fischer, *Das Liederbuch eines marokkanischen Sängers*, Leipzig 1918; C. Sonneck, *Chants arabes du Maghreb*, Paris 1902 (Nrs. 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 74, 84, 85, 88, 89, 94-97, 115 and 116 are Moroccan); E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un chant populaire religieux du Djebel Marocain*, in *Revue Africaine*, 1918; H. de Castries, *Les gnomes de Sīdy Abd er-Rahman el-Medjedoub*, Paris 1896; on the poetry *melhūn* in general, cf. Abū 'Alī al-Ghawthī, *Kashf al-Kinā' 'an Ālāt al-Šimā'*, Algiers 1904, p. 49-93; S. Biarnay, *Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord-africaines*, Paris 1924 (songs of women and children); L. Brunot, *Proverbes et dictons arabes de Rabat*, in *Hespéris*, 1928 (with Moroccan bibliography of the subject).

III. Other Languages. A sketch of the languages of Morocco which only took account of Berber and Arabic dialects would be incomplete, for three other elements of secondary importance have to be considered:

a. Classical Arabic, the official language is used only in writing, for sermons, lectures and conferences; it is never the language of conversation. But as religious studies are considerably developed in the towns (especially Fās) and also among the Jbāla (Qur'anic studies and especially *ḫirā'āt*), many words of classical Arabic have been introduced into the popular dialect by the educated classes. The phonetic peculiarity to notice in borrowed classical words is the retention of the short vowels of the classical language, as a result of the process of elongation; e.g. classical *qahīr*, plur. *qahā'ir*, "decree of the sulṭān", borrowed by the popular dialect in the form *qāḥēr*, whence a

dialect plural *qawāhar*. Several Qur'anic expressions or phrases of exegesis hence passed into everyday language as adverbs: *bellātī* "guilty" (taken from Qur'an vi. 153), *b-et-tāwīl* "slowly", lit. "in commenting on", *wa-ḫīla* "perhaps". Morocco, as a whole being little arabicised, seems incapable of borrowing a part of the classical vocabulary and adapting it to its own dialect. Its borrowings from classical Arabic almost always look like borrowings from a foreign language.

b. Spanish was the only language spoken by many of the Muslims of Spain, who in the 17th century and especially in the 18th took refuge in Morocco, mainly at Tetwān and Rabat-Sale. Mouëtte, who was taken a prisoner to Morocco in 1670, says that Spanish was as common there as Arabic; his remark is probably true only of the towns already mentioned. The descendants of these emigrants from Spain later learned Arabic and forgot Spanish, under the influence of Islāmic culture. Not having been subject to the latter influence, the Jews of Spanish origin still speak an archaic Spanish, sprinkled with Arabic terms moulded to the flexions of Latin morphology.

c. At the present day, in the palace of the sulṭān, many servants of both sexes still speak Sūdānese dialects, but these seem to have had no influence on the Arabic dialects of Morocco. No trace has so far been found of the existence in Morocco of secret languages; one could hardly put in this category the argots of certain guilds (butchers) nor those of the students, the originality of which consist simply in transposing certain letters of each word of the ordinary language and in the addition of certain prearranged syllables.

(GEORGES S. COLIN)

VIII. INTELLECTUAL LIFE.

More especially since the end of the middle ages, Morocco has occupied a place by itself, often important, in the history of Muslim civilisation. From the point of view of intellectual life, it was for long under the tutelage, more or less marked, of neighbouring countries, and it was only from the time it became an independent state with well-defined frontiers that it began to show independence in this respect also. The great activity at the centres of learning in Arab Spain down to the end of the 13th century had undoubtedly an influence in Morocco, but it was after the return of the Iberian Peninsula to Christianity, that, owing to the migration of refugees from Spain to Morocco, where there happened to be ruling princes anxious to further Islāmic studies, it was able to preserve the last and only centres of study in the Muslim west. In any case, in spite of the relatively large number of scholars which it has produced in various branches of 'ilm, this country is far from having inherited in the eyes of the rest of Islām the reputation and intellectual prestige, which Spain enjoyed when it was a Muslim country. However, it may be said that the towns of Morocco have always held in recent centuries a large proportion of men of letters, much attached to their traditional culture. Lastly, it may be noted that this culture, to the end of the 16th century at least, never allowed the slightest place for modern sciences, the study of which, if it has gradually become more or less established in the Muslim east, has never interested the west.

The characteristic feature of this culture, which

is essentially founded on religion, is that it has remained unchanging. In this country, where only a few years ago tradition strictly regulated all acts of public and private life, it is not surprising that the intellectual ideal has always remained the same. It has already been remarked that the Moroccan *faḳīh* of to-day, whether he be magistrate, teacher, or official of the Sharīfian government, possesses the same stock of knowledge as a *faḳīh* of the periods of the Marīnids or Saʿdians. The same instruction has been given him and by the same methods. He has received first of all an elementary education in the Qurʾānic school [see MAKTAB], he has learned the Qurʾān by heart, often completely, and some of the elements of grammar. Next he became a student (*ṭālib*), and the *ṭalab al-ʿilm*, which he studied, is governed by no rules or programmes other than the traditional ones. He first of all studied the "mother-works" (*um-mahāt*), compendia made to be memorised readily, on theology and grammar (usually the *Murshīd al-Muʾin* of Ibn ʿAshīr and the *Adjurrumiya*). It was only then that he entered upon a more thorough study of more advanced texts, usually commentaries (*sharḥ*) or glosses (*hāshiya*) on works (*matn*) of established reputation and exclusively Islāmic in character. The whole trend of his studies is toward a better knowledge of theology and law.

The result is that in most cases in Morocco men of learning are almost entirely jurists and that they differentiate between purely Islāmic sciences (*ʿulūm*) and profane learning (*funūn*) with some contempt for the latter. We understand also why the part played by Morocco in Arabic literature is primarily in the domain of subjects directly connected with the Qurʾān and the Sunna, theology, law and *uṣūl*.

The centres of learning have varied with periods and historical circumstances. The early ones seem to have been the points nearest to Spain, Ceuta and Tangier. The foundation of Fās and the building in this city of the great Mosque of the ʿKairawānis (*Djāmiʿ al-Ḳarawīyīn*) facilitated the establishment of a centre of culture in the interior. A little later, Marrākush, the capital of the Almoravids and of the Almohads, became by desire of its rulers the centre of attraction for Maghribī scholars and even for a certain number from Spain. But it is from the Marīnid dynasty, who saw in the development of educational centres in Morocco a means to make themselves popular in the country and to acquire prestige in the eyes of the Muslim world, that the rise of Fās as an intellectual centre dates: it was the metropolis of learning in the country from the xivth century. Not only did the Marīnid princes make it the political capital but by the foundation of a series of colleges or madrasas (in Morocco: *medersa*) around the *Djāmiʿ al-Ḳarawīyīn* and mosque of New Fās, they were able to attract to this city a host of students from all parts of the country and to give it the renown for learning, which it still jealously claims to-day. In the Marīnid period, madrasas were also multiplied outside Fās: Meknes, Salé and Marrākush had their own, which shows that regular education was given in these towns.

In addition to the part played by the madrasas, there was the activity of the *zāwiyas*, directly connected with the development of maraboutism and *sharīfism* in the country in the period when the Spaniards and Portuguese were trying to esta-

blish themselves in Morocco in the xvth century. The *zāwiyas*, religious centres, headquarters of the *djihad*, naturally became centres of teaching. At the time when Fās could only with difficulty keep its character as the principal centre of learning in the country, the *zāwiyas*, in which teaching was carried on, became more and more numerous; e.g. the *zāwiya* of al-Dilaʾ in the Middle Atlas, the *zāwiya* of Tāmgrūt in the land of Daʿra and the *zāwiya* of Wazzān in the north. The most famous scholars were frequently either heads of brotherhoods or *shorfa*, who taught in the mother-house of their order.

We do not intend here to give a detailed sketch of the Arabic literature of Morocco, but will be content with a few general indications and names distinguishing where possible, between Islāmic and profane sciences.

It was not till the Muslim west adopted the Mālikī rite that Morocco began to produce work in the domain of *ʿilm* in close accord, as already mentioned, with the school of Spain. In this period of intellectual dependence, the relations between the two countries were continued and the Maghribī students down to the xiiith century considered a sojourn in Cordova, Murcia or Valencia necessary to finish their course. The east did not yet seem to exert the attraction that it did later. At this period, besides, the islāmisation and arabicisation of the Berber masses was still too recent. Only a few names may be mentioned for this early period, Darrās b. Ismāʿīl, of whom much that is recorded is legendary; the famous reformer Ibn Tūmart [q.v.], creator of the Almohad movement and author of several *risāla* or *ʿakīda* on his teaching; the *qāḍī* ʿIyād [q.v.], born at Ceuta in 476 (1083), d. at Marrākush in 544 (1149), author of numerous works on Muslim learning, of which the most famous are the *Kitāb al-Shifāʾ* and the *Mashārik al-Anwār* with a collection of biographies of learned Mālikīs, entitled *al-Madārik*.

During the modern period, on the other hand, the number of learned Moroccans becomes more and more considerable. The best known are for *ḵirāʾat*: Ibn Barrī (eighth century A.H.); Ibn Fakhkhār (ninth century); the scholar of Meknès Ibn Ghāzī († 919); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ḳāḍī († 1082); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Idrīs Mandjira († 1179); Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Fāsi († 1214); for *ḥadīth*: Yaḥyā al-Sarrādjī († 808); Suḳḳain al-ʿAshīmī († 956); Ridwān al-Djīnawī († 991); Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim al-Ḳaṣṣār († 1012); Idrīs al-ʿIrāḳī († 1228); for *fiqh*: Abu ʿl-Ḥasan al-Ṣughaiyir, commentator of the *Mudawwana*; al-Djazzūlī [q.v.] and Aḥmad Zarṛūk (ninth century) commentators of the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zaid al-Ḳairawānī; al-Wansharīsi († 995); al-Mandjūr († 995); Ibn ʿAshīr († 1040); Maiyāra († 1072); for philology: al-Makkūdī († 807); Ibn Zakrī († 899). Their works have for the most part been recorded and will be found detailed either in Brockelmann, *G. A. L.* or in Bencheneb's work on the individuals mentioned in the *Iḍāʿa* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Fāsi. Only a small number have found a place in eastern libraries; but on the other hand, they all form the foundations of the collections of manuscripts formed and preserved in the imperial palaces and mosques of Morocco.

Some Moroccan scholars have written works on *adab* or collections of poems, in addition to books of a strictly Muslim character. None of

them can claim any great originality and purely literary *diwāns* are rare. Poetry, as a rule — when it is not didactic (*urđjūsa*) —, is religious or mystic. At the courts, there were always a few literary men maintained by the princes, who were the panegyrists, often very lurid, of their patrons.

It is at the courts also, especially from the xivth century, that we find the few historians who have given us original chronicles or compilations. Their works, planned on a singularly curious conception of history, have nevertheless the merit of giving us the only detailed information about the political history of the country in the period of the author or immediately preceding it. Those which date from the Middle Ages are however much the best. The kind of work not only did not improve later, but became simply dry chronicles in which events are related in a brief and colourless fashion.

The early historians of Morocco — if we except the Berber genealogists about whom we do not know very much — are contemporaries of the Almoravid dynasty. A little later, the Almohads find a historian in the person of a companion of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart, Abū Bakr al-Baidhāk al-Ṣanhājī, the interest of whose memoirs contrasts strikingly with many later chronicles. Alongside of the work of al-Baidhāk may be placed the chronicles of Ibn al-Kaṭṭān and of ‘Abd al-Wahid al-Marrākushī as of high value. But it was in the Marinid period that the historian found most favour in Morocco. Leaving out Ibn Khaldūn, whom Morocco is not the only one to claim, we may mention Ibn ‘Idhārī, a scholar of Marrākush, to whom we owe a history of North Africa and Spain, the *Bayān al-Mughrib*; that of Ibn Abī Zar’, author of a history of Fās and the Moroccan dynasties, *Rawḍ al-Kirfās*; Ibn Marzūk, author of the *Musnad*, a monograph on the sultān Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī; Ibn al-Aḥmar of the family of the kings of Granada, author of the *Rawḍat al-Nisrīn*. Under the Sa’dians, the principal historians were al-Fishtālī, al-Ifrānī, author of the *Nuṣṣat al-Ḥādī*; finally under the ‘Alawids, al-Zaiyānī and Akenūs.

Geography is represented in modern Moroccan literature only in the form of *riḥlas* or accounts of the travels of pilgrims, in which the description of the country passed through only occupies an insignificant place. Nevertheless, the geographer al-Idrīsī [q. v.] and the great traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa were of Moroccan origin.

The biographical literature of Morocco is considerable. The collections of *manāḳib* [q. v.] of saints, monographs dealing with families of *shorfa* or religious brotherhoods are abundant, especially in the modern period. There are also collections by town or century, some of which are of a certain interest, even from the point of view of history. All these biographies have been surveyed in E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*. The most notable biographers down to the middle of the xivth century are Ibn ‘Askar, author of the *Dawḥat al-Nāshir*; Ibn al-Kāḍī, author of the *Durrat al-Hidjāl* and the *Djadhwat al-Iktibās*; the historian al-Ifrānī, author of the *Ṣafwāt man intaṣhar*; and al-Kādirī, author of the *Nashr al-Mathānī* and the *Ilṭikāt al-Durar*.

As to medicine and natural science, Morocco down to the xivth century was closely dependent on Spain. The physicians of the Al-

moravid and Almohad princes were from Spain, like Ibn Bādja (Avenpace), Ibn Ṭufail and the celebrated Ibn Rushd (Averroes) and Ibn Zuhīr (Avenzoar). In the modern period, we find at the courts of the sultāns several physicians of Moroccan origin who have left works. The chief were, in the Sa’dian period: Abū Muḥammad al-Kāsim al-Wazīr al-Ghassānī, in the ‘Alawid period: Ibn Shukrūn, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Adarrāk, Aḥmad al-Darā’ī, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Azzūz al-Marrākushī, Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥādjīdj and ‘Abd al-Salām al-‘Alamī. Finally two famous Moroccans studied the exact science of the xiiith century: Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. ‘Umar al-Marrākushī, author of a treatise on astronomical instruments, part of which has been translated by Sédillot, and Aḥmad Ibn al-Bannā’, to whom we owe several works on arithmetic, geometry, algebra, astronomy, astrology and alchemy.

At the end of the xivth century, the reign of Mawlāi al-Ḥasan was marked by a kind of renaissance in Muslim studies in Morocco, particularly characterised by the need which writers felt of getting their works printed to make them more widely known. The lithographic presses of Fās acquired a certain importance at this time and began to publish texts which had hitherto circulated only in manuscript. A little later, there appeared at Fās the three volumes of the *Salwat al-Anfās* of Aḥmad b. Dja’far al-Kattānī [q. v.], an excellent biographical dictionary of the celebrities of the northern capital. At the same time, there was published in Cairo the great Moroccan history of Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Nāṣirī al-Salawī [q. v.] entitled *Kitāb al-Itikāṣ li-Akhbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*.

The establishment of the French protectorate in Morocco and the remarkable spread of French civilisation in the large towns have already profoundly modified the intellectual ideals of the younger generation in Morocco. It is however still too early to foretell the orientation that Arabic literature will take in this country in the years to come.

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MORÓN, Arab. MAWZŪR, a little town in the south of Spain, on the right bank of the Guadaira and at the foot of the Sierra de Morón to the S. W. of Cordova and S. E. of Seville. It was in the Muslim period the capital of a *kūra*

or district and an agricultural centre with numerous olive-groves. At the beginning of the tenth century, it was one of the centres of resistance of the famous rebel 'Umar b. Ḥafṣūn; its citadel was taken by the troops of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III in 311 (923). In the next century during the period of the petty kingdoms of the *reyes taifas*, Morón was the capital of a little Berber dynasty, the Banū Dammār, Abāḍīs from the region of Gabes in Tunisia. The first member of the dynasty to declare his independence in 433 (1041) was Muḥammad b. Nūḥ; his father Nūḥ b. Abī Tarīd had lived at Morón from 1013 without actually recognising the government of Cordova. Muḥammad b. Nūḥ soon excited the jealousy of the 'Abbāḍid of Seville al-Mu'taḍid who made an attempt on his life. He died in 449 (1057). His son Manād 'Imād al-Dawla, who succeeded him, was soon besieged in Morón by al-Mu'taḍid and in return for life and liberty surrendered the town in 458 (1066). Morón and its territory were annexed to the kingdom of Seville and henceforth shared the fate of the capital.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MOROS. [See MOORS.]

MOSTAGANEM (MUSTAḠĤĀNIM), a coast town in Algeria, eight miles E. of the mouth of the Shelif (5' E. Long. [Greenwich]) does not occupy the site of any known ancient town. There is no natural harbour here; two capes, not particularly well marked (Kharuba and Salamander), leave vessels without protection against winds from the north and west. It is therefore not as a port that al-Bakrī (xith century) mentions Mostaganem for the first time. He describes it as a town situated "not far from the sea" (it is less than a mile away) living on the produce of its rich territory, notably the cotton plantations. From this time onwards it was surrounded by a wall which strengthened its natural defences. The old town occupies a triangular plateau formed by the sharp bend of the 'Ain Sefra and the wall runs along the top of the ravine. On the point of this natural stronghold, the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn is said to have built in 1082 a fortress which was later called Burdj al-Maḥāl, from the name of one of the tribes of the neighbourhood, and is now a prison. Like the other towns of the coast, Nedroma or Algiers, Mostaganem was probably given a small Almoravid garrison. Thus strengthened, the town would serve as a place of refuge against an attack from the sea and one could keep at a distance the Berber tribes of the hinterland, who belonged for the most part to the Maghrāwa confederation. It must thus have developed to some extent. In the middle of the xiith century, Idrīsī tells us that it had bazaars and baths; he emphasises the abundance of the water which irrigated the gardens and orchards and drove mills.

The name of Mostaganem does not figure in history throughout all this period when the Almohads in theory held the central Maghrib. The decline of the Almohads enabled the Maghrāwa

to become completely masters of the country. In 1267 and 1271 the Zaiyānīd sultān of Tlemsen Yaghmorāsān reduced these turbulent tribes and incorporated their lands in the empire which he had founded. In 680 (1281) he entrusted the government of Mostaganem to one of his cousins, al-Zā'im b. Yaḥyā, a descendant of one of the collateral branches of the family of the Banū Zaiyān, in spite of the lack of confidence he had in those relatives whom he had deprived of the throne. These fears proved well founded. Al-Zā'im, having roused the Maghrāwa to rebel, declared himself independent. Yaghmorāsān had to march on Mostaganem; he blockaded the town strictly and the rebel surrendered after obtaining permission to cross to Spain.

Like all the coast region, Mostaganem in 735 or 736 (1335—1336) passed to the Merinid Abu 'l-Ḥasan, who was engaged in the siege of Tlemsen. In 742 (1340) the victorious sultān built a mosque in Mostaganem. We have an inscription attesting this foundation of the interregnum of the Moroccan princes. Regained by the sultāns of Tlemsen, the town suffered disastrously from their weakness. The Sowaid Arabs of the great Zoghba confederation became undisputed masters of the whole district. Mostaganem led a precarious existence. Leo Africanus at the beginning of the xvith century says that it occupied only a third of its former area. He credits it with 1,500 hearths, however, tells us of the weavers and of the roadstead to which ships from Europe came. He says the river runs "through the city", which shows that in addition to the old stronghold on the left bank there were now quarters on the right bank. In the Turkish period we know of two suburbs: Tidjīt (the New) and Matmor (the Silo). In 1516 Khair al-Dīn [q.v.] considerably strengthened its defences. Shaw at the beginning of the xviiith century speaks of the citadel (the Fort of the East?) which, built on a height, commanded the town and vicinity. In 1830 the garrison consisted of some hundreds of Turks and Kuloḡlis. The French took them into their service and put them under the command of the Kā'id Ibrāhīm. Distrusting the loyalty of the latter and thinking he had an agreement with the Medjāher, an unsubdued tribe of the neighbourhood, General Desmichels occupied the town in 1833. The troops whom he stationed there were attacked by 'Abd al-Kādir. The vexatious results of the treaty signed by Desmichels with the Emīr forced Clauzel to retake Mostaganem (1835). Under Bugeaud, Mostaganem became the point of disembarkation and the centre of operations against 'Abd al-Kādir. It was there that in 1847 the first battalion of Algerian Tirailleurs (Turcos) was raised, and the town has since been an important centre for recruiting native troops.

Mostaganem has developed considerably since the early days of the French occupation; it has now over 27,000 inhabitants. Its harbour, which owes nothing to nature, has been improved by two jetties which still afford only a rather mediocre shelter to shipping.

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1837, p. 111; Shaw, *Travels through Barbary*², London 1757; A. Bel, *Inscriptions arabes de Fes*, appendix to reprint from *J.A.*, 1919, p. 390; R. Basset, *Mélanges africains et orientaux*, Paris 1915, p. 103—106; Pellissier de Reynaud, *Annales algériennes*, Paris—Algiers 1854, vol. i.; *Tableau de la situation des établissements français*, 1837, 1838; Ch. Cockempot, *Le traité Desmichels* (*Publications de la Faculté des lettres d'Alger*), Paris 1924. — On the dialect of the native fishermen cf. L. Brunot, *La Mer dans les traditions et les industries à Rabat et Salé*, Paris 1920.

MOSTAR, the capital of the Herzegovina in the kingdom of Jugoslavia, one hundred miles S. W. of Sarajevo, on the Sarajevo—(Mostar—) Dubrovnik railway. By the new (Oct. 3, 1929) division of Jugoslavia into nine banats, Mostar passed to the coast banat, the capital of which is Split (Spalato). The picturesque town lies two hundred feet above sea-level on both banks of the Neretva (Narenta) between the slopes of the Podvelež and the Hum. The old quarters of the town (Konak, Čaršhya etc.) are in the east, the new in the west. In 1929, the number of inhabitants was 18,038 (in 1921 a little more: 18,176). Mostar covers an area of 16 square kilometres, has 2,916 houses, 33 mosques, 2 Serbian Orthodox and one Roman Catholic church. Mostar has a district mufti and a shari'at judge (*ḥādī*). Its trade is considerable as is its production of fruit, wine and tobacco. The climate is warm and windy.

In the time of the Roman empire, there was a colony in the plain of Mostar, which was destroyed during the period of migrations. In the centuries following, the immigrant Slavs conquered the Zahumlye district with its capital Blagay (near the modern Mostar). According to the Dalmatian writers Orbini and Luccari (both at the beginning of the xviith century), the new town of Mostar was founded in 1440 by Radivoy Gost, a vassal of Stefan Vukčić Kosača, afterwards Duke of St. Sava. In historical documents the earliest mention is in 1452 of the two forts on the Neretva bridge (*do castelli al ponte de Neretua*); the name of the town itself is not found till 1499.

It was only after the Turkish conquest of the Herzegovina (1483; cf. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*², i. 628), which resulted in the decline of Blagay that the new settlement began to develop rapidly, first as an important strategic point in the Neretva valley, then as a prosperous commercial town in addition. Since it grew up around a wooden bridge, it was called simply *Most* (bridge), *Mosti* or *Mostar*, properly *Mostari* (plur., "the bridgers"). This "place of the bridge" was by 1522 the residence of the Turkish sanjakbeg of the Herzegovina, who had previously lived in Foča. According to Ḥādjđji Khalifa, the crossing of the Neretva was exceedingly dangerous: the wooden bridge, being on chains, had no piers and swung so that "one only crossed it in fear of death". The inhabitants therefore petitioned Sulṭān Sulaimān to have a stone one built in its place. The architect sent by the Sulṭān, the celebrated Sinān [q. v.], is said to have declared it impossible to build a bridge at this spot, whereupon a local architect built the fine bridge which crosses the river in a single bold arch, thirty yards in length and sixty feet high. This is said to have been done in 974 (1566—1567). The two Turkish chronograms given

by Ewliyā Ćelebi *قدرت کبری* actually give this date. This bridge not only gave Mostar its name but formed its chief sight, as it still is. The French traveller A. Poulet in 1658 says that its "*fabrique est plus hardie, sans comparaison, & des plus d'étendue que n'est pas celle de Realte à Venise, quoy qu'elle y soit estimée vne merueille*" (cf. *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* (hereafter quoted as: *Gl. z. m.*), xx. [1908], 49). A modern traveller regards the old bridge at Mostar as the finest in the whole world (R. Michel, *Fahrten in den Reichslanden. Bilder und Skizzen aus B. und der H.* [Vienna and Leipzig, 1912], p. 31). In his earlier book on Mostar he describes this bridge as a "crescent in stone". The building of the bridge was often ascribed to the Romans and indeed its foundations perhaps date from them but the modern bridge undoubtedly dates from the Turkish period and "is the work of Dalmatio-Italian architects" (J. de Asboth, *An official tour through Bosnia and Herzegovina* [London 1890], p. 257).

Ewliyā Ćelebi visited Mostar in 1075 (1664—1665) and gives in his diary a number of details about the town, e.g. that it has fifty-three *maḥallas*, three thousand and forty solidly built houses of stone, three hundred and fifty shops and forty-five mosques. Of the latter he mentions eight by name: 1. Old mosque in the Čaršhya, built in 878 (1473); 2. Ḥādjđji Mehmedbeg mosque, built in 965 (1557); 3. Masjid of Ḥādjđji 'Alīaghā in the Čaršhya, built in 1016 (1607); 4. Defterdār-pasha mosque, built in 1017 (1608); 5. Koşki (قوصقى) Mehmedpasha mosque, built in 1027 (1617); 6. Ibrāhīmāghā, built in 1044 (1634); 7. Rūznamedji Ibrāhīm-Efendi-mosque and 8. Ḥādjđji 'Alī mosque. For the two latter mosques neither the chronogram nor the year of building is given. The finest and largest of all is the mosque of Ḥādjđji Mehmed Bey, which is usually called "Karagoyzbeğova džamiya". The monograph, quoted below, by Peez gives the names of twenty-seven mosques and twenty-six vakufs (*wakf*) and in each case he mentions whether their foundation records are preserved or not.

It the course of the xviith and xviiith century Mostar was several times threatened by Venetian troops (1652, 1693, 1717). At a late date (1763), the Herzegovina was incorporated in the wilāyet of Bosnia and Mostar was only the residence of the musellim. This lasted till 1832, when the land was again made a wilāyet and Mostar became the headquarters of the newly appointed Herzegovinian wazīr 'Alī Paşa Rizvanbegović.

During the Turkish period Mostar produced a number of men of note in Turkish and Muslim literature and learning. Of poets we may note: 1. Dīyārī (d. 972 = 1564); 2. Derwish Paşa (Bayezidagī; 1599 and in 1601 governor of Bosnia); 3. his son Ahmedbeg Şabūhī and 4. Ahmed Rushdī (born 1047 = 1637). The following learned men were natives of Mostar: 1. 'Alī Dede b. Muştāfā (d. 1007 = 1598); 2. Muştāfā Aiyūbizāde, called Şheyuyo (d. 1119 = 1707), Mufti of Mostar, commentator of various works; 3. Ahmed Efendi Mostarī (Mostarac; d. 1190 = 1776), whose fetwās (*Fetāwā-i Ahmed*) were very popular in Bosnia, and 4. Muştāfā Şidkī (Karabeg), Mufti of Mostar (murdered

in 1878), whose comprehensive *Ḥaṣḥiya... 'alā Mir'at al-Uṣūl* was printed in Sarajevo (1316).

A few days after the murder of the last-named, Mostar was taken without resistance by the Austrian troops (Aug. 5, 1878) and on Oct. 5, 1908, annexed to the Danube monarchy, in which it remained till 1918. During these forty years (1878–1918) Mostar was frequently the centre of Muslim (and of Serbian Orthodox) opposition to the government. In Mostar originated also the Muslim agitation for autonomy in religious affairs (cf. i., p. 760), which went on for ten years (1899–1909). The leader of the movement, 'Alī Fehmī Džabić, the then mufti of Mostar, had to escape to Constantinople at the end of January 1902, where he was appointed professor of Arabic literature in the University, in which capacity he published among other things his book *Ḥusn al-Ṣaḥāba fī Ṣarḥ Ash'ar al-Ṣaḥāba* (Constantinople 1324). In connection with the struggle for religious autonomy, there was published (from 1906) the Muslim political paper *Musāwāt* (in spite of its Arabic title written in the Serbo-Croat language). Shortly before the World War, a Muslim family paper *Biser* ("Pearl") (from 1912) was started in Mostar and a *Muslimanska biblioteka* (Muslim Library) which attained thirty volumes.

Since the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1918, Mostar has belonged to Jugoslavia.

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MÖŞUL (AL-MAWŞIL), the capital of Diyār-Rabi'a [q. v.] on the west bank of the Tigris, opposite the ancient Niniveh.

Whether the town already existed in antiquity is unknown. E. Herzfeld (*Archäol. Reise*, ii. 207, 259) has suggested that Xenophon's *Μέσπιλα* reproduces its old name and that we should read

**Μέσπιλα* (= *Mawşil*); but against this view we have the simple fact that this town lay on the east bank of the Tigris (F. H. Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, xv., col. 1164).

The Muslims placed the foundation of the town in mythical antiquity and ascribed it to Rēwand b. Bēwarāsp Adjādhāk. According to another tradition, its earlier name was *Khawlān*. The Persian satrap of Mōşul bore the title Būdh-Ardashīrānshāh, so that the official name of the town was Būdh-Ardashīr (Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 87; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 208). Lastly Bar Bahlūl says that an old Persian king gave it the name Bih-Hormez-Ḳowādh (G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyr.*, p. 178).

As the metropolis of the diocese of Āthūr, Mōşul took the place of Niniveh whither Christianity had penetrated by the beginning of the second century A. D. Rabban Ishō'yahb called Bar Ḳūsra about 570 A. D. founded on the west bank of the Tigris opposite Niniveh a monastery (still called *Mār Ishā'yā*) around which *Khushraw II* built many buildings. This settlement is probably the fortress mentioned in the Syriac chronicle edited by Guidi as Ḥesnā 'Ebhṛāyā (according to Herzfeld, "citadel on the opposite bank") (Nöldeke, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, cxviii., fasc. ix., 1893, p. 20; Sachau, *Chronik von Arbela*, chap. iv., p. 48, 1; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 208) which later was developed into a town by the Arabs (*Chronicle of Se'ert*, at the end).

After the taking of Niniveh by 'Utba b. Farḳad (20 = 641) in the reign of 'Omar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the Arabs crossed the Tigris whereupon the garrison of the fortress on the west bank surrendered on promising to pay the poll-tax and obtained permission to go where they pleased. Under the same caliph, 'Utba was dismissed from his post as commander of Mōşul and Harthama b. 'Arfadjā al-Bārīkī succeeded him. The latter settled Arabs in houses of their own, then allotted them lands and made Mōşul a camp city (*miṣr*) in which he also built a Friday Mosque (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 332). According to al-Wāḳidi, 'Abd al-Malik (65–86) appointed his son Sa'īd as governor of al-Mawşil while he put his brother Muḥammad over Arminiya and al-Djazīra. According to al-Mu'āfa b. Ṭā'ūs on the other hand, Muḥammad was also governor of Ādharbāidjān und al-Mawşil, and his chief of police Ibn Talid paved the town and built a wall round it (al-Balādhuri, *op. cit.*). His son Marwān II is also described as a builder and extender of the town; he is said to have organized its administration and built roads, walls and a bridge of boats over the Tigris (Ibn Faḳīh, ed. de Goeje, p. 128; Yāḳūt, *Mu'ājam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 682–684). The foundation of a Friday Mosque was also ascribed to him. Mōşul became under him the capital of the province of al-Djazīra.

After Mutawakkil's death the Khāridjī Musāwir seized a part of the territory of Mōşul and made al-Ḥadīṭha his headquarters. The then governor of Mōşul, the *Khuzayy* 'Aḳaba b. Muḥammad, was deposed by the Taghlibī Aiyūb b. Aḥmad who put his own son Ḥasan in his place. Soon afterwards the 'Azdī 'Abd Allāh b. Sulaimān became the governor of al-Mawşil. The Khāridjīs took the town from him and Musāwir entered into possession of it. Mu'tamid appointed the Turkish general Asātagīn governor of the town, but in *Djumādā I* 259 the latter sent his son Azkūtagīn there as his

deputy. The latter was soon driven out by the citizens of the town who chose Yaḥyā b. Sulaimān as their ruler.

Haiṭham b. 'Abd Allāh whom Asātagīn then sent to Mōṣul had to return after achieving nothing. The Taghlibi Ishāk b. Aiyūb whom Asātagīn sent with 20,000 men against Mōṣul, among whom was Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn, entered Mōṣul after winning a battle, but was soon driven out again.

In 261 the Taghlibi Kḥiḍar b. Aḥmad and in 267 Ishāk b. Kundaḍj was appointed governor of Mōṣul by Mu'tamid. A year after Ishāk's death, his son Muḥammad sent Hārūn b. Sulaimān to Mōṣul (279); when he was driven out by the inhabitants he asked the Banū Shaibān for assistance and they besieged the town with him. The inhabitants led by Hārūn b. 'Abd Allāh and Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn after an initial victory were surprised and defeated by the Shaibānis; shortly afterwards Muḥammad b. Ishāk was deposed by the Kurd 'Alī b. Dāwūd.

When Mu'taḍid became caliph in 279, Ḥamdān (the grandfather of Saif al-Dawla) managed to make himself very popular with him at first, but in 282 he rebelled in Mōṣul. When an army was sent by the caliph against him under Waṣif and Naṣr, he escaped while his son Ḥusain surrendered. The citadel of Mōṣul was stormed and destroyed and Ḥamdān soon afterwards was captured and thrown into prison. Naṣr was then ordered to collect tribute in Mōṣul and thus came into conflict with the followers of the Kḥāridjī Hārūn; Hārūn was defeated and fled into the desert. In place of Tuk-tamir, who was imprisoned, the Caliph appointed Ḥasan b. 'Alī governor of Mōṣul and sent against Hārūn, the main cause of the strife, the Ḥamdānid Ḥusain who took him prisoner in 283. The family thus regained the caliph's favour.

When after the subjection of the Kḥāridjīs, raiding Kurds began to disturb the country round Mōṣul, Muktafi again gave a Ḥamdānid, namely Ḥusain's brother Abu 'l-Haidjā 'Abd Allāh, the task of bringing them to book, as the latter could rely on the assistance of the Taghlibis settled around Mōṣul, to whom the Ḥamdānids belonged. Abu 'l-Haidjā came to Mōṣul in the beginning of Muḥarram 293 and in the following year subdued the Kurds whose leader Muḥammad b. Bilāl submitted and came to live in Mōṣul.

From this time the Ḥamdānids [q. v.] ruled Mōṣul, first as governors for the caliph, then from 317 (Nāṣir al-Dawla Ḥasan) as sovereign rulers.

The 'Ukailids who followed them (386—489) belonged to the tribe of the Banū Ka'b. Their kingdom, founded by Ḥusām al-Dawla al-Muḥallad, whose independence was recognised by the Būyids, extended as far as Tā'ūk (Daḳūḳā), al-Madā'in and Kūfa. In 489 (1095—1096) Mōṣul passed to the Salḍūḳs.

The town developed considerably under the Atābeg 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī who put an end to Salḍūḳ rule in 521 (1127—1128). Mōṣul, which was for the most part in ruins was given splendid buildings by him; the fortifications were restored and flourishing gardens surrounded the town. Under one of his successors, 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd I, Mōṣul was twice unsuccessfully besieged by Saladin (1182 and 1185 A.D.); after the conclusion of peace 'Izz al-Dīn however found himself forced to recognise Saladin as his suzerain.

The town was at this time defended by a strong

citadel and a double wall, the towers of which were washed on the east side by the Tigris. To the south lay a great suburb, laid out by the vizier Muḍjāhid al-Dīn Kā'imāz (d. 595). From 607 his son Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' [q. v.] ruled over Mōṣul first as vizier of the last Zangids and from 631 as an independent ruler. In 642 he submitted to Hūlāgū and accompanied him on his campaigns, so that Mōṣul was spared the usual sacking. When however his son Malik Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il joined Baibars against the Mongols the town was plundered in 660 (1261—1262); the ruler himself fell in battle (van Berchem, *Festschrift f. Th. Nöldeke*, 1906, p. 197 sqq.).

The Mongol dynasty of the Djalā'ir succeeded the Ilkhāns in Baghdād and Sultān Shaikh Uwaīs in 766 (1364—1365) incorporated Mōṣul in his kingdom. The world conqueror Timūr not only spared Mōṣul but gave rich endowments to the tombs of Nabī Yūnus and Nabī Dīrdjīs, to which he made a pilgrimage, and restored the bridge of boats between Mōṣul and these holy places.

The Turkoman dynasty of the Aḳ Ḳoyūnlū whose founder Bahā' al-Dīn Qarā 'Oṭmān had been appointed governor of Diyār Bakr by Timūr, was followed about 920 (1514—1515) by the Persian Ṣafawids. After long fighting the Ottomans in 1047 (1637—1638) finally took the town from them. In 1077 (1667) it was visited by a serious earthquake, in 1156 (1743) besieged by Nādir Shāh Afshār and heroically defended by Christians and Muslims. It was then under a Pasha of the local family of the 'Abd al-Djalīl who had ruled the town for a long period, fairly independent of the Porte. In the sixteenth century Mōṣul was an unimportant provincial town of the Turkish empire. After the World War the wilāyet of Mōṣul after long negotiations was placed in the mandated territory of 'Irāq. The town has now about 70—90,000 inhabitants.

The Arab geographers compare its plan to a headcloth (*tailasān*), i. e. to an elongated rectangle. Ibn Hawḳal who visited Mōṣul in 358 (968—969), describes it as a beautiful town with fertile surroundings. The population in his time consisted mainly of Kurds. According to al-Maḳdisī (c. 375 = 985—986), the town was very beautifully built. Its plan was in the form of a semi-circle. The citadel was called *al-Murabba'a* and stood where the Nahr Zubaida canal joined the Tigris (now Iḳḳal'a or Bāsh Ṭābiya?; cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 209). Within its walls were a Wednesday market (*Sūḳ al-'Arba'a*?) after which it was sometimes called. The Friday Mosque built by Marwān stood on an eminence not far from the Tigris to which steps led up. The streets in the market were for the most part roofed over. Al-Maḳdisī (*op. cit.*, p. 136) gives the eight main streets of the town (discussed in Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 209). The castle of the caliph (*Qaṣr al-Khalīfa*) stood on the east bank, half a mile from the town and commanded Nineveh; in the time of al-Maḳdisī it was already in ruins, through which the Nahr al-Kḥawṣar flowed.

Ibn Djubair visited Mōṣul on 22nd—26th Ṣafar 580 (June 4—8, 1184). Shortly before, Nūr al-Dīn had built a new Friday Mosque on the market-place. At the highest point in the town was the citadel (now: Bāsh Ṭābiya); it was known as *al-Ḥadba'* "the hunch-backed" and perhaps as the synonymous *al-Dafa'a* (G. Hoffmann, *Aussüge aus*

syr. *Akten pers. Märtyr*, p. 178 sq.; E. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 210), and according to al-Kazwini was surrounded by a deep ditch and high walls. The city walls which had strong towers ran down to the river and along its bank. A broad highway (*shāri'*) connected the upper and lower towns (the north-south road called *Darb Dair al-A'lā'*). In front of the walls suburbs stretched into the distance with many smaller mosques, inns and baths. The hospital (*māristān*) was celebrated and the great covered market (*kaṣṣariya*).

Most houses in Moşul were built of tufa or marble (from the Djebel Maḳlūb east of the town) and had domed roofs (Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*). Later Moşul was given a third Friday Mosque which commanded the Tigris and was perhaps the building admired by Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfi (c. 740 A. H.).

The site of the ancient Niniveh (Arabic *Ninawā'*) was in al-Maḳdisi's time called Tall al-Tawba and was said to be the place where the prophet Yūnis stayed when he wished to convert the people of Niniveh. There was a mosque there around which the Ḥamdānīd Naṣir al-Dawla built hostels for pilgrims. Half a mile away was the healing spring of 'Ain Yūnis with a mosque beside it, perhaps also the *Shadjarat al-Yaḳīn*, said to be planted by the Prophet himself. The tomb of Nabī Djirdjis, who according to Muslim legend had suffered martyrdom in Moşul (cf. i., p. 1046 sq.), was in the east town; also that of Nabī *Shūth* (Seth; cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 206 sq.).

Moşul takes its name from the fact that a number of arms of the river there combine to form a single stream. The town lies close beside the Tigris on a spur of the western steppe-plateau which juts out into the alluvial plain of the river. Close beside its walls are quarries in which the plaster for the buildings and for the mortar is obtained. The site of the town, almost three square kilometres in area enclosed by the already mentioned wall and the Tigris, slopes from the old fortress gradually to the south. To the southeast stretch, as in the middle ages, the suburbs surrounded by fertile plains. A little above the spot where the wall joins the river on the south-east is the bridge of boats. All the old buildings and even the court of the Great Mosque lie, according to E. Herzfeld's investigations, below the level of the streets in which the accumulation of mounds of debris from houses is a result of a thousand years of continuous occupation.

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(E. HONIGMANN)

MOZARABS, the name given in the middle ages to those Christians who lived in districts under Muslim rule and bore the stamp of Spanish Moorish culture. The word comes from the Arabic *musta'rib*, the meaning of which is exactly that of the Spanish *mozárabe*; the Arabic form itself is found in documents in the archives of mediaeval Spain.

We know that in principle at the time of conquest the new subjects of the Muslim conquerors could either adopt Islām or continue to profess their own faith, in the latter case falling into the category of tributaries (*dhimmī*; q. v.). The early Arab rulers of Spain showed considerable tolerance in this connection and the treaties of capitulation were definite on this point, at least if we may judge by one of them of which the text has been preserved and which was concluded between the Visigoth Theodemir, lord of the district of Murcia [q. v.], and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Mūsā b. Nuṣair. This attitude of Spanish Islām to the Christians hardly altered in the centuries following until the coming of the Almoravids and Almohads. It is true there were occasional anti-Christian reactions under the first Umayyads which found vent in persecution. But these persecutions seem to have been dictated by political considerations rather than by the fanaticism of individual rulers. The Christian communities of the large towns were the most active nurseries of the nationalist movements which broke out in Spain mainly in the ninth century. Among the most important we may mention that led by the Mozarab 'Omar b. Ḥaṣṣūn [q. v.], which passed far beyond the limits of a purely religious movement. At Cordova in particular a few illuminati had to be sent to the scaffold because they insulted the religion of the Prophet. The Muslim judges seem to have sentenced them to the supreme penalty with considerable reluctance and the central authorities took the initiative in summoning a council, so that the church itself put a stop to the demonstrations of certain mystics like Eulogio and Alvaro.

In any case in the tenth century the Mozarabs of the caliphate were living in harmony with all classes of Muslim society and were themselves considerably influenced by Arab culture. They spoke Arabic, just as the Muslims spoke the Romance language, and were acquainted with Islāmic literature. The reciprocal influences were therefore considerable and were to continue so till the end of the middle ages.

As regards administration, the Christian communities of Muslim Spain under the Umayyads were under the direct authority of officials chosen by themselves from their own number and appointed with the approval of the Muslim authorities. Their head, who is sometimes given the Latin title of *defensor* or *protector*, was most frequently called Count (*Comes*, Sp. *Conde*, Ar. *kūmis*). The taxes which the Christians had to pay were collected by an agent called *exceptor*. To settle their differences they had a special judge (Ar. *ḳāḍī* 'l-naṣārā or *ḳāḍī* 'l-'aḍjam, Lat. *ensor*) who administered the Visigothic code (*Liber Iudicium*, later the *Fuero Juzgo*).

The Christian communities of Cordova and Seville were among the most important but were less important than that of Toledo, which was during the caliphate the residence of the metropolitan (*maṭrān*) of Spain. The clergy were under bishops (*usḳuf*). Public worship was celebrated

in the churches; there were monasteries (*dair*) with monks (*rāhib*) in the neighbourhood of the larger towns: for example that of Armilāt (Guadimellato) near Cordova.

The history of the Mozarabs of Spain is of course closely connected with the political history of Islām in Spain and with the "reconquista". But its development is mainly interesting as throwing light on the peculiar culture of Moorish Spain which remained alive even after the fall of Muslim power. The recent publication of a considerable number of documents from the archives of the cathedral of Toledo mainly of the xiith and xiiith centuries enables us to estimate how great was the arabisation of all classes in reconquered Spain, which we find influencing civil, military and economic institutions and even ecclesiastical ritual (Mozarab rite). It is similarly to the Mozarab communities and their representatives who went to the north of the Peninsula that we must attribute the origin of a special art, Mozarab art, directly derived from Cordovan art and characterized by almost regular use of the horse-shoe arch and the vault.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MSHATTĀ, a ruined palace in Transjordan.

Description of the building. The ruins of al-Mshattā (the winter camp) lie east of the Jordan about 130 miles south of Damascus and 25 east of the northern shore of the Dead Sea, near the Darb al-Hadjdj, the pilgrims' road from Damascus to Medina and Mecca. It consists of a rectangular outer wall, defended by towers at the corners, each side being 157 yards long. The entrance gateway is in the centre of the south side and is flanked by two pentagonal half-towers rising out of an octagonal base, across which runs as far as the next round towers the long frieze 16 feet high and over 45 yards long, which has for the most part been taken to Berlin and which made Mshattā a world-famous monument of early Muslim architecture and decorative art and a much discussed centre of interest in Oriental archaeology. The building of the whole area within the wall was planned in three sections of which however only the central one was carried through, at least in part. This again is divided into three parts: the entrance area, the central rectangular open court and the royal residence. The plan by B. Schulz (cf. *Jahrbuch d. preuss. Kunstsammlungen*,

vol. xxv., 1904) shows a gateway and an entrance hall, both of which were intended to be vaulted, and a series of surrounding rooms, of which the oblong room to the right of the entrance has been said by Herzfeld and others to be a mosque because it has a niche in it which is taken to be a mihrāb. Only the foundations of the walls of this part however are still standing. In the large quadrangular court on the western side is a water-basin built of brick and traces of a second one mentioned by Tristram on the opposite side, so that Schulz thought there were originally intended to be four for the sake of symmetry. The palace consists of a great hall with three aisles, a domed chamber and the living rooms at the sides. The walls are about five feet high, of blocks of limestone and above that of brick (21 × 21 and 27 × 27, 65 cm. thick). The rooms at the sides to the left and right of the great hall with its three aisles, are all barrel-vaulted; the smaller vaultings still exist and, like the relieving arches of the doors, are remarkable for their pointed arches. Schulz was able with certainty to reconstruct the façade which had fallen and was still lying on the ground. It consisted of three round arches on pillars corresponding to the three aisles. The hall was divided into three sections by pillars of which a few shafts and a Corinthian capital with painting and remains of gilding have been found. Holes and gutters at the bases and on the shafts suggested to Schulz that the columns had originally been taken from another building and used again here. The horizontal termination of the façade also shows that this hall was intended to have a flat, and not a basilical roof, or actually had one. To give it its height the two supporting rows of pillars had a second story of pillars placed upon them, an arrangement usual in Syrian architecture also. The quadrangular hall of audience and ceremonial, entered from the oblong hall by a second door, was covered by a dome and three half domes of brick, all of which have collapsed. Dovetailing on the inside of the surrounding wall shows that it was intended to build on to the sides of the palace dwellings for soldiers and other retainers. On the evidence of these projections from the wall, Schulz has prepared his reconstruction of the plan of these wings. The quadrangular surrounding walls with the round towers had barely been half built when the half-finished work was stopped. The principal motive of the great frieze at the part of the wall containing the main gateway is a zigzag pattern in high relief which forms 44 half triangles. These triangular areas are, wherever the frieze was finished, thickly covered with tendrils in low relief. In the centres of the pairs of interlocking perpendicular and suspended triangles, bosses are set in high relief, decorated with acanthus rosettes. The socket of the frieze is in the form of a modified Attic base consisting of a plinth and two toruses. The border which frames the frieze at the sides and above consists of a leaf kyma at the foot and a second larger crowning it. According to Schulz's photograph, before the frieze was removed, the half left of the door up to the main border was finished but the right half only up to half height of the frieze.

The patterns of foliage in the fields of the triangles show great variety. Here we follow the scheme of the official publication in the *Jahrb.*

d. preuss. Kunstsammlungen, xxv. (1904), pl. viii. The triangles A and B have within circles vines with birds picking grapes; in the apex of triangle A there is also a Chinese fabulous animal with a human head such as was very popular in Chinese sepulchral plastic art. In C the circles are interlaced and lotus flowers appear in addition to the vine-tendrils. In D—I the vines which are here more realistic grow out of vases which are flanked by lions and winged griffins; buffaloes, panthers, lynxes and gazelles also relieve the foliage. In triangle J the tendrils grow straight out of the ground; this area also has the remarkable addition of men picking the grapes. Triangle L is the first right of the door and is the last to contain animals. The areas of the triangles of the right half show a quite different style. M—T have, it is true, still vines but of the greatest, lace-like delicacy and closeness of pattern which varies from triangle to triangle. U and V lastly are filled with palm-leaves and cone-shaped figures instead of vines and crowned with spirals.

Form and purpose of the building. The plan is that of a *hira*, i.e. the Arab type of camp, reproduced in building materials, and so called after the Lakhmid capital, with the prince's tent or house on the central axis just as is described by Mas'ūdī in his account of Sāmarrā (cf. E. Herzfeld, *Erster vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Samarra*, Berlin 1912, p. 39 sq.). Mshattā, Ukhaiḍir and Sāmarrā are descendants of this eastern type of palace. Just as the form could only be recognised as typical after the examination of Ukhaiḍir in the Irāk and by the excavation of Sāmarrā, so it was the investigations of H. Lammens that first elucidated the purpose of these buildings (*La Bādiya et La Hira sous les Omeiades*, in *M.F.O.B.*, iv.). Following Lammens, Herzfeld explained Mshattā as a *bādiya* [q. v.], i.e. a country palace which was built in the form of a *hira* for an Umayyad as an occasional residence.

History of exploration, bibliography and date. After its first discovery by H. B. Tristram in 1872, Mshattā was explained by his archaeological adviser J. Fergusson as a Sāsānian palace, built by Khusraw II after his conquest of Syria in 614 A.D. It found a place in literature with this description in Tristram's *The Land of Moab* (London 1873). It was not till about the end of the century that Mshattā became a subject of archaeological study and discussion when it was visited in 1898 by A. Musil and soon afterwards examined by R. E. Brünnow and A. v. Domaszewski and published in their *Provincia Arabia* (1904–1909). In the meanwhile the Prussian expedition sent to take it down under B. Schulz had already been there and the Berlin publication by Schulz and Strzygowski appeared in the *Fahrh. d. preuss. Kunsts.*, 1904. To Professor Strzygowski is due the credit of having urged W. Bode to bring the façade to Berlin. Thanks to the interest displayed by the Emperor William II in the plan and his friendly relations with Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamid, the latter, with the traditional generosity of an Oriental despot, gave the German Emperor a present of this ornament of the desert. As a result of his study of the architecture and decoration, Strzygowski dated Mshattā between 400 and 600 A.D. M. v. Berchem with Clermont-Ganneau and Dussaud decided on historical grounds for the Lakhmid dating, i.e. that it was built as early as the

fourth century A.D. (*Aux pays de Moab et d'Edom*, iv., J.S., 1909, p. 401–408) while Brünnow and Musil assumed a Ghassānid origin. On the other hand in his review of Strzygowski (*Z. A.*, xix., 1905–1906, p. 419 sqq. and *Islamstudien*, p. 276 sqq.), C. H. Becker championed the Umayyad dating, which E. Herzfeld in his *Genesis der islam. Kunst und das Mshattaproblem* (*Isl.*, i., 1910, p. 27–63 and 105–144) supported with evidence from the history of art, and was strengthened by the appearance at the same time in *M.F.O.B.*, iv., 1910, p. 91–112 of H. Lammens' study *Bādiya et Hira*. This Umayyad dating Herzfeld tried to make more convincing in his *Mshattā, Hira und Bādiya* (*Jb. d. preuss. Ksts.*, 1921) and finally crowned his work with the discovery of an inscription drawn up by Walid II himself recording repairs done by him; Walid II was murdered after a year's reign (126 = 743–744) and work on the building was not completed. This attribution found further support in a story quoted by H. Lammens (in *J. A.*, 1915) from Ibn al-Mukaffā', according to which Walid II was murdered by a man named Ibrāhīm while building a "town" in the desert, which was to bear his name. Lammens identifies this town with Mshattā. Recently the Syrian desert palaces were again thoroughly investigated by the two fathers and teachers of the École Biblique St. Étienne in Jerusalem, Jaussen and Savignac (*Mission Arch. en Arabie III. Les châteaux Arabes de Qoseir Amra, Haraneh et Tuba*, 2 vols., Paris 1922). As regards Tuba and Mshattā the two students came to the same conclusion as earlier scholars, namely that they belong to the same period. As it seemed to them impossible to attribute them to the Umayyad period, they attributed them to the pre-Islāmic period; as both buildings were left unfinished, they must have been built towards the end of a dynasty or kingdom. The discovery of idols at Mshattā also, they said, prevented its being attributed to the Umayyad period (cf. Diez, *Die Kunst d. islamischen Völker*, 11th ed., 1926, p. 153).

Establishment of the Umayyad date of Mshattā. The archaeological material at Strzygowski's disposal when he wrote on Mshattā in 1904 was still insufficient for the proper appreciation of the historical position. It was not yet possible to have a complete conception of Umayyad art. Herzfeld who knew the lands in question by long residence and frequent travels was able six years later to approach the problem from much more solid premises. The most important monument from which deductions could be drawn was the Mihrāb of the Dījami' al-Khāssaki, discovered by Sarre and Herzfeld in the meanwhile in Baghdād, which must be either pre- or early 'Abbāsīd, and the decoration of which formed a parallel to that of Mshattā (*Isl.*, i. 33 sq. and plate i.). The explanation of the niche in the chamber right of the gateway as a *mihrāb* had to be decisively rejected and indeed less emphasis had been laid on it by Herzfeld than by superficial writers on the question for whom the "mihrāb" meant an easy proof of their point. Schulz had previously ascertained on the spot that this niche is not a *mihrāb*, and a study of the plan and Schulz's measurements shows a piece of masonry jutting 65 cm. out of the wall, containing a niche 1.62 m. broad and 1.48 deep. The fact that the *mihrāb* is never in a projection from the wall (an exception

would prove nothing) as well as the breadth of the niche which would be exceptional, even in very large mosques of late date (such a depth is hardly ever found anywhere), prove that this can only be a tribunal niche or something of the kind. Kaşr al-Ṭūba has in its south wall four similar semi-circular apse-like niches about 10 feet broad, which surely no Muslim archaeologist would claim as mihrābs. Mshattā, however, does not require such illusive evidence to prove its Umayyad date. The conclusive proofs are found in the variety of material used and architectural styles, in the application of the principles of the minor arts to the decoration of buildings, already noticed but not correctly interpreted by Strzygowski, and the variety of styles in the areas of the triangles which fall into four groups.

The combination of 'Irāk brickwork with Syrian stonework in the royal residence proves the co-operation of different groups of workmen working on the system of conscription which was revived by the Umayyads. The construction of the brick arches is also 'Irākian in form and, besides, they are pointed arches which were unknown before the beginning of the seventh century, so that it is impossible to put the date before 600 A. D. It was only in the early Muslim period that their use spread. We find Syrian torus profiles on the basilical building and North Mesopotamian profiles on the frieze. The pillars in the basilical hall are taken from older buildings as was the custom wherever possible in the early Muslim period. In the pre-Muḥammadan period neither wooden braces in the arches nor material from older buildings were used (Herzfeld).

On the significance of the decorative façade we may add a little to Strzygowski's and Herzfeld's observations. Two points were hardly touched on in the previous discussion: that the frieze is to be considered and understood only as the basis of a great façade which was planned but was never finished, and the origin of this system of decoration from Persian textile art, which alone could supply the foundation for it and explain the sudden appearance of this completely new world hitherto unknown in architectural ornamentation. The façade proper planned above this architectural border would have contained a pattern on a much larger scale just as we see on carpets. The thousandfold opposed groups of animals still to be found on Russian carpets and textiles influenced from Persia and the Caucasus of the xviiith—xixth centuries and the zigzag friezes filled with tendrils each with a cypress (in place of a rosette) in the centre show the popularity and wide distribution and permanence of this motive. When it was taken over for architectural decoration, the popular textilised forms, however, were translated into the traditional forms of the art of the land and time. This explains the different stylistic execution of the same plan by the stone-masons.

This historic breach with tradition, this surprising control over a differently oriented artistic tendency presupposes a radical change and reorganisation of society and outlook. An artistic creed so perfect and complete in itself cannot possibly be explained by the ambition of some upstart of a desert *sheikh* but it presupposes in addition to enormous wealth and far-reaching power a highly trained artistic sense, which was only possible at the time of the Umayyad Court

and actually existed there, as we know from many sources. Only a passionate builder and lover of architecture could visualise such a work and only at a court filled with scholars, poets and artists from all countries could the plans for it be drawn up. This illuminating emancipation from the Hellenistic façade with its pillared niches is only to be explained as the expression of a new outlook rooted in religion and proudly conscious of its quite different ideals, as was the case with young Islām. For the first time, the new teaching was here given artistic expression, in a design on a figured ground, which was to develop into the frieze of inscriptions on the *Īwān* in Khārgird in the xth century (cf. Diez, *Churanische Baudenkmäler*, Pl. 18/2).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(E. DIEZ)

MU'ADHDHIN. [See MASDĪD, I, H, 4 and ADHĀN.]

AL-MU'AIYAD. [See HISHĀM II.]

AL-MALIK AL-MU'AIYAD SAIF AL-DĪN, Shaikh al-Mahmūdī (so-called after his first owner) al-Khāṣṣī (member of the bodyguard), a Circassian by birth, was brought as a slave to Cairo and purchased by the Atābeg Barqūk. When the latter became Sulṭān in 784 (1382) he gave him his freedom, put him in the corps of pages (*ḡamḍār*, q. v.), moved him to the corps of cup-bearers (*sāḡī*, q. v.) and later appointed him to the bodyguard (*khāṣṣī*, whence his nickname). Barqūk's son, Nāṣir Farāj [q. v.], on his accession in 801 (1399) appointed him emir of a thousand and in the following year governor of Tripoli. He served as a troop commander in the battle of Damascus against Timūr, was taken prisoner, soon after his release again became governor of Tripoli and later of Damascus. The reign of Sulṭān Farāj was a period of uninterrupted fighting between the Sulṭān and his governors and Shaikh was always in the midst of intrigues; often he was on the Sulṭān's side, more often in rebellion against him. His relations with his rival, the powerful governor Newrūz, were similar. Finally the Sulṭān succumbed to the emirs, was deposed and put to death; the caliph 'Abbās b. Muḥammad al-Musta'in succeeded in 815 (1412). The governor Shaikh who was in Cairo at the time, was appointed first minister (*niẓām al-mulk*) and retained power by filling all available offices with his followers. A rebellion of the Egyptian Beduins gave a pretext for deposing the Sulṭān al-Musta'in. The emirs demanded that a man of vigour should occupy the throne and in Sha'bān of the same year chose Shaikh as Sulṭān. While he encountered no difficulties in Egypt, the governors of the Syrian provinces refused to recognise him. He had himself to go to Syria to bring them to reason. He gradually succeeded in taking one after the other prisoner, and after he had executed his chief enemy Newrūz his throne was secure. The last rebellion in 818 (1415) he put down with comparative ease.

The defeat of the Ottoman Sulṭān Bayazīd in 804 (1402) by Timūr and the civil strife in the Mamlūk kingdom had been utilised by the neighbouring rulers in the buffer-states between Egypt and the Ottoman empire to capture a number of towns and fortresses in southern Asia Minor up to a line Larenda-Abulustān-Darenda, which had previously been under Mamlūk rule. Sulṭān Shaikh regarded it as his duty to recapture these fortresses and again force these former vassals to recognise

his suzerainty in order to give his kingdom the necessary strength to resist its enemy, the Ottoman Sultān, and to protect the northern frontiers against the plundering raids of the Turkomans. The first campaign took place in 820 (1418) because, in spite of repeated demands, the prince Muḥammad b. 'Alī of the house of Ḳaramān would not surrender the town of Tarsūs, which he had taken, although he was ready to recognise the Sultān's suzerainty on the coins and in the *khutba*. The Sultān set out from Cairo, receiving in Syria envoys from the families of Dhu 'l-Ghādir, Ḳaramān and Ramaḍān, who brought the submission of their chiefs. Malatīya, Abulustain, Darendā and Tarsūs were successively occupied, then Behesnā, Kaḥtā and Karkār west of the Euphrates; the citadels of the two last-named were besieged, but the siege was raised when the commanders recognised the suzerainty of the Sultān. In the following year, a dangerous enemy of the Sultān, Ḳarā Yūsuf, chief of the Black Sheep, invaded Northern Syria in his pursuit of Ḳarā Yelek, chief of the White Sheep (both called after their banners), plundered the towns in the N. E. of the Mamlūk empire but then returned to Baghdād. The Sultān's successes were rendered useless by his return to Egypt, as the Syrian governors did not succeed in retaking the citadels. The Sultān therefore sent his son Ibrāhīm with a strong army to Asia Minor. The latter reached Kaisariya, appointed friendly chiefs as governors, while several hostile chiefs were taken prisoners and put to death and others slain in their flight. Ibrāhīm himself returned to Cairo in triumph but died there in 823 (1421) to the great grief of his father (the story that the latter poisoned him out of jealousy of his fame is absurd). Ḳarā Yūsuf was threatening the eastern frontier, but he had to turn his attention to his enemies, a rebellious son and Timūr's grandson *Shāh Rukh*, and at the end of the year he was poisoned. The Sultān himself had suffered for years from an affection of the foot; his illness (probably inflammation) became so serious that he could scarcely leave his bed. He had installed his eighteen months' old son as his successor and three of his emirs formed a kind of regency. His death took place on the 8th Muḥarram 828 (Jan. 14, 1427). His kingdom was secure, the frontiers consolidated, but at home there was a lack of order. Beduins were plundering the country and Alexandria was not infrequently exposed to attacks from the sea by Frankish pirates. Offices were freely sold and the people suffered much from the extortions of the officials. From time to time the Sultān deprived high officials of the profits of their extortions or imposed severe punishments on them. Taxes oppressed the country. The Sultān himself was brave and to the end of his life fulfilled his duties as a ruler in spite of his painful affliction — he had frequently to be carried. Although he led a life of pomp and gave popular entertainments, fireworks and feasts with great splendour, he was outwardly a pious and humble Muslim, who in times of famine and pestilence took part in prayers in the penitential garb of the Ṣūfis on the bare ground and like a pious Muslim observed a three days' fast in times of drought. He was harsh on Jews and Christians, dismissed them from government offices where they had clerical and administrative posts, and punished them in addition. The old strict regulations about dress were again enforced and all kinds of humiliations heaped on the "unbelievers".

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AL-MU'AIYAD FI 'L-DĪN, ABŪ NAṢR HIBAT ALLĀH B. ABĪ 'IMRĀN MUṢĀ B. DĀWŪD AL-SHIRĀZĪ, a Fātimid *dā'i* of high rank, d. 470 (1087). At the beginning of his mission al-Mu'aiyad propagated the Ismā'īlī doctrine in the East, especially in Shirāz. He succeeded in converting the Buwaihid amir Abū Ḳalīdjar [q. v.], but on account of opposition at home he went to Baghdād and Mawsil, and thence to Cairo, where he was received after some time at the court of al-Mustanṣir bi 'llāh [q. v.]. He now became chief *dā'i* and *bāb* of the Imām, and was probably in relations with the other great *dā'i* Naṣir-i Ḳhusraw [q. v.]. Al-Mu'aiyad was sent in command of an army to help al-Basāsiri [q. v.] against the Turkmen. With his assistance al-Basāsiri inflicted a severe defeat on the Turkmen at Sindjar, took Baghdād, and read the *khutba* in the name of the Fātimid Caliph. Al-Mu'aiyad was also in direct communication with the leaders of the Fātimid *da'wa* in Yaman. In addition to his capacities as a general he was possessed of great literary ability and a poet of no mean talent. His *diwān*, which consists of panegyrics on the Fātimid Imāms al-Mustanṣir and al-Zāhir, deals partly with philosophical subjects. Another important work, *al-Maḍjālīs*, contains 800 "assemblies", dealing with different theological and philosophical questions, including his correspondence with the poet-philosopher Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri [q. v.] on the subject of vegetarianism (see D. S. Margoliouth, in *J. R. A. S.* [1902], 289 sqq.). His autobiographical work, *al-Sira*, gives a detailed account of his mission in Shirāz and his admission to the court of al-Mustanṣir, and is carried down to 451 (1059). Besides being one of the few autobiographies in Arabic literature, it is of considerable interest for the history of the Buwaihids and their relations with the Fātimids. The MSS. of these works are preserved in some collections of Ismā'īlī works in Yaman and India.

Bibliography: Contained in the article; also Ibn al-Sairafī, *al-Ishāra*, Cairo 1924, p. 69; *Fārsnāma* (G. M. S., N. S., i.), 119; al-Makrizī, *Khitaṭ*, i. 60; Idrīs 'Imād al-Din b. al-Ḥasan, *Uyūn al-Akhbār*, vols. vi. and vii.; R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Poetry*, p. 134—136, 142. (H. F. AL-HAMDANI)

MU'AIYAD-ZĀDE, 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN ĀLEBĪ, an important Ottoman theologian and legist. Born in 860 (1456) in Amasia of the family of Mu'aiyad-zāde (his father 'Alī was one of the three sons of Diwrikli-zāde Shams al-Din Mu'aiyad Ālebī [d. 851 = 1447], *Shāikh* of the Ya'kūb Paṣha Zāwiyesi in Amasia), he became, as a young student of theology, acquainted with prince Bāyazid, the younger son of Sultān Mehmed al-Fātiḥ and afterwards Sultān, who had been appointed wālī of Amasia as a seven year old boy, and became a member of his circle. It is to this period that his relations with the famous poetess Mihri Khatun [q. v.] belong. The relations between the gifted youth and the prince who was about 9 years older than he (born 854 = 1447), became so intimate that Mu'aiyad soon became the in-

separable comrade of Bāyazīd. When Sulṭān Mehmed heard from various sources, especially from a complaint in verse by Ḥalīmī Luṭf Allāh, Qāḍī of Siwās, who had been gravely insulted by the entourage of the prince, of alleged abuses at the prince's court, especially the orgies of drug-taking (*mukeyyefāt: bersh, afiṣūn, ma'djūn*), he sent a commission of enquiry which arrived in Amasia when the prince was with Mu'aiyad on a pleasure trip to Ladik. The result of the enquiry was the issue of an order for the execution of the two chief culprits, one of whom was Mu'aiyad (this *hük-i sherif* is given in Feridūn, *Medimū'a-i Münsh'e'at*, Constantinople 1274², i. 270—271). From a note by Mu'aiyad in a book bought by him during his stay in Ladik in Rabi' I 882 (June 1477) (the *Zidj* of Shems al-Dīn) the date is exactly fixed (the date in Feridūn should therefore be altered from 884 to 883; cf. Ḥusām al-Dīn, *Amasia Ta'rikhi*, Istanbul 1927, iii., 230 note 1). Mu'aiyad, receiving timely warning of the fate threatening him, escaped from Amasia, provided with everything necessary by Bāyazīd, and after a short stay in Ḥalab went to Shirāz, where he completed his theological studies under the celebrated Djalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī.

When Mu'aiyad returned home, on hearing of Bāyazīd's accession, he received an *idjāza* (teacher's diploma) from Dawwānī. In 887 (1482) he reached Amasia where his father had died three months earlier. After staying six weeks here he went to Constantinople where his extensive learning soon gained him a reputation among the theologians. Bāyazīd appointed him *müderres* at the *Kalenderkhāne-medrese* in Constantinople. In 891 (1486) Mu'aiyad married the daughter of the famous legist Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Kaṣṭellānī (Mawlāna Kestellī) who was the last Qāḍī-asker-general of the Turkish empire and after the reforms by which this office was divided became Qāḍī-asker of Rumelia. Mu'aiyad had a brilliant career: in 899 (1494) he became Qāḍī of Adrianople; in 907 (1501) Qāḍī-asker of Anatolia; in 910 (1504—1505) Qāḍī-asker of Rumelia and head of all the 'ulamā'. In 917 (1511) the Janissaries who had taken the part of prince Selim plundered his house because his sympathies were with Aḥmad, the favourite son of Bāyazīd. He himself was dismissed by the now senile Sulṭān under pressure from the Janissaries. Selim I soon after his accession recalled however him to his old office as he saw in him the right man to carry through the important duties of a Qāḍī-asker. Selim took him with him on his campaign to Persia against Shāh Ismā'īl. But on the way back Mu'aiyad was deprived of his office in Čoban Köprü, as symptoms of a mental breakdown had begun to show themselves (920 = 1514). He died in 922 (1516) in Constantinople and was buried in Eiyūb.

Mu'aiyad wrote a number of treatises on law and theology especially on Qur'ānic exegesis. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 227 and Brusali Mehmed Tāhir, *Oṭhmanī Müellifleri*, Istanbul 1333, i. 355, give a list of his works that survive in MS. Under the nom-de-plume of Khātemī, Mu'aiyad also wrote poetry in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. His great service to Turkish literature lies however less in his own original work than in the magnificent liberality with which he encouraged rising young talent, like the poets Nedjātī and Zātī, the historians Kemāl-Pasha-Zāde and Muḥyī al-Dīn

Mehmed, the jurist Abu 'l-Su'ūd and others. Mu'aiyad was also famed as a calligraphist. He was the first Ottoman to form a private library of over 7,000 volumes, a huge figure for the time.

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MU'AIYID AL-DAWLA, ABŪ MAṢ'ŪR BŪYE B. RUKN AL-DAWLA, Būyid governor born in Djumādā II 330 (= February–March 942), died in Djurdjān in Shā'bān 373 (January–February 984). See the article FAKHR AL-DAWLA.

AL-MU'AKHKHIR. [See ALLĀH, II.]

AL-MU'AMMĀ, anagram, sometimes charade, a kind of enigma propounded in verse and rarely in prose; its meaning is made "blind" or obscure with the object of misleading the wits and the eye. It is formed by designating one or more words by various allusions to the letters forming it or them or by allusions relating to the pronunciation: the alphabetic value, the numeral value of the letters, misinterpretation or inversion (*kalb*). Very frequently no notice is taken of the vowels or of letters only connected with the spelling. Good taste is the rule.

There are several varieties of *mu'ammā* which will be found enumerated in the works given in the *Bibliography*.

The invention of the *mu'ammā* is attributed to Khalil b. Aḥmad, the inventor of prosody, while the Persians of course attribute it to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

The following is an example of a *mu'ammā* on the name Aḥmad: *Awwaluhu ṭhālithu tuffāḥatin, wa-rābi'u 'l-tuffāhi ṭhānithi. Wa-awwal al-miski lahū ṭhālithu, wa-ākhiru 'l-wardi li-bāḥihī*, "Its first is the third of [the word] *tuffāḥa* (apple) = A; and the fourth of [the word] *tuffāḥ* (apples) is its second = H; and the first of [the word] *misk* (musk) is its third = M; and the last of [the word] *ward* (roses) is the remainder of it = D".

Here is a Persian example on the word *satik*: *Nām-i butam ān māk tīrāzi, haft ast bibārisiy u-tāzi*, "The name of my idol, this [woman] fair as the moon, is seven in Persian and Arabic". The word *satik* divided into two, gives *sat* or *sitt* which in Arabic means "six" and *ik* or *yek* which in Persian means "one", whence we have 6 + 1 = 7.

Bibliography: Kuṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī, *al-Kanz al-Asmā' fi Fann al-Mu'ammā* (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 383); 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Aḥmad al-Bakkā', *al-Tirāz al-Asmā' alā Kann al-Mu'ammā* (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 285, 381); anonym., *Djalā' al-Dayādji fi 'l-Mu'amayāt wa 'l-Aghāz wa 'l-Aḥādji*, Bairūt 1882; Tāhir b. Šāliḥ al-Djazarī, *Tashil al-Madāris fi Fann al-Mu'ammā wa 'l-Alghāz*, Bairūt 1308; 'Abd al-Hādī Nadjā al-Abyārī, *Su'ūd al-Muṭālī' li-Su'ūd al-Maṭālī'*, Bulāḳ 1283, i. 3; Tāshköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda wa-Miṣbāḥ al-Siyāda*, Ḥaidarābād 1329, i. 224 (N^o 35); 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī, *Uyūn al-Masā'il*

min A'yān al-Masā'il, Cairo 1316, p. 108; Muḥammad b. Kaïs al-Rāzī, *al-Mu'djam fī Mā'yir Ash'ar al-'Adjam*, ed. Mirzā Muḥammad and Browne, Leyden 1901, p. 397; al-Djurdjānī, *Ta'rīfāt*, Constantinople 1307, p. 150; Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétor. et prosodie des lang. des musul. de l'Or.*, Paris 1873, p. 165. (MOH. BENCHENEB)

MU'ATĪLA [See TA'TĪL.]

MU'ĀWAḌA (A.), barter, exchange.

1. Mu'āwaḍa, barter, is historically an early form of the exchange of commodities between two parties and the predecessor of buying and selling (*bar'*; Roman law: *emptio-venditio*). In course of time sale developed out of exchange when, with the coming of money, a sum was given in place of the goods which the other party had to give in return. In Muslim law we find the following four kinds of sale:

a. Exchange of one thing for another. This is the primitive method of exchange (*mu'āwaḍa*). Exchange is a transaction in kind. Payment takes place "hand upon hand" (*yadan bi-yadīn*).

b. Exchange of a thing for a definite sum (*thaman*). By *thaman* (gold or silver) a sum of money is meant. Here we have a sale in the proper sense of the word (cf. BAṬ').

c. Exchange of one definite sum (*thaman*) for another; this is the case of gold or silver being exchanged for each or one another. This is called *ṣarf* (q. v., money-changing).

d. Exchange of a claim (*dain*, debt) for a definite sum. The main business under this head is the *salam* or *salaf* (q. v.).

2. Mu'āwaḍa is a subdivision of the form of agreement called *ṣulḥ* (q. v.). According to Ibn al-Kāsim's definition, p. 338, and other *fuḳahā'* such an agreement is either *ṣulḥ al-ibrā'*, reduction of debt (not wiping it out) or *ṣulḥ al-mu'āwaḍa*, exchange of debts. Ibn al-Kāsim thus defines the latter: "And the exchange i. e. the composition is the ceding of one's right to a third e. g. when some one claims a house or a part of it and he allows this claim and concludes an agreement with him by which the debt is paid in some definite thing e. g. clothes". In this case the creditor instead of the thing claimed by him which the debtor is unwilling to give up takes another to wipe out the disputed debt. An agreement may also be made about a legal claim instead of a thing. The following is a practical illustration: Zaid has a legal claim against 'Amr. 'Amr raises a claim against Zaid. Each of them abandons his claim in *ṣulḥ al-mu'āwaḍa* and the demands are cancelled.

3. Lastly Mu'āwaḍa is a technical term in the general Muslim law of contract, on which there is so far no comprehensive study taking full account of the sources. A contract (*'aqd*) may be based on onесided or mutual obligation (*contractus unilateralis* or *bilateralis*). The latter form, which is the basis for mutual obligations, claim and counter-claim, is called *mu'āwaḍa* in Muslim law. Examples of contract of this sort are those of sale, lease, marriage etc.

Bibliography: L. W. C. van den Berg, *De Contractu "do ut des"*, Leyden 1868, p. 29; Aḥmad Abu 'l-Fath, *al-Mu'āmalāt*, Cairo 1340, i. 41, 187, sqq.; al-Shirāzī, *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, ed. A. W. T. Juynboll, Leyden 1879, p. xi., xlviii., xiv.; R. Grasshoff, *Die allgemeinen Lehren des Obligationenrechts*, Göttingen 1895; also the usual works on Fikḥ. (OTTO SPIES)

MU'ĀWIYA, the first Umayyad caliph, son of Abū Sufyān [q. v.] and Hind [q. v.], was born in Mecca in the first decade of the seventh century A. D. Under the training of his father, the most influential personage in, if not the actual leader of the merchant republic of Mecca, he had an opportunity to be initiated into the principles of government as the Meccans understood it. Converted to Islām in the year of the *fath* or surrender of Mecca, he made himself useful to the Prophet in the capacity of secretary. Here he gained an insight into the workings of the new regime and learned to know the men with whom he was later to work or struggle: the autocratic 'Omar, the presumptuous 'Alī, a whole crowd of ambitious people, like Ṭalḥa, Zubair and 'Ā'isha, sometimes redoubtable for their talents and capacity for intrigue, like 'Amr b. al-Āṣ [q. v.] and Mughira b. Shu'ba [q. v.]. This dual training early matured the young Mu'āwiya who was remarkably gifted, and prepared him from the first for his high destiny.

In the caliphate of Abū Bakr he was sent to the conquest of Syria as second in command to his brother Yazīd; in this new field he displayed an astonishing activity and distinguished himself by military successes, like the taking of Caesarea and other cities of the Phoenician coast. On the premature death of Yazīd, he took his place as governor of Damascus. In 'Omar's reign, with the advance of Arab arms, he added to this office the governorships of the other provinces of Syria. 'Othmān, who was related to him, confirmed him in these offices and still further increased his authority. Mu'āwiya gained the attachment of those under him and established in Syria during the twenty years of his governorship a model province, the best organized, and with the best disciplined troops of the young empire. Not having been able to prevent the assassination of 'Othmān, he was able cleverly to take upon himself the task of avenging him. This was to lead him to the caliphate and bring him into open conflict with 'Alī. Delaying his attack, he let his rival use up his forces and lose his prestige in civil strife and in sterile conflicts with the dissenters ('Othmāniya, q. v.) and others, who accused him of complicity in the murder of his predecessor. The indecisive battle of Ṣiffin [q. v.] resulted in the arbitration of Adhroḥ [q. v.]. In pronouncing that 'Alī should lose the caliphate, the verdict restored to Mu'āwiya liberty of movement. He had won over 'Amr b. al-Āṣ to his side and at once used this valuable supporter for the conquest of Egypt. Encouraged by his military and diplomatic successes, he allowed his troops to proclaim him caliph and continuously harassed the provinces that still recognised 'Alī. Ibn Mul-djam's crime removed the last obstacle separating him from the throne. Mu'āwiya profited by it to inaugurate his reign in Jerusalem. To him the title of caliph merely meant official recognition of a fait accompli, the result of twenty years of labour and devotion to those under his governorship in Syria. To law-abiding men, he alone seemed capable of putting an end to the anarchy in which the empire had been struggling for more than ten years. In the course of a rapid campaign in the Irāk in 41 (661), he acquired from Ḥasan b. 'Alī a definite renunciation of his family's claims. The submission of the provinces to the east of the Tigris restored the unity of the caliphate. This

year is known as the year of reunion (*al-djama'a*).

One man continued to sustain in Persia the flag of the 'Alids, Ziyād b. Abīhi [q. v.]. Mu'āwiya won him over by *istilhāk*, a procedure by which he recognised him as his half-brother, son of Abū Sufyān. This bold stroke secured him the support of the ablest governor of the caliphate, a worthy rival of 'Amr b. al-Āṣ and Muḥīra b. Shu'ba, already supporters of the caliph. Against the combination of these four brains all the plots hatched by the anti-Umayyad opposition were to come to nothing. On the death of Muḥīra, Ziyād added the governorship of Kūfa to his own of Baṣra and for eight years ruled the whole of the eastern provinces. By his ability and loyalty, Ziyād showed himself most worthy of the confidence placed in him. Freed from anxiety about this half of the empire, Mu'āwiya devoted his energies to the pacification and development of the prosperity of other parts of his vast empire and to removing the traces of the long struggle from which it had emerged. He organised the Arab navy while his lieutenants actively pursued the work of foreign conquest. He took Cyprus and Rhodes and on two occasions his son Yazīd closely blockaded Constantinople. His great work was the creation of the Syrian army of troops blindly devoted to their sovereign. It formed the great military reserve of the empire for his successors, an inexhaustible nursery of soldiers and leaders. He was able to keep it in training by annual invasions of Byzantine territory: razzias on a large scale rather than campaigns with a definite plan of conquest. By thus keeping the enemy engaged at home, he managed to defend his own frontiers very efficaciously. Taken at a disadvantage during his tense struggle with 'Alī by an invasion of the Mardaite [q. v.], he did not hesitate to purchase the withdrawal of these adventurers from the emperor. If after his elevation to the caliphate he rarely left Damascus — henceforth the official capital — to lead his armies in person, he nevertheless was still the "real organiser of victory". He saw to the comfort and equipment of the troops, doubled their pay and saw that they were paid with a regularity hitherto unknown. His rival 'Alī said that on the call of Mu'āwiya the Syrian army "would take the field without demanding pay, not two or three times a year only, wherever it pleased its leaders to take them". His intuition everywhere chose the ablest administrators, the best leaders among the Kuraish and other tribes. To the names already mentioned we may add those of Ḍaḥḥāk b. Kais, Abū 'l-A'war al-Sulamī, Muslim b. 'Uḫba, Busr b. Abī Arṭāḥ, Ḥabīb b. Maslama [q. v.]. By the help of enormous subsidies and by his magnanimity he was able to keep the members of the Prophet's family, the 'Alids and the Ḥāshimis, quiet: Ibn 'Abbās and Ibn Dja'far, 'Aḳīl, the brother, and "the two Ḥasans", *al-Ḥasanān*, the sons of 'Alī. He used the business experience of the Sarrājids to organise the financial administration. This fiscal reform gave him the resources required to maintain his armies, carry out desirable public works and pay the subsidies necessary to secure the success of his plans. He continuously interested himself in agriculture. He paid special attention to the development of the province least favoured by nature, the Ḥidjāz. His example, which was copied by his relations and most influential contemporaries, brought this region a century of prosperity under

the Umayyads such as it was never to see again. In the lands of Medina and Mecca and Ṭā'if, Mu'āwiya carried out great irrigation schemes, sank wells and built dams.

In Syria he strengthened his authority by a close alliance with the fellow-tribesmen of his Kalbī wife Maisūn [q. v.] and through them with the other tribes of Kuḍā'a and those from the Yemen; these groups formed the bulk of the Arab population of Syria. It was on these foundations that the hegemony exercised by Syria throughout the Umayyad period was built and consolidated. His policy towards Christians was a tolerant one. Lastly, he endeavoured to train his son Yazīd to be an heir capable of continuing his traditions of government, by checking certain tendencies of his well endowed but impetuous nature with its fondness for pleasure. Seeing his end approaching, he skillfully succeeded in getting Yazīd recognised as his successor, first of all in Syria and then in other provinces. These difficult negotiations were the last of his political successes. Mu'āwiya was now entering on the twentieth year of his caliphate, in 60 (Oct. 679) and probably was in the 80th year of a life which had been marked by constant success. By the year 3 or 4 — contrary to the assertion of Ibn Duraid (*Kitaḥ al-Ishṭihāk*, p. 256) — he must have reached manhood, for four years later he was secretary to the Prophet. In the course of the forty years of his public career, no serious check ever interrupted his progress. After the abdication of Ḥasan b. 'Alī, he had "reigned without a rival, without losing any of the conquests of Islām. Neither 'Abd al-Malik, nor Manṣūr, nor Ḥārūn al-Rashīd earned this praise, unique in the annals of Islām" (Ḍahabī). He died at Damascus in the month of Raddjab of the year 60 (April 680) and was buried in the cemetery of Bāb al-Ṣaghīr where his tomb still survives. Before his death he entrusted the regency to Ḍaḥḥāk b. Kais and to Muslim b. 'Uḫba until Yazīd should return from Anatolia. Companion and secretary of the Prophet, brother of Umm Ḥabība [q. v.], "the mother of the believers", these claims have not preserved him from the hatred of the Shī'is and the official maledictions pronounced by certain 'Abbāsīd caliphs. More tolerant to his memory than to that of his son Yazīd, orthodoxy generally agrees to recognise his right to the respect which is due to the Ṣaḥābis. The Syrians long cherished the memory of his glorious reign and even beyond the bounds of Syria he had partisans among the Ḥanbalis, called *ghulāt*, the enthusiasts for Mu'āwiya.

II. Mu'āwiya's policy. In the historical and anecdotal literature of the Arabs there are few collections which do not devote a paragraph to Mu'āwiya's "wise mildness and complete self-control" (Wellhausen), qualities which the Arabs include under the term *ḥilm*. By this supreme virtue they claim to recognise the true statesman. The Sufyānid sovereign is said to have owed the great success of his career to it. "Mu'āwiya's *ḥilm*" thus became proverbial. A somewhat mixed virtue, essentially opportunist in character, it may be combined with astuteness, or the less scrupulous forms of diplomacy. In our hero this quality has been found even in the most difficult trials inflicted on his amour-propre. His smiling imperturbability was able to disarm the proudest of his adversaries, who were then completely won over by his generosity. With the golden chains of pensions

and rich gifts the ruler was able to hold in leash his most intractable enemies. When his friends expressed surprise at the vastness of certain donations, he would reply "a war costs infinitely more". This was his favourite method of dealing with the 'Alids and Hāshimids. He has been unjustly accused of having introduced the custom of publicly cursing the name of 'Alī from the pulpit of the mosque. There is no certain evidence of this practice before the time of the Marwānids.

The collateral branches of the Umayyad family supplied him with distinguished assistants. He was careful not to bring the more ambitious of them too much to the front or to leave them too long in one office. He was studious to inculcate into all his relations the feeling that they must stand by one another and that this consisted in the blind execution of his orders. The Umayyads formed his natural supporters. He could not do without them. But the unsettled problem, of the dynastic succession made him distrustful of relatives called upon to share the responsibilities of power. He did not fail to keep a close watch over them. With men like Ibn 'Amir, Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [q. v.], of remarkable gifts and considerable influence, who did not conceal their aspirations, he came to terms in a way that effectually discouraged them from following the dictates of their ambitions. As to the sons of the Caliph 'Othmān, they seemed to him too insignificant to cause him any disquiet. On the other hand, Marwān and Sa'īd were appointed to succeed one another at about regular intervals in the government of the Hidjāz, the cradle of Islām and of the ruling family. Mu'āwīya was unwilling to give them time to create in such an important centre a position for themselves and connections which might have compromised the future of the dynasty. Ultimately he decided to replace these two relatives by a nephew of his own, now almost grown up, the Sufyānid Walīd b. 'Uthba [q. v.]. In the important governorship of the 'Irāq, which controlled the eastern provinces, Mu'āwīya showed his preference for Thaqafī officials, Mughira, Ziyād and the latter's son 'Ubaid Allāh. He appreciated the devotion of these men, who came from the shrewd society in Ṭā'if, suspected by the other Umayyad families, compelled to rely on their sovereign, the author of their fortunes. For a moment, the extraordinary promotion of Ziyād and the confidence the Caliph showed in him suggested that he had him in view as his successor. In this attitude to his relatives, the interests of the dynasty surpassed all other considerations. The heir presumptive was young. Mu'āwīya wanted to save his Umayyad cousins from the temptation to set up as rivals of his successor. The first step was to do Yazīd rather a bad turn. If, instead of the inexperienced Walīd, Mu'āwīya had retained or restored for another period of office in the governorship of the Hidjāz the energetic Marwān, there is no reason to think that this would not have turned the incautious Ḥusain from the hopeless exploit of Karbalā'.

In the traditional view Mu'āwīya appears as the perfect type of Arab ruler. When writers, jurists, encyclopaedists and compilers of anthologies have to quote a trait or a saying illustrating kingship, or the conduct of states, they rarely hesitate to credit it to our hero. This unanimity which reflects so much to his credit has been transformed

into censure by orthodoxy. Mu'āwīya is reproached with having transformed the *khiṭāfat*, the vicariate of the Prophet, into *mulk*, into a temporal sovereignty, with having, if we may use the term, secularized the supreme power, really a purely lay one, in the heart of Islām. This criticism is an attempt to throw odium on Mu'āwīya while in reality it calls attention to his great merit. In him the ruler, "the king", i. e. the organizer and administrator, appear very distinctly while they are difficult to find in his predecessors, painfully fighting against the outbursts of Beduin anarchy. This transformation of the patriarchal power had begun with 'Omar who was the first to realise the necessity for it and attempted to realize it. Mu'āwīya endeavoured to hasten its evolution towards more effective centralization, an extension of the powers and personal authority of the sovereign. To secure for the latter the advantages of external pomp, the prestige given by formalities, he gave more ceremony to the hitherto democratic appearance of the caliph at the Friday services. He appeared in the *minbar* or pulpit, surrounded by a *shorta* or guard — 'Alī had already had one — and remained seated while delivering his address, the *khuṭba*. Some have thought to see in this attitude a sign of pride. This is to forget the primitive nature of the minbar as the seat of the ruler, the sovereign's throne, before it became of liturgical significance as the pulpit of the mosque, after the latter had become a building for religious worship. This charge of *mulk* was also intended to render suspect the sincerity of the faith of the Sufyānid monarch. But austerity characterised his morals and private life. He was a good father and a devoted husband. We find him conscientiously performing his religious duties and dying at length a good Muslim.

The chroniclers unanimously find in the complex character of Mu'āwīya another trait besides *ḥilm*: political finesse, what the Arabs call *dāhiya*. To be credited with this it was necessary to have in addition to diplomatic skill, a remarkable gift of eloquence, force of decision, a resourceful nature and a conscience broad enough not to shrink from the use of trickery. Mu'āwīya was reckoned among the five best Kuraish orators of his time. He was fond of saying "I have won more success with the tongue than Ziyād (b. Abīhi) with the sword". Arab writers prefer to attribute these successes to the Machiavellian nature of the sovereign. He is said never to have shrunk from recourse to violence or the use of poison when he wished to get rid of troublesome adversaries. To support this charge the cases of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Khālīd, Ḥasan b. 'Alī and Ashtar b. Mālīk [q. v.] are quoted. But each of the examples is capable of a more natural explanation. We would readily put Mu'āwīya in the category of those statesmen to whom useless crime is naturally repugnant, too wise to allow themselves to be tempted by violent solutions but not scrupulous enough to hesitate in such an extremity, if reasons of state seemed to advise it. One of his successors, 'Abd al-Malik, called him "the cunning (*mudāhin*) caliph". The pleasure-loving son of 'Alī, ruined by his easy life, forgotten and retired to Medina, did not deserve to be feared. The two other individuals above mentioned died by accident or were victims of private vengeance.

The poets, the "journalists" of the period, had an undoubted influence on their contemporaries. This influence the sovereign succeeded in controlling

and subjecting to dynastic interests. Himself very susceptible to the charms of verse, he would have liked to see poetry confine itself to developing patriotism, and renouncing satire which was a source of dissension among the tribes. The restorer of *djāmā'a*, national unity, felt more than anyone the necessity for this concord to heal the wounds caused by anarchy. Powerless to prevent the incursions of poetasters into the field of politics he endeavoured to win them over to his side by gifts and the use of tact. To win them over was to have "a good press", and at the same time gain their tribes to the cause of order, for the tribes usually agreed with the ideas spread by their bards. He exploited his son Yazīd's relations and friendships with the poets to compromise them in favour of the Umayyads and make them less amenable to the advances of the reactionary parties. He paid for their panegyrics; he took them under his protection whenever their lack of discipline brought them into trouble with the local authorities. He did not hesitate to shut his eyes to some of their poetical outbursts, which seem to compromise the reputation of his own hearth; under the 'Abbāsids such audacity would have meant death. He further left it to these indiscreet auxiliaries to deal with abuses by officials and found in them a useful check on arbitrary exercise of authority by his lieutenants. It was at the same time a satisfaction of their amour-propre, allowed to the vanity of these rhapsodists, who were courted by all parties and intoxicated by the terror which their wit inspired. In return for this toleration, he was able to get less disinterested services from them. He imposed on them the duty of preparing public opinion in favour of the *baī'a*, the recognition, of Yazīd as heir-apparent. To accustom the Arabs to this step so repulsive to their democratic instincts, to give the caliph leisure to calculate its chances of success, there was nothing so useful as the intervention of these heralds with their echoing phrases. It enabled the government to remain discreetly in the background, ready to come out at the opportune moment.

The biased Mas'ūdī himself cannot help admiring the pliant ease of Mu'āwiya's policy, "his great generosity to his subjects and the benefits which he heaped upon them; winning their sympathy and seducing their hearts with such skill that they put him before their kinsmen and natural affections". Firmness in administration, skill in managing men according to their rank, cordiality, these are some of the qualities credited by this historian, the friend of 'Alī, to the successful rival of Fāṭima's husband.

Let us now deal with the charges brought against him by orthodoxy. With the object of making them more readily accepted, the indictment is carefully put in the mouth of the austere Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. "Mu'āwiya committed four crimes — one of them alone would suffice to cover him with dishonour — : he abandoned the nation to men of no repute, deprived it without consulting it (by the *baī'a* of Yazīd) of the control of its destinies and that in the life-time (i. e. to the detriment) of numerous Companions and virtuous individuals. He chose as his successor an incorrigible drunkard, robed in silk and playing the harp. He adopted Ziyād. Lastly he condemned Ḥudjr b. 'Adī [q. v.] to death". The impartial historian will have little difficulty in clearing the sovereign from these charges, which reveal his political flair, his instinct for rulership which raised him high above the

prejudices of his contemporaries. The measures for which he is blamed secured the caliphate twenty years of peace and prosperity, the longest period it ever knew.

To sum up, Mu'āwiya appears in the series of Muslim rulers as one of the most attractive individuals and one of all round ability. In him the Arabs see the very incarnation of sovereignty. In the opinion of Mas'ūdī his successors at best could only try to copy him without being able to equal him. In spite of their little liking for the able Sufyānīd, the Marwānīds frequently appealed to his traditions and the methods of government inaugurated by him. He was, beyond doubt, the least oriental and the most modern of the rulers of Islām. He did not disdain public opinion. One must be grateful to him for not having believed in the power of force alone in the management of men, for not having sought to reestablish, as the 'Abbāsīds were to do, the old Asiatic autocracies, for having preferred that his subjects should become voluntarily attached to him by winning their sympathies, for proclaiming that "the world is more surely led by the tongue than by the sword". This conviction led him to adopt several institutions of Beduin democracy — such as the *wuṣūḍ*, deputations from the provinces and the principal tribes — to consult the views of such assemblies on as many occasions as possible, to associate them openly with public business by recognising their right of remonstrance. The astuteness of the sovereign knew how to direct these manifestations of the old individualism of the nomads and to bring them to cooperate with his designs. To quote the comparison of the Byzantine historians, he appeared as a *πρωτοσύμβουλος* in the midst of his *σύμβουλοι*; in the deliberations of his Syrian parliament, he posed as *primus inter pares*. He was gradually able to advance the political education of his subjects and to control the signs of lack of discipline. He was never perturbed by their criticisms nor by the satires of the poets. "I do not trouble" he said "about words so long as they do not lead to deeds". These liberal principles became restricted under the Marwānīds and disappeared with the coming of power of the absolute monarchy of the 'Abbāsīds.

As is frequently the case with men who have grown old in politics, a long period of power — he exercised it without interruption for 40 years — had made him a sceptic. This benevolent scepticism was revealed in a knowing smile when, with eyes half closed, he used to listen without missing a word to the petitions and recriminations of his visitors and pretended to be taken in by their customary excesses. From his youth, passed in the cosmopolitan city of Mecca, then in Medina in the very mixed society of the Companions, he had been in too close contact with his contemporaries to be under any illusions about their disinterestedness. He had not to invent, but no one managed better than he, that instrument of government, the *ta'līf al-ḥulūb*, the rallying of hearts, an ingenious euphemism of the Kur'ān, meaning the art of purchasing hesitating adherents. Other caliphs surpassed him in courage, in outward austerity, *zuhd*, in love of knowledge and other qualities that dazzle the eyes of the multitude. No one possessed to such a degree as Mu'āwiya the gifts of the founder of an empire: vision,

energy and promptitude in action, breadth of view, logical thinking, absence of antiquated prejudices, skill in adapting the prestige and ceremonial of his position to Arab taste, ability to use men and to deal tactfully with their prejudices so as not to offend them directly. This rare combination of qualities enabled him to extract order out of the chaos of Beduin anarchy. If we endeavour to appreciate fairly Mu'āwiya's work with its inevitable deficiencies, one must take into account the intractable material on which he had to work and the resistance opposed by the inveterate individualism of the nomads. He succeeded not only in disciplining them but also in transforming them into conquerors, able to rule over peoples of superior culture, heirs to the oldest civilisations.

For achieving this result, the son of Muḥammad's old opponent has deserved well of Islām. In the list of those responsible for this great revolution his name should come after that of the Prophet beside the name of the caliph 'Omar. Orthodox tradition likes to exalt the latter and present him as the second founder of Islām. Of European writers, Sprenger and von Kremer have popularised this view. In it we may recognise the reply of the schools of the Ḥijāz to the 'Irāk legend woven round the memory of 'Alī. To their work we owe the fantastic proportions assumed by the personality of 'Omar; it absorbs not only Abū Bakr, but even throws its shadow upon the Prophet. 'Omar is brought into the origin of all religious and administrative institutions, especially of all those that cannot decently be credited to the author of the Qur'ān. This exaggerated admiration of the Ḥijāz was to provoke the protestations of the 'Abbāsids. The counterblast of Shi'a tradition was to place 'Alī alongside of 'Omar to direct him and if necessary to correct him. The indisputable merits of the second caliph lie elsewhere. In the midst of the terrible confusion that resulted from the conquests he was able to maintain the unity and cohesion of the empire, immeasurably enlarged, to bring the Arabs intoxicated with success under comparative control. Closely watched, harassed by the selfish claims of his Medinese senate and its disturbing element formed by the redoubtable group of the "ten *mubashshara*" or "the chosen" and the oldest friends of the Master, he succeeded in neutralising their restless activities, their dire passion for intriguing and in exploiting their greed and mutual jealousies. In the provinces the generals and governors showed an obedience scarcely less intermittent. 'Omar had frequently to resign himself to approving by *sanatio in radice* in order not to lose touch with such undisciplined auxiliaries and to remind all of the existence of the vicariate of the Prophet. The day on which he thought of a more effective centralization, of a less ideal systematization, assassination brutally delivered him from his error. The same fate was to overtake 'Othmān, when under pressure from the Umayyads, he took up his predecessor's programme where it had been interrupted. With 'Alī the caliphate relapsed into chaos and lost a quarter of a century of progress on the way to reorganization. One province alone formed an exception, Syria, which had been governed since its creation by the Umayyads.

But for the intervention of Mu'āwiya and his able lieutenants, the 'Amrs, Ziyāds and Marwāns, the Muslim empire would have been transformed — like the 'Irāk and Khurāsān — into an arena

to which the Arabs came to settle their petty tribal quarrels. Once on the throne, the Sufyānid worked to extend gradually to the rest of the caliphate the methods of government which had secured the prosperity of Syria. Encouraged by the results obtained in this country, he set himself to discipline the other Beduins who, according to the idea ascribed to 'Omar, formed the "substance of Islām". From this *rudis indigestaque moles*, this rebellious mass, gradually broken in by the influence of Syria, fashioned by teachers trained in his school, the first Syrian caliph recruited soldiers, then formed from them the cadres of a regular army: wonderful troops always ready to play their double part, the *djihād* abroad, and at home the maintenance, against any threat from within, of the *djama'a*, the unity of the empire. Mu'āwiya succeeded in impressing on these descendants of caravan-leaders of Arabia, nomads, all obstinate landmen, the importance of the mastery of the seas. Arab thalassocracy dates from this period. Forced to use primitive institutions, the *summa*, tradition, sanctioned by the Prophet and the Medīna caliphs, he endeavoured to turn them to the needs of a great empire. He managed at least to suppress the anarchical working of the *shūrā* by regulating the dynastic succession. He organised the finances; he began by revising and reducing the enormous pensions granted by preceding governments without regard to services rendered to the state. Down to his time the central treasury of the caliphate had been supplied by intermittent and always unwilling contributions extorted from the provinces. Mu'āwiya endeavoured to settle the amount to be paid by each province and to regularise its collection. Under him the treasury ceased to be a relief fund which the conquerors claimed to use as they pleased. His predecessors had had to empty it periodically to secure assistance or neutrality important for the success of their policy. Hitherto "*māl al-muslimin*", the collective property of the Muslims", the treasury now became *māl Allāh*, the treasury of the state, intended to cover general expenses, to secure the representation and the defence of the empire. These reforms made Mu'āwiya the first sovereign, *malik*, of Islām, the first ruler to enjoy a definite authority, independent, unlike his predecessors, of the anarchic good-will of his subjects, and no longer at the mercy of an oligarchy interested in the maintenance of old abuses. The Medīnese vicariate which developed from the triumvirate, could not long survive this coup d'état, this drastic solution of the problem of the succession to the Prophet. Before Mu'āwiya, the caliphate had only had a nominal existence. For this figment, the son of Abū Sufyān substituted a reality; he created the Arab state: a creation seen darkly by 'Omar without having been brought to realisation.

Bibliography: We refer the reader to our *Etudes sur le règne du calife omayyade Mo'awia I*, following our *Califat de Yazid I* (reprint from *M.F.O.B.*, i.—iii.). The references are there given. One may also with advantage consult G. Levi della Vida, *Il califfato di 'Alī secondo il Kitāb ansāb al-aṣrāf di al-Balāḍuri*, in *R.S.O.*, vi. 427—507; our *Ziād ibn Abihi, vice-roi de l'Iraq, lieutenant de Mo'awia I* (extract from the same periodical, iv.).

(H. LAMMENS)

MU'ĀWIYA B. 'UBAID ALLĀH. [See ABU 'UBAID ALLĀH.]

AL-MU'AWWIDHATĀNI, name of sūras cxiii. and cxiv., taken from the opening words: "Say, I take refuge with . . .". The term *al-mu'awwidhāt* occurs also; it denotes these sūras together with sūra cxii. — The *mu'awwidhatāni* belong to those parts of the Qur'ān which are frequently recited (after every *ṣalāt*: Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iv. 155; before going to sleep: Bukhārī, *Da'awāt*, bāb 12; in order to avert the evil eye: Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Paisley and London 1899, p. 259, chapter Superstitions).

AL-MU'AZZAM. [See TÜRĀNŠĀH.]

AL-MALIK AL-MU'AZZAM ŠARAF AL-DĪN 'ISĀ B. MALIK AL-'ĀDIL B. AIYŪB was born in 576 (1180). In 597 (1200) he became governor for his father al-Malik al-'Ādil [q.v.] in Damascus and next year was besieged by Saladin's sons Zāhir and Afdal in course of the dispute about the succession between them and 'Ādil. 'Ādil came as far as Nāblus with his army but could not relieve Damascus so that its fall was imminent. Then a quarrel broke out between the brothers as to who was to get Damascus. The majority of the emirs in the army made peace with 'Ādil and the siege was raised in the course of the year. 'Ādil was recognised as the head of the Aiyūbids and 'Isā continued to govern Damascus and the lands going with it as far as the Egyptian frontier for his father. When 'Ādil died in 615 (1216) he had the inhabitants swear fealty to him but recognised his older brother Kāmil as suzerain in the Friday *khutba*. He was, like his brothers, on fairly good terms with the Crusaders, but at the decisive moment he joined forces with his brothers against them and it is not least due to him, as the most important Aiyūbid leader of the period, that the Crusaders had to withdraw from Damiatta in 618 (1221). His desire to seize central Syria (Ḥims and Ḥamāt) was not fulfilled as Kāmil threatened him with war when he attacked these towns. 'Isā therefore made an alliance in 623 (1226) with the Khwārizm-Šāh Djalāl al-Dīn and mentioned him as suzerain in the Friday prayer instead of his brother. He thus felt strong enough to turn away the Emperor Frederick II's ambassador in this year while Kāmil, who did not feel too secure, negotiated with him. It did not however come to fighting between the two brothers as both feared the intervention of Frederick II. But before the latter set out for the Holy Land, 'Isā died on 1st Dhū 'l-Ḥiǧǧja 624 (Nov. 12, 1227) in Damascus of dysentery. Had he lived longer, Frederick II would probably not have taken Jerusalem. It was 'Isā's son Nāṣir al-Dīn Dāwūd who succeeded in regaining Jerusalem for the Muslims. 'Isā's rule stretched from south of Ḥims beyond Jerusalem to al-'Arīsh on the Egyptian frontier. In addition to his military ability, he is celebrated as a friend of poetry and letters and he is also said to have been an author himself. Unlike the other Aiyūbids, he followed the school of Abū Ḥanīfa.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, No. 526 (transl. de Slane, ii. 428 sqq.); Abu 'l-Fidā', in *Recueil des historiens orientaux des croisades*, i. (s. index); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, in *Recueil*, ii. (s. index); Mas'ūdi, *Ukd al-Djum'ān*, op. cit., and also Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* (s. index).

(M. SOBERNHEIM)

MUBĀH. [See SHAR'Ā.]

MUBAIYIDA. [See AL-MUḤANNA']

MUBALLIGH. [See MASPĪD, I, D, e and H, 4.]
MUBĀRAK GHĀZĪ, an Indian saint. In all parts of the Sundarban, the Muḥammadan woodcutters invoke certain mythical beings to protect them from tigers and crocodiles. In the 24 Parganas it is Mubārak Ghāzī who, in the Eastern parts of the Delta goes by the name of Zindah Ghāzī, the living warrior. Mubārak Ghāzī is said to have been a *faḳīr* (mendicant) who reclaimed the jungle tracts along the left bank of the river Hoogly. Every village has an altar dedicated to him and no one enters the forest nor do any of the boat's crew, who might sail through the districts, pass without first making offerings at one of these shrines. The faḳīrs in these dangerous forests, who claim to be lineally descended from the Ghāzī, indicate with pieces of wood called *sang* the precise limits within which the forest has to be felled. Mubārak Ghāzī, so the legend goes, came to Bengal when Radja Matak ruled over the Sundarban. The saint happened to have a dispute with the chief, who thought himself to be in the right, upon which the latter agreed to give his only daughter Shushila in marriage to the former, should his own opinion be proved wrong. This the Ghāzī succeeded in doing and won his bride in consequence. Since no man saw him die, he is believed to reside in the depths of the forest, to ride about on tigers, and to keep them so obedient to his will that they dare not touch a human being without his express desire. Before entering a jungle or sailing through the narrow channels whose shady banks are infested by tigers, boatmen and woodcutters, both Hindus and Muḥammadans, raise little mounds of earth and on them make offerings of rice, plantains, and sweetmeats to Mubārak Ghāzī, after which they fearlessly cut the brushwood and linger in the most dangerous spots.

This strange myth, there cannot be any doubt, is borrowed from Hindus to suit the taste of the superstitious boatmen and woodcutters.

Bibliography: Ward, *Hindus*, iii. 186; Major R. Smyth, *Statistical and Geographical Report of the twenty-four Pergunnah Districts*, 1857.

(M. HIDAYT HOSAIN)

MUBĀRAK SHĀH, MU'IZZ AL-DĪN, the second king of the Saiyid dynasty of Dihli, was the son of Kḥiḍr Khān, the first king, and succeeded his father on May 22, 1421. The limits of his kingdom were then restricted to a few districts of Hindūstān proper and Multān, and he was obliged to desist from an attempt to establish his authority in the Pandjāb by the necessity for relieving Gwalior, menaced by Hūshang of Mālwa, who raised the siege and met him, but after an indecisive action came to terms and retired to Mālwa. From 1425 to 1427 he was engaged in attempting to restore order in Mewāt, and received the formal submission of the rādjas of Gwalior and Čandwār (Firūzābād), but Muḥammad Khān Awhadī of Bayāna, whom he had taken prisoner, escaped and took refuge in Mewāt, and the work there was to do again. Muḥammad Awhadī, on being hard pressed in Bayāna, fled to Ibrāhīm Shāh of Džawnpūr, and as the latter marched against Kālpī, Mubārak marched to meet him. Ibrāhīm, who had been plundering Mubārak's dominions, avoided a conflict for some time, but on April 2, 1428, the armies met near Čandwār and Ibrāhīm, though not decisively defeated, retired

the next day to D̲jawnpūr. Mubārak then collected revenue in the neighbourhood of Gwalior and retired by way of Bayāna, which was evacuated by Muḥammad Awhādī, who had returned thither. For the rest of the year his officers were engaged in restoring order in the Pandjāb, ravaged by D̲jasrath the Khokar, and he in a similar task in Mewāt, and in collecting revenue by force. In 1430 Fūlād Turkbača successfully defied the royal authority in Bhātinda, and in 1431 a rebellion broke out in Multān and had no sooner been suppressed than D̲jasrath renewed his activity in the Pandjāb. The chronicle of the rest of the reign is a record of rebellions in the Pandjāb, Multān, Sāmāna, Mewāt, Bayāna, Gwalior, Tidjāra and Itāwa, and a rebel captured Lāhor and attacked Dipālpūr. Lāhor was eventually recovered, but the whole country remained in a disturbed condition.

War broke out between Ibrāhīm of D̲jawnpūr and Hūshang of Mālwa in connection with Kālpī, the suzerainty over which belonged to neither and was claimed by both, and Mubārak, marching thither, turned aside to inspect Mubārakābād which he was building, and then, on February 19, 1434, he was assassinated at the instance of Sarwar al-Mulk, whom he had dismissed from the post of minister in the preceding year.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Kāsim Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay 1832; *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* and translation by Lt.-Col. G. S. A. Ranking; *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbari* and translation by B. Dé (both in the *Bibl. Ind. Series* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal); Yahyā b. Aḥmad, *Ṭarīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, rare in MS, but reproduced by the authorities cited above.

(T. W. HAIG)

MUBĀRIR AL-DĪN. [MUHAMMAD B. AL-MUẒAFFAZ.]

AL-MUBARRAD, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS MUḤAMMAD B. YAZĪD AL-THUMĀLĪ AL-AZDĪ, an Arab philologist, born on the 10th Dhū 'l-Hijjja 210 (March 25, 826) in Baṣra, was there taught by Abū 'Omar al-Djarmī, Abū 'Othmān al-Mazīnī and Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjīstānī, the pupil of Aṣma'ī. In his early works, the *Kitāb Masā'il al-Ghalaṭ*, he criticised the *Kitāb* of Sibawaih, but only a small number of his criticisms were well founded and of these only a minority were original (al-Suyūṭī, *al-Mushir*, i. ii. 188; ii. 232). Later he went to Baghdād where he became a very busy teacher; among his pupils were Niṣṭawaih, Ibn Durustawaih and Ibn Kaisān. His rival for favour at court was the Kūfan Tha'lab, to whom he was far superior in ability and style; the rivalry between these two scholars seems to have been the origin of the later tradition of the opposition between the schools of Kūfa and Baghdād. His epithet al-Mubarrad seems to refer to his skill in disputation, but there are a number of anecdotes explaining it in very different ways (*Mushir* 2, ii. 267, 11 sq.; *Bughya*, p. 116—117; *Irshād*, vii. 137, 15 sqq.). He died in Baghdād in Shawwāl or Dhū 'l-Kāda 285 (Oct. 898).

His chief work *al-Kāmil fi 'l-Adab* is a typical example of the work of the old philologists as developed from their teaching. Without being tied down to any fixed arrangement or even aiming at cohesion in the separate chapters, it combines traditions of the Prophet, sayings of pious men, proverbs, many poems mostly of the older period, and also historical matter like the important chapter

on the Khāridjis (characteristic is the passage on p. 409 in Wright's edition: "In this chapter we shall mention something of everything in order by change to prevent the reader from being wearied and mix a little jest with the earnest so that heart and soul may be recuperated"; similarly p. 428; exceptions like the chapters on simile p. 447 or on laments for the dead and consolation p. 713 are rare). The important feature is the full grammatical and lexicographical commentary which he gives to every quotation. The work was given its final form with numerous additions and glosses by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Aknāsh (d. 315 = 927). Al-Baṭalyūsī wrote a commentary on it which has not survived (*Mushir* 1, i. 182, 8; 223, 5); there is an anonymous commentary in the possession of Ismā'il Efendi in Stambul. It was first printed in Stambul in 1286; editions: *The Kāmil of El-Mubarrad edited for the German Oriental Society* by W. Wright, part 1—12, Leipzig 1864—1892; reprinted Cairo 1308, 1323, 1324 (with extracts from D̲jāhīz on the margin), 1339; with two modern commentaries: *Tahdhīb al-Kāmil* by al-Sibā'ī al-Baiyūnī, Cairo 1341 (1923), 2 vols. and *Ragħbat al-'Āmil min Kitāb al-Kāmil* by Saiyid Ibn 'Alī al-Marṣafī (professor at al-Azhar), 8 vols., Cairo 345—346 (1927—1928); *Das Khari-dschitenkapitel aus dem K.*, transl. into German by O. Rescher, Stuttgart 1922. His second collection of material, the *Kitāb al-Muḩtaḩab*, met with less success, because, it is said, it had been transmitted by the heretic Ibn al-Rāwandī; it is preserved with a commentary by Sa'īd b. Sa'īd al-Fāriḩī (d. 391 = 1000; see Yāqūt, *Irshād*, iv. 240) in the Escorial manuscript 2, p. 111 and in Stambul, Köprülü, No. 1507—1508 (cf. Rescher, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxiv. 197; photograph in Cairo; *Fihrist* 2, ii. 123). Of his numerous other works given by his biographers we only have the *Kitāb al-Ta'wīz*, Escorial 2, p. 534, 1, the *Kitāb Nasab 'Adnān wa-Kahtān*, in Stambul 'Āṭif Efendi, 2003 (*M. F. O. B.*, v. 491) = Well al-Dīn, 3178 (*M. F. O. B.*, vii. 108), Escorial, Casiri 1700, fol. 59r—68v (s. Levi Della Vida, *Les livres des chevaux*, Leyden 1928, p. xiii), his answer to a letter from Aḥmad b. Wāṭḩīk on the question whether poetry is superior to eloquence, in Munich 791 and in a fragment in Berlin, Ahlw. 7177 as well as the *Kitāb al-Muḩḩakkar wa 'l-Mu'annath* as transmitted by Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, in Damascus, Zaiyāt, p. 36, No. 113, 2. His other works are only known from quotations, e. g. his *Kitāb al-Iḩṩiyār*, which he himself quotes, *Kāmil*, p. 760, 4, the *Kitāb Ghariḩ al-ḩadīṩh*, which Ibn al-Aṩḩir mentions among his sources in the preface to the *Nihāya*; the *Kitāb ma 'ttafaḩa Lafṩuhu wa 'lḩtalafa Ma'nāhū* (Suyūṭī, *Sharḩ al-Mughnī*, Cairo 1322, p. 195, 20); the *Kitāb al-Rawḩa*, a collection of poems by contemporary poets beginning with Abū Nuwās, *Aghānī* 1, viii. 15, 20; 215, 1, 26, 13; al-Djurdjānī, *Kitāb al-Kināyāt*, p. 29, 9; Ibn al-Aṩḩir, *al-Maṩḩal al-sā'ir*, p. 189, 16; the *Kitāb al-I'tinān* on the causes of the poetical strife between Djarir and Farazdaq; 'Abd al-Kādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, i. 305, 21; *Kitāb al-Sharḩ* (i. e. *Sharḩ Kalām al-Arab*), l. c., ii. 193 infra.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, p. 59; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuṣḩat al-Alibba*, p. 279—293; Ibn Khallikān, No. 608, iii. 35; Zubaidī, *Ṭabaḩāt al-Naḩwīyīn*, ed. Krenkow, *R. S. O.*, viii., No. 40; al-Azhari, in *M. O.*, 1920, p. 26; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vii. 137—143; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, S. 116; al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt al-Djānān*, ii. 210—213; Flügel,

Die gramm. Schulen, p. 93; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschr. d. Araber*, p. 80; C. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 108; Rescher, *Abriss*, ii. 149.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

AL-MUBARRAZ, a fortress on the Persian Gulf, about a mile north of al-Hufhūf, surrounded by open villages and date palm-groves. The population of the fortress and of the hamlets that belong to it is given, sometimes at 10,000, sometimes at 30,000.

Bibliography: C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, viii./1 (Berlin 1846), p. 574; viii./2 (Berlin 1847) p. 524. (ADOLF GROHMANN)

AL-MUBDĪ. [See ALLĀH, II.]

AL-MUḤĀDĪ, name of sūra xxxii., which is also called *al-sajda* or *al-djurus*.

MUḤĀR. [See RABĪʿA.]

MUḤĀRĪ, the twelfth metre in Arabic prosody, which is very rarely used. Theoretically each of its hemistichs consists of three feet (*mafʿilun faʿilātun mafʿilun*); in practice the third foot is lacking.

It has one *ʿarūd* and one *ḍarb* only: *mafʿilun faʿilātun: mafʿilun faʿilātun*. *Mafʿilun* however must become *mafʿilu*. The first *mafʿilun* may lose its *ma*; in that case the form is *faʿilu* (= *mafʿulu*) and *faʿilu*. (M. BENCHEB)

AL-MUDAWWANA. [See SAHNŪN.]

AL-MUDDATHTHIR, title of sūra lxxiv.

AL-MUDHILL. [See ALLĀH II.]

MUDĪR, title of the governors of the Egyptian provinces, called *mudiriya*. The use of the word *mudir* in this meaning is no doubt of Turkish origin. The office was created by Muḥammad ʿAlī, when, shortly after 1813, he reorganised the administrative division of Egypt, instituting seven *mudiriyas*; this number has been changed several times [s. KHEDIVE]. At the present day there are 14 *mudiriyas*. The chief task of the *mudir* is the controlling of the agricultural administration and of the irrigation, as executed by his subordinates, viz. the *maʿmūr*, who administers a *markaz* and the *nāḡir* who controls the *ḡism* which is again a subdivision of the *markaz*. Under Saʿīd Pasha the office of *mudir* was temporarily abolished with a view to preventing oppression. Until that time they had been without exception Turks, but under Ismāʿīl Pasha, when the function was instituted again, this high administrative position was opened also to native Egyptians.

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AL-MUDJĀDILA, title of sūra lviii.

AL-MUDJĀHĪD. [See RASŪLIDS.]

MUDJASSIMA. [See TASHBĪH.]

MUDJAWWAZA. [See TURBAN, iv. 890b sq.]

AL-MUDJĪB. [See ALLĀH II.]

MUDJĪR AL-DĪN. [See AL-OLAIMI.]

MUʿDJIZA (A.), part. act. iv. of *ʿdja*, lit. "the overwhelming", has become the technical term for miracle. It does not occur in the Kurʿān, which denies miracles in connection with Muḥammad, whereas it emphasizes his "signs", *āyāt*, i. e. verses of the Kurʿān; cf. the art. KORAN. Even in later literature Muḥammad's chief miracle is the Kurʿān (cf. Abū Nuʿaim, *Daʿāʾil al-Nubuwwa*,

p. 74). Muʿdjiza and *āya* have become synonyms; they denote the miracles performed by Allāh in order to prove the sincerity of His apostles. The term *karāma* [q. v.] is used in connection with the saints; it differs from muʿdjiza in so far as it denotes nothing but a personal distinction granted by Allāh to a saint.

Miracles of Apostles and Prophets, especially those of Muḥammad, occur in the *sīra* and in *ḥadīth*. Yet in this literature the term muʿdjiza is still lacking, as it is in the oldest forms of the creed. The *Fīḡh Akbar*, ii., art. 16, mentions the *āyāt* of the prophets and the *karāmāt* of the saints. Muʿdjiza occurs in the creed of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Nasafī (ed. Cureton, p. 4; ed. Taftāzānī, p. 165): "And He has fortified them (the apostles) by miracles contradicting the usual course of things".

Taftāzānī explains it in this way: A thing deviating from the usual course of things, appearing at the hands of him who pretends to be a prophet, as a challenge to those who deny this, of such a nature that it makes it impossible for them to produce the like of it. It is Allāh's testimony to the sincerity of His apostles.

A very complete and systematic description occurs in al-Idjī's *Mawāḡiḡ*. He gives the following definition of muʿdjiza: It is meant to prove the sincerity of him who pretends to be an apostle of Allāh. Further he enumerates the following conditions: 1. It must be an act of Allāh; 2. it must be contrary to the usual course of things; 3. contradiction to it must be impossible; 4. it must happen at the hands of him who pretends to be an apostle, so that it appears as a confirmation of his sincerity; 5. it must be in conformity with his announcement of it; the miracle itself must not be a disavowal of his claim (*daʿwā*); 7. it must follow on his *daʿwā*.

Further, according to al-Idjī, the miracle happens in this way that Allāh produces it at the hands of him whose sincerity He wishes to show, in order to realise His will, viz. the salvation of men through the preaching of His apostle. Finally, as to its effect, it produces, in accordance with Allāh's custom, in those who witness it, the conviction of the apostle's being sincere.

Bibliography: Abū Ḥanīfa, *Fīḡh Akbar* with the commentary of ʿAlī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Kāfī, Cairo 1327, p. 69; Abū ʿl-Barakāt ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī, *ʿUmda*, ed. Cureton, p. 15 sqq.; Abū Ḥafṣ Nasafī, ed. Taftāzānī, Constantinople 1313, p. 165—167; Muḥammad Aʿlā al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-Funūn*, Calcutta 1862, p. 975 sqq.; Abū Nuʿaim Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣbahānī, *Daʿāʾil al-Nubuwwa*, Haidarābād 1320. (A. J. WENSINCK)

MUDJTAHID. [See IDJTIHĀD.]

MUDJATATHH, the fourteenth metre in Arabic prosody, has theoretically three feet, consisting of two successive *faʿilātun* in every hemistich; in practice there are two feet only.

It has one *ʿarūd*, and one *ḍarb* only: *mustafʿilun faʿilātun: mustafʿilun faʿilātun*. The foot *faʿilātun* of the *ḍarb* and also, though seldom, that of the *ʿarūd*, may become *faʿilātun*, on condition that *mustafʿilun* retains its *n*; it loses its *n* when *mustafʿilun* loses its *s*.

Muʿstafʿilun loses its *s*, when the preceding *faʿilātun* retains its *n*; it also loses its *n*, when *faʿilātun* following it, does not become *faʿilātun*.

(MOH. BENCHEB)

AL-MUFAḌḌAL B. MUḤAMMAD B. YA'ĪLĀ B. 'AMIR B. SĀLIM B. AL-RAMMĀL AL-ḌABBĪ, an Arabic philologist of the Kufan school. By birth he was a free born Arab; the date of his birth is not known. His father was a recognised authority on the events in the wars of the Arabs on the frontiers of Khurāsān in 30—90 A.H. (quoted in Ṭabarī's *Annals*). It is possible that his son was born in this region. As a partisan of the house of 'Alī he took part in the rising against the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr led by Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh [q.v.], brother of *al-Nafs al-zakiya*. The rising was put down and Ibrāhīm killed; al-Mufaḍḍal was taken prisoner but pardoned by the caliph and appointed tutor to his son, the future caliph al-Mahdī, and in his train he visited Khurāsān. He then worked in Kūfa as a philologist and teacher; among his pupils was his stepson al-ʿArābī. The date of his death is variously given; the *Fihrist* does not give it at all while others give 164, 168 or 170.

al-Mufaḍḍal, like his contemporary Ḥammād [q.v.], bore the epithet and title of honour *al-Rāwīya*, and was regarded as an authority on the poetry of the *Djāhiliya*. In contrast to Ḥammād, he is celebrated for the reliability of his transmission. In the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* there are several stories illustrating this fact. While Ḥammād was reproached with having inserted verses which he had himself composed into the work of the prominent poets of the *Djāhiliya*, al-Mufaḍḍal is praised for handing down the old poetry pure and unfalsified. There was, of course, a great rivalry between the two *rāwīs* which also finds expression in the stories of the *Aghānī*. al-Mufaḍḍal is reported to have said that the influence of Ḥammād on Arabic poetry had been most disastrous, to a degree which could never be made good again. To the question how this was and whether Ḥammād had made mistakes in the attribution of the poems or linguistic errors, he replied: if that were all, it could be made good, but he had done worse than this. Since he was such an authority on the old poets, he was able himself to write verses in their style and he had inserted such verses of his own composition in genuine old *ḥaṣīdas* so that now only very good critics of the old poetry could recognise them (cf. *Aghānī*, v. 172 and Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vii. 171). It is also recorded that al-Mufaḍḍal once in the presence of the caliph caught Ḥammād passing off verses of his own as the work of Zuhair b. Abī Sulmā. The *ḥaṣīda* which Ḥammād was reciting began with *da' dhā*, and on the caliph asking for the missing *nasīb* he added several *nasīb* verses. al-Mufaḍḍal however said quite rightly that there had probably been a *nasīb* before the surviving verses, but no one any longer knew it. Ḥammād was thereupon forced to confess his forgery. It is interesting to learn that, as is recorded in this passage of the *Aghānī*, Ḥammād was rewarded for his recitation but the sum given to al-Mufaḍḍal was considerably greater. al-Mufaḍḍal was given his reward, not only for his knowledge, but also for his fidelity and honesty in transmission (cf. *Aghānī*, loc. cit. and Yāqūt, loc. cit.).

al-Mufaḍḍal worked in different fields of Arabic philology. He was considered an authority on rare Arabic expressions, celebrated as a grammarian and was also an authority on genealogy and on the Arab battles (*Aiyām al-ʿArab*). He wrote a number of books: a *Kitāb al-ʿAmthāl* (on proverbs),

a *Kitāb al-ʿArūḍ* (on metres), a *Kitāb Ma'na 'l-Shi'r* (on the meanings of poems) and a dictionary: *Kitāb al-Alfāz*. His principal work, however, is a collection of old Arabic *ḥaṣīdas* called the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, which he compiled for his pupil, the future caliph al-Mahdī. Al-Mufaḍḍal himself is said to have given another story of the origin of this anthology, which is one of the most valuable Arabic collections. When on one occasion Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh was in hiding in his house, he brought him some books to read at his request. Ibrāhīm marked a number of poems and these he collected in one volume because Ibrāhīm was a good critic of the old poetry. This collection was later called the *Iktiyār al-Mufaḍḍal* (cf. Flügel, *Gramm. Schulen*, p. 144, note 1).

The *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* contains 126 poems, some complete *ḥaṣīdas* of many verses, some fragments of small size, while in Abū Tammām's collection, the *Ḥamāsa*, only little fragments of poems or separate verses are contained. The latter was compiled some fifty years later; at first it was much more popular than the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* and more frequently annotated. But al-Mufaḍḍal's anthology is of quite outstanding merit. The great bulk of it is the work of pagan poets and *mukhaḍḍarūn*, while only 6 of the 67 poets represented were born Muslims. Two of the poets whose *ḥaṣīdas* are contained in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, were Christians. The poems, the date of composition of which can frequently be deduced from events mentioned in them, are in some cases very old. The earliest are those attributed to Murākkish the Elder, which probably belong to the first decade of the sixth century A.D. al-Mufaḍḍal's anthology offers a rich selection of the old Arabic poetry, the value of which is increased by the great age of the poems preserved in it. The name of its collector, who enjoyed a good reputation among his contemporaries for his reliability, also gives us a certain guarantee that we have in the poems of the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* really genuine specimens of old Arab poetry.

Bibliography: Kitāb al-Aghānī, v. 172 sq. and passim; *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 68 sq.; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arib ilā Ma'rifat al-Adīb*, ed. Margoliouth, London 1926, vii. 171 sqq.; al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Ch. Lyall, Oxford 1918, 1921, esp. *Introd.*, vol. ii.; C. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i., Weimar 1898; G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, p. 142 sqq.; *Die Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. H. Thorbecke, Leipzig 1885.

(ILSE LICHTENSTÄDTER)

AL-MUFĪD ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-NU'MĀN AL-ḤĀRITHĪ, also called IBN AL-MU'ALLIM, a distinguished Twelver scholar of Baghdād under the Būyids, was born at the end of 333 or 338 (945 or 950), and came of an old Kuraish family which, as his second epithet shows, had a reputation for scholarship; he himself became, as his epithet shows, the teacher from whom all "later students have derived advantage". While he took little active part in politics, he was a very prolific author. His correspondence, usually replies to queries, came from Mawṣil, Djurdjān, Dinawar, Rakka, Khwārizm, Egypt and Ṭabaristān. His literary connections with other leaders of the Twelvers are seen in the fact that the *Dogmatics* mentioned third below is a critical commentary on Ibn Bābūya's *Risālat al-I'tikādāt* (published in a collected volume, Teheran

1300) and was in turn commented on by the Baghdādī naḳīb al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā; the work on law and tradition given second below was also the basis upon which his pupil Shāikh Ṭūsī [q. v.] wrote as a commentary his *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, one of the "4 (5) books" of the Twelvers. Mufid wrote pamphlets against Ḍjubbā'ī, Ḍja'far b. Ḥarb, Ibn Kullāb, Karābīsī, the Mu'tazilis, Zaidīs, the followers of al-Hallādī, Ḥanbalīs, Ḍjāhīz and the 'Uṭhmāniya (for other collected titles see al-Khaiyāt, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, p. 156). The number of his writings runs to nearly 200. In addition to those preserved in European libraries, there are many other manuscripts in Shī'ī libraries, e.g. in Naḍjaf. Among them are the usual handbooks on *fiḥh*, on the *uṣūl* e.g. on *iqīmā'*, as well as the *furū'* e.g. on the *ḥadīdī* and the law of inheritance; also treatises on fundamental philosophical conceptions such as the predicate, the state of being created etc.; but it is with specifically Shī'a problems that he mainly deals. Mufid, as the titles of several of his works and his influence on later writers show, championed the enhancement of the dogma of Prophets, dealt with the question, a painful one for the Shī'is, whether Abū Ṭālib was a believer, with the imāmate of 'Alī and the proof that the Imāms are higher than the angels. He naturally dealt also with the usual special tenets of the Twelvers, like the concealment of the Imām and the prohibition of meat butchered by the "People of the Book". He also wrote guides for pilgrims to the peculiarly Shī'ī holy places.

Mufid died on Ramaḍān 28, 413 (Nov. 26, 1022). The naḳīb al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā conducted the funeral service; he was buried beside Ibn Bābūye [q. v.] at the feet of the ninth imām Muḥammad al-Ḍjawād in al-Kāzimain.

Bibliography: His own works: *al-Irshād*, Teheran 1308; *al-Muḥn'a fi 'l-Fiḥh* (ibid.), the life by al-Bahrānī is printed at the beginning, *Lu'lu'at al-Bahrain*; *Taṣḥīḥ I'tiḳād al-Imāmiya*, ed. with notes by Hibat al-Dīn in *al-Murshid*, i. and ii., Baghdād 1344 sq.; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, N^o. 685; al-'Allāma al-Hillī Ibn al-Muṭahhar, *Khulāṣat al-Aḥwāl fi Ma'rifat al-Ridjāl*, Teheran 1312, p. 255 sq.; Astarābādī, *Manḥadī al-Makāl fi Taḥḳīḥ al-Aḥwāl al-Ridjāl*, Teheran 1304, p. 317—318; Khwānsārī, *Rawḍat al-Djannāt*, Teheran 1304—1306, p. 663—670; Iḍjāz Ḥusain al-Kentūrī, *Kashf al-Ḥudjūb wa 'l-Astār*, Calcutta 1330, N^o. 167, 591, 812—819, 2456—2459, 2469, 2474—2477 and *pass.*; C. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 188; R. Strothmann, *Die Zwölfer-Schī'a*, Leipzig 1926, index; cf. also L. Massignon, *al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, index; W. Heffening, *Das islāmische Fremdenrecht*, Hanover 1925, index. (R. STROTHMANN)

MUFTI. [See FATWĀ.]

MUGHAL, the name given to the dynasty of Emperors of Hindustān founded by Bābur in 932 (1526), in virtue of the claim made by Timūr, the ancestor of the dynasty, to relationship with the family of the Mongol (Mughal) Čingiz Khān [q. v.]. For the detailed history of the dynasty see the articles BĀBAR, HUMĀYŪN, AKBAR, DJAHĀNGĪR, SHĀH-DJAHĀN, AWRANGZĒB, and their successors.

I. THE MUGHAL EMPIRE TO THE DEATH OF AWRANGZĒB:

A. Military Organization.

B. Economics and Administration.

II. THE DECLINE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE.

III. MUGHAL ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA.

I. THE MUGHAL EMPIRE TO THE DEATH OF AWRANGZĒB

A. Military Organization of the Mughal Empire.

The army which Bābur led into India, and with which he defeated at Pānipat the army of Ibrāhīm Lodi, 100,000 strong, consisted of about 10,000 combatants, mainly cavalry, but comprising a corps of artillery and a small proportion of infantry, chiefly matchlockmen. Bābur's son and successor, Humāyūn, though hampered by the virtual independence of his brother Kāmran, governor of Kābul, who annexed the Panḍjāb, and thus cut him off from the best recruiting grounds of the Muslim army in Northern India, Afghānistān, and Transoxiana, was nevertheless able to lead into the field at the battle of the Ganges, near Kanawḍj, where he was defeated by Shīr Shāh, an army of 100,000 men. On his return to India in 1555 he left Kābul with an army of no more than 15,000 men, and it was his son and successor, Akbar, who was the creator of the army of the empire of which he was, in fact, the founder.

The empire was a military despotism. The governor of a province was entitled *sipāhsālār*, or "commander-in-chief", the governor of a *pargana*, or sub-district, *farwājār*, or "commandant", and practically all courtiers and officials, even those holding civil and judicial posts, were graded as commanders of horse. Thus we find Shāikh Abu 'l-Faḍl, Akbar's secretary, graded as a commander of 2,500; Rādjā Bir Bar, court wit and Hindi poet laureate, as a commander of 1,000; Saiyid Muḥammad, Mir-i 'Adl, a judge, as a commander of 900; and Shāikh Faiḍī, the poet, as a commander of 400 horse. A command of horse was known as *manṣab* ("rank" or "dignity"), and its holder as *manṣabdār* ("officer"). Each of these nominally commanding from 500 to 2,500 horse was classed as an *amīr* ("noble"), and each of those nominally commanding more as *amir-i kabīr* ("great noble"). These commands were nominal, conferred merely for the purpose of regulating the rank of the official holding them, and were styled *manṣab-i dhāt* ("personal rank"). Each of those actually exercising military authority had, in addition to his personal rank, *sawār* (horseman) rank. Thus, a commander of 5,000 might be described as "commander of 5,000, with 4,000 horsemen", that is to say, one ranking as a commander of 5,000, but supposed to maintain only 4,000 horsemen. In Akbar's reign, apart from the rank held by the royal princes, commands ranged from 10 up to 5,000 horsemen, but at the end of the reign two or three nobles were promoted to commands of 6,000 and 7,000. In these two high commands there was no distinction of grade, but each of the other commands was divided into three classes, viz: 1. those whose *sawār* rank was equal to their personal rank, 2. those whose *sawār* rank was half, or more, of their personal rank, and 3. those whose *sawār* rank was less than half of their personal rank. Thus, a commander of 5,000 with 5,000 horsemen would be in the first class of his

rank, a commander of 5,000 with 3,000 horsemen in the second, and a commander of 5,000 with 2,000 horsemen in the third. A purely civil official often had no *sawār* rank, but the distinction between military and civil officials was less clearly marked than it is to-day, and all officials were, in theory, soldiers. The secretary, Abu 'l-Faql, served, at least on one occasion, in the field, and Akbar once entrusted military commands in the field to his court wit and to a leading physician, with disastrous results.

The lists of "commanders of horse" given in such works as the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, the *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, and the *Pādshāhnāma* are not "army lists", but graded lists of the whole establishment of public servants, civil as well as military. Even where, as in the *Pādshāhnāma*, *sawār* rank is given as well as personal rank, the lists are no guide to the effective strength of the imperial army, for commanders with *sawār* rank did not maintain, and were not even expected to maintain, the number of horse indicated by that rank. Thus, Shāh-Djāhān issued an edict to the effect that commanders were not required to maintain more than one-third, and, in some cases, not more than one-quarter of the number of horse indicated by their *sawār* rank, and in the Balkh campaign they were not required to muster more than one-fifth of their nominal quota.

The yearly salaries of "commanders of horse" ranged from Rs 350,000 a year for a commander of 7,000 down to Rs 4,000 a year for a commander of 100, but in the commands in which there were three classes the salary varied with the class. Thus, in the 5,000 command an officer of the first class received Rs 250,000; an officer of the second Rs 242,500; and an officer of the third Rs 235,000. These salaries were attached to the personal rank, and were intended to enable the official to maintain his position at court or in the provinces, his household, his transport, and such horsemen as he might require for his personal service. For the payment of troops actually maintained separate allowances were made.

The horsemen were styled *tābinān* ("followers" or "troops"), and the majority of them provided and maintained their own horses and arms, and, in the field, their own transport. They were divided into three classes: three-horsed and two-horsed men, each of whom received nearly Rs 25 a month, and one-horsed men, each of whom received rather more than Rs 16½ a month. At a later date higher rates of pay than these were allowed in the Dakhān. Horsemen who could not supply their own horses were styled *bārgīr*, and were the servants or followers of these who supplied them. The proportion of these classes in every ten troopers was usually three three-horsed, four two-horsed, and three one-horsed troopers, or ten men and twenty horses.

The payment of the contingents maintained by the *manṣabdārs* was at first provided for by the grant of *djāgīrs*, or fiefs, so that the army was maintained on a feudal system, which, however, differed from the feudal system of Europe in that the fiefs were not hereditary, and the *djāgīrdārs*, or fief-holders, had no proprietary rights in them. A fief-holder might be transferred from one fief to another, or a portion of his fief, or even the whole of it, might be resumed. In 1574 an edict was promulgated by Akbar resuming all fiefs and converting them into crown lands, the payment of

the troops being provided for by orders on the treasury for payments in cash. This edict caused much discontent, for the *djāgīr* system was, for many reasons, far more popular than the *naqd*, or cash-payment, system. Under the *naqd* system a muster-parade might at any time be made a condition precedent to the issue of a payment order; and a *djāgīrdār* might reap much profit by economizing in the administration of his fief, by rack-renting the landholders, and by encroachments, but the *naqd* system furnished him with no such means of enriching himself. The edict was immediately modified, and though the *naqd* system was introduced in the settled provinces of the empire, the *djāgīr* system was retained in the more recently conquered provinces of Bengal, Guḍjarāt, and Sind, and, after Akbar's death, was restored, in many cases, in other provinces.

Another reform introduced at the same time, the *dāgh u-maḥallī*, or branding regulation, was resented even more than the substitution of the *naqd* for the *djāgīr* system. It was seldom that *manṣabdārs* maintained their full quota of troopers; "false musters were an evil from which the Mughal army suffered, even in its most palmy days. Nobles would lend each other the men to make up their quota, or needy idlers from the bazars would be mounted on the first baggage pony that came to hand, and counted in with the others as efficient soldiers". It was to check such fraudulent practices that Akbar introduced the *dāgh u-maḥallī* regulation, which required the preparation of descriptive rolls of men and horses, the latter being branded on being passed as fit for service; and at muster-parades only these who produced branded horses were paid. This system originated, apparently, with the Saldjūks in Transoxiana and Persia, and was introduced into India by 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī in 1312, but was not enforced after his death until it was revived by Shīr Shāh in 1541. After his death it was again abandoned, and Akbar had great difficulty in reviving it, owing to the determined opposition to any measure designed to prevent public officials from enriching themselves by defrauding the state. Even he was obliged to exempt commanders of 5,000, or a greater number, of horse from its operation, though these were required to parade their contingents for inspection when ordered. In the later days of the empire, the regulation was not enforced, and when Burhān al-Mulk joined Muḥammad Shāh at Karnāl, to meet Nādir Shāh, a historian considers it worth while to describe his contingent as *mawḍūdī na kāghazī*, that is, "actually present, not merely on paper"; and later, in 1750, an officer in Bengal receiving pay for 1,700 men was said not to have been able to muster more than seventy or eighty.

Besides the contingents of the princes and the *manṣabdārs* there were the sovereign's personal troops. His body-guard was a corps known as the *Walāshāhī*, composed chiefly of men who had been attached to him from his youth, and had served under him as a prince. Manucci refers to these as the emperor's slaves, and says that they numbered 4,000 under Awrangzīb. Details of their pay are not given, but they probably received more than the troopers serving in the contingents of the *manṣabdārs*. There was also a *corps d'élite* first formed by Akbar, and styled the *Aḥādī* corps. Abu 'l-Faql, in a characteristically foolish passage says that they were so called because they were

fit for a "harmonious unity", whatever that may mean; but they seem to have been called *ahādī* because they enlisted singly in the personal service of the emperor, and were not brought into the service in bodies by a *manṣabdār*. They stood, in rank, between the lower *manṣabdār*s and the *ṭābinān*, and received nearly double the pay of the latter. They may be compared to "gentlemen of the life-guard", and many were seconded from the corps in order that they might hold civil appointments. The proportion of three-horsed, two-horsed, and one-horsed troopers was the same in the *Ahādī* corps as in the contingents of the *manṣabdār*s.

A commander of horse, whether he held a *ājāgir* or whether he drew the pay of his contingent from the treasury, made his own arrangements for its disbursement. He was entitled to retain five percent of the pay of his men for himself, and pay was not always allowed for a whole year; often only for six, five, or four months. Manucci, writing of the army in the reign of Awrangzib, says, "in respect of one year's service they receive six or eight months' pay. Even that is not all in coin; they are always foisted off as respects two months' pay with clothes and old raiment from the household. Over and above this, there is almost always due to them the pay for two or three years' service. The soldiers are obliged to borrow money at interest from the *ṣarrāfs*, or money-changers. These men lend to them, it is true, but it is hardly ever without a command from the general or officer; and these latter have an understanding with them about the profit from interest, which they share between them. Sometimes the soldiers sell their papers to these money-changers, who for a note of hand for one hundred rupees will give them twenty or twenty-five. It is by these and such-like extortions that these generals ruin the wretched soldier, who, unable to find other means of gaining his bread, is forced to remain on in his service. Speaking generally, it is impossible for them to escape such extortions, for these disorders reign throughout all the princes' establishments. If any one resigns service at his own request, they deduct two months' pay. Nevertheless service in the cavalry was socially an honourable profession; a common trooper was looked upon as being, to some extent, a gentleman, and such were, even when illiterate, often used to the highest positions".

The infantry was, in every respect, an inferior arm. With it were classed doorkeepers, watchmen, runners and spies, gladiators, wrestlers and palanquin-bearers, but the combatant branch consisted of musketeers or matchlockmen (*barḳandūs*), archers, and spearmen. Akbar maintained a corps of 12,000 matchlockmen, the officer in command of which was styled *dārūgha*. A secretary and a treasurer kept the accounts and disbursed the pay of these troops. The non-commissioned officers of the corps were graded in four classes, the first of which received $7\frac{1}{2}$, the second 7, the third $6\frac{3}{4}$, and the fourth $6\frac{1}{2}$ rupees a month. The privates were divided into five classes, the pay of which ranged from $4\frac{3}{4}$ down to $2\frac{3}{4}$ rupees a month.

Besides this corps was a number of troops styled *dākhilī*, of which one-fourth were matchlockmen and three-fourth archers. These were the troops allowed to the *fawājdār*s in the *parganas* or sub-districts, to assist them in maintaining order and

collecting the revenue. The non-commissioned officers of the matchlockmen received Rs 4 a month, and the privates Rs $3\frac{1}{2}$ each. The archers were considered more efficient than the matchlockmen, for the matchlock was not an arm of rapid fire or precision, and an archer could shoot many arrows while a matchlockman was loading his matchlock. Neither matchlockmen nor archers could, as a rule, face cavalry in the field, and it was not until the emperors and their vassals were brought face to face with troops armed and drilled after the European fashion that they discovered that infantry was the queen of battles; but belief in the superior efficiency of cavalry died hard.

The artillery was divided into two classes, the heavy and the light. Bābur had an efficient corps of artillery, and used it with great effect, but the Muslims of India were not skilled artillerists, and the heavy artillery was usually officered and partly manned by 'Uḥmānī Turks, Portuguese renegades of pure or mixed blood, and occasionally by other Europeans. The light artillery consisted of field-pieces carried on bullock-carts, wall-pieces on animals' backs, and *zambūraks*, or still lighter service-guns, carried on and fired from the backs of camels. The heavy artillery was drawn by strings of oxen, or, occasionally, by elephants, and, as the army gradually declined in efficiency the heavy guns increased in length and calibre until they became so heavy as hardly to be mobile, so that often they could not be dragged to their destination but were left stranded by their road. A defeated army could seldom save its heavy and field artillery. All that it could do was to spike the guns and leave them. The ammunition was solid shot, sometimes of stone, sometimes of iron, and field guns and heavy guns in the field were sometimes loaded to the muzzle with the rough copper coin of the time, which took the place of case-shot, and did great execution at close quarters. The artillery also comprised a corps of rocketeers. The whole of the artillery was commanded by an officer entitled *Mir-i Atush*, or "lord of fire". The officers were entitled *ṣadīwāl* ("commander of 100") corresponding to a battery commander, and *mirdaha* (commander of 10), who had charge of a subdivision, or one gun. The wall-pieces and *zambūraks*, which were numerous, account for the enormous numbers of "guns" mentioned in accounts of armies in the field.

Akbar used elephants freely in battle, and brought them into the field in great numbers. They usually carried archers or musketeers on their backs. Their use as a fighting force was, however, soon abandoned, and would have been abandoned sooner than it was, had it not been for their imposing appearance, for it had long been established that they were more dangerous to their own side than to the enemy. "To the last some elephants protected by armour were brought into the battle-field, but their use was confined almost entirely to carrying the generals or great nobles, and displaying their standards. The baggage elephants were assembled in rear with those bearing the harem, the women remaining mounted on the latter during the battle, and protected by a strong force posted round them".

Under Akbar the elephants ridden by the emperor were called *khāṣṣa* ("special"), and all others were arranged in groups of ten, twenty, or thirty, called *ḥalka* ("ring", or "circle"). In later reigns the same classification was employed, but with

a more extended meaning, *khāssa* then including all riding, and *halka* all baggage elephants. *Manṣabdārs* from 7,000 down to 500 were required to maintain each one riding elephant, and, in addition, five baggage elephants for each Rs 2,500 of pay. It appears that these elephants belonged to the emperor, and were not even made over to the *manṣabdārs* for use, except in the field. In the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* Abu 'l-Faḍl says that 'Akbar "put several *halkas* under the charge of every grandee, and required him to look after them".

The commander-in-chief of the army was the emperor himself, but at the head of the military administration was an officer entitled *Bakhshī al-Mamālik*, whose position may be described as that of adjutant-general and muster-master-general. He was assisted by three *bakhshīs* and a number of *bitikīs*, or clerks, and the duties of this department included enlistment, mustering, and passing the pay of both *manṣabdārs* and *tābinān*, for which purpose they were obliged to see that the branding regulations, so long as they were enforced, were observed by those to whom they applied. Manucci says, "twice a year the *bakhshī* holds a review of all the cavalry present at court, examines all the horses, and sees whether any of them are old and unfit for service. In the latter case he makes the owners get rid of them and buy others". These officers remained at headquarters, and from some authorities it appears that one of them had charge of the *Walāshāhis*, or body-guard, but the *Aḥadī* corps, which was commanded by one of the great nobles, had its own *diwān*, or paymaster and quartermaster, and its own *bakhshī*, both officers being assisted by *bitikīs*. Certificates granted by the *bakhshī* were recorded by the *wāḳī'a-nigār*, or writer of the official diary, and were by him submitted to the *wazīr*, or minister, who, after passing them, sent them to the office of revision and record, but pay was issued on the minister's order. "In addition to the *bakhshīs* at headquarters there were officers with similar functions attached to the governor of every province", their office being generally combined with that of *wāḳī'a-nigār*, or provincial diary-writer; and in imitation of the imperial establishments each great noble had his own *bakhshī*, who performed for him the same duties as those performed for the emperor by the imperial *bakhshīs*.

It is impossible to estimate accurately the strength of the army in Akbar's reign, for the *sawār* rank of the *manṣabdārs* is not given, either in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* or in the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*. He maintained 12,000 matchlockmen, and Blochmann estimates the whole strength of his army at 25,000, of which 12,000 were cavalry and the rest matchlockmen and artillery, but this seems to be much too low an estimate. Humāyūn could put 100,000 cavalry into the field, and it is not likely that Akbar, with far wider dominions, would have been content, or could have ruled and extended his empire with a smaller army. It seems probable that Blochmann's estimate included only the emperor's personal, or household, troops. In the latter half of Shāh-Jahān's reign the contingents of the princes and nobles would have numbered 425,500 if each *manṣabdār* had maintained the full quota of his *sawār* rank, but this they were not even expected to do. Fortunately a fairly exact return of the strength of the army is given in the *Pādshāhnāma*. There were 8,000 *manṣabdārs*

of all ranks, 7,000 mounted *Aḥadīs* and *barḳandās*, 200,000 cavalry, exclusive of the troops allowed to *ḥawdīdārs* for the maintenance of order and the collection of the revenue, and 40,000 foot matchlockmen, artillery, and rocketeers, of whom 10,000 were at headquarters and 10,000 in the provinces and the forts. It is not quite clear what is meant by the mounted *barḳandās* classed with the *Aḥadīs*, for *barḳandās* is the word used for a matchlockman, and horsemen certainly did not carry the cumbrous matchlock, and carbines and pistols had not been introduced, but it may be that a few men carrying a lighter musket than the ordinary matchlock were attached to the *Aḥadī* corps. Of the army in the reign of Awrangzib Manucci writes, "ordinarily the king keeps fifty thousand horse in garrison besides those in movement every day, an almost equal number. He has twenty thousand infantry, all *Rājipūts*; out of them twelve thousand are in charge of the artillery; the rest are for guarding the royal palace, mounting sentry, *et caetera*".

The army of the Mughal emperors was not drilled. Muster parades consisted merely in the troopers passing in single file before the *bakhshī*, and the nearest approach to any manœuvres was the participation of the army, or part of it, in a royal hunt, when the troops, aided by the people of the country side, acted as beaters, surrounded a large tract of country, and, day by day, closed inwards until in a small area was enclosed an enormous quantity of game, which was then slaughtered wholesale by the emperor and those who were permitted a share in the "sport". Apart from this species of hunting styled *shikār-i ḳamarḡha*, the army was never exercised in any combined movements, or drill; but the individual trooper paid great attention to the training of his body, exercising himself with all his weapons, sabre, spear, mace, battle-axe, buckler, dagger, and bow and arrows. The bow was considered a most effective weapon, as a horseman could shoot six times before a musketeer could fire twice. The trooper also went through various exercises for strengthening his limbs and his body, both with and without apparatus, the latter consisting of dumb-bells, *mugdar*, or Indian clubs, and the *lizam*, a strong bow with a steel chain instead of a string, most effective in training these muscles employed by an archer. The horses were also trained in a sort of *mandge*.

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B. Economics and Administration.

The Mughal Empire lived mainly by agriculture. The only metals available in quantity were iron and copper; both were relatively expensive, and local supplies of the latter were failing in the xviith century. The existence of coal was unknown, and of other minerals only lime, salt, saltpetre, and, locally, building stone were largely produced. The agricultural land was divided into areas known as

villages (*deh*), usually, but not always, inhabited. The villages were grouped traditionally in larger areas (*pargana*), which were usually treated as administrative units (*maḥall*). Most villages, but not all, were occupied by a community of peasants, held together by the tie of common ancestry; each member of these bodies had separate possession of the land which he cultivated, but the community acted as a whole, through the headmen (*muḥaddam*), in the management of the village, letting surplus land to tenants, paying the revenue and other expenses, and transacting such other business as emerged.

The population was predominantly vegetarian. Meat for the officials and the army was provided where required, but its supply lay outside the ordinary course of agriculture. The products of the land were mainly food, cereals, millets and pulses, with, on a smaller scale, sugar, vegetables, and condiments. Oilseeds were grown for local needs; opium was produced largely, and tobacco, a recent introduction, had spread rapidly through the empire; cotton and some other fibres, together with indigo and other dyes, were the chief industrial crops. Holdings were usually small, and were worked largely by the peasant himself with the aid of his family and the landless labourers of the village. Oxen were used for tillage, implements were few and primitive, and there was in general a scarcity of agricultural capital, necessitating prompt sales of produce at each harvest, to the peasant's loss and the middleman's gain.

Handicrafts were numerous and varied, but weaving was by far the most important. Cotton cloth was woven all over the empire, most of it for local consumption, but near the coasts production was directed largely to supplying oversea markets, while finer goods — muslins and prints — were carried long distances by land. Most of the consuming markets were conservative, adhering closely to established styles and patterns. There was thus little scope for invention; copying was safer than designing; and such developments as are recorded were the result of either patronage by wealthy amateurs, or the extension of the European demand. Silk-weaving was locally important in Bengal and Guḍjarāt, in the latter case from imported material; jute and hemp also were only of local importance, but in the xviith century an export trade in sacks and sacking was beginning to develop.

In peaceful regions commerce was active, and, for the period, highly organised. Funds were ordinarily transmitted by bills of exchange, which could be negotiated in all the principal towns, and in some centres outside the empire. Merchants were, however, disinclined to carry large stocks of commodities, and preferred to utilise their funds in money-lending; the rate of interest in commercial transactions was commonly about 10 or 12 per cent, but the charge was much higher when the element of risk was great.

External land-trade was almost limited to the two caravan routes westward by way of Kābul and Kāndahār, though there was some small traffic with Tibet. By sea, Guḍjarāt had old-established connections with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, with East Africa, and with Sumatra, Malacca and further East; on a much smaller scale Sind had relations with Persia; while Bengal dealt chiefly with the south of India and with Burma and Siam.

During the xviith century all the sea routes were dominated by the Portuguese, who were concerned rather to exploit than develop; the chief extension of trade due to their efforts was the supply of cloth to Brazil and West Africa, but most of this was drawn from the Coromandel Coast, which was outside the empire until almost the end of the xviith century. After "factories" (*i.e.* agencies) had been established at Sūrāt by the English (1611) and the Dutch (1617), an important trade with western Europe grew up in indigo and calico. In the middle of the century the indigo-trade yielded to competition from the West Indies, while the depopulation of Guḍjarāt by the famine of 1630 transferred the bulk of the calico trade to the East Coast; Sūrāt remained, however, an important centre until its supersession by Bombay. In the second quarter of the xviith century the Dutch, followed by the English, established factories on the Hūgli in Bengal, and trade developed in silk, saltpetre, fine calico, and muslin. Towards the close of the century a change of fashions in Europe produced a great demand for muslin and prints, which was met partly by Bengal, and partly by Madras, by this time technically within the limits of the empire.

The outstanding feature of all trade with India was the need for importing gold and silver. India bought little beyond the industrial metals and luxury goods, but was eager to sell produce for cash; and, since Western Europe could not supply what was most in demand, the operations of the trading Companies were necessarily so organised as to direct streams of gold and silver to India from those countries which would part with them, notably, at this period, gold from China, and silver, and later gold, from Japan. The seaports serving the empire were thus brought into a complex but efficient organisation, which took whatever they had to sell, supplied whatever they wanted to buy, and, so far as was possible, satisfied the demand for gold and silver.

Inland transport was necessarily less efficient. The Indus, the Ganges, the D̥jūmna, and the waterways of Bengal were largely used, but the bulk of the empire depended on what were then called roads, unmetalled tracks, sometimes defined by lines of trees, with halting-places which were generally walled or otherwise defended against robbers, and usually furnished with supplies. Transport was effected by carts and pack-animals, generally oxen but in some places camels. Passengers travelled on horseback, in palanquins, or in carts drawn by fast oxen. There were excellent arrangements for the rapid transit of letters, but these were for official use, and were not ordinarily available for private persons, who hired messengers when required, or in a few cases, clubbed together to send messengers periodically.

Standards of life presented sharp contrasts. The mass of the population, peasants, artisans and labourers, lived in such extreme poverty as to excite the commiseration of European visitors. An almost equally low standard prevailed among the numerically important class of servants in the towns, whether freemen or slaves, who, however, enjoyed a more secure life than the rural population. The middle classes, comparatively smaller in numbers than now, were thrifty and frugal; and, even when wealthy, were careful to avoid any display which might lead to exactions by officials. The superior

grades of officers employed by the State were exceedingly well paid when allowance is made for the high purchasing power of money, and spent their incomes freely in extravagance and display, increased by the fact that on their death their property reverted to the treasury.

The prosperity of the empire depended mainly on three factors: the character of the rainfall, the degree of internal tranquillity, and the working of the revenue administration. The seasonal rainfall was, as it still is, uncertain, and any serious defect resulted in insufficiency of food. The difficulty of transport made it impossible to afford adequate relief on the spot, the people abandoned their homes to wander in search of food, and in contemporary narratives we read again and again of the then familiar features of deaths from starvation, cannibalism, and the sale of children into slavery. Recovery from such a calamity was a slow process, and the famine which desolated Gujārāt and the Dakhan in 1630—1631 left its mark for at least a generation. Exceptionally favourable seasons might also prove calamitous, though not to the same extent. There was no local market for the surplus produce, prices fell to a ruinous level, and in official regulations low prices were treated as a calamity requiring relief on the same footing as drought or hail.

The dominance of the weather was inevitable; the other influences on prosperity were matters of administration. Here a clear distinction must be drawn between the general and the revenue administration, a distinction denoted by the current phrase *mulki wa-mālī*. The emperor was of course supreme in both branches, and was assisted at his headquarters by four principal officers, the *Wakīl* or Prime Minister, the *Wazīr* or Revenue Minister, the *Bakhshī* (see col. 629^a), and the *Ṣadr*, who was in charge of Islāmic law and also administered the department dealing with charitable grants and endowments. The post of *Wakīl* was not always filled, and when it was in abeyance the duties attaching to it devolved on the *Wazīr*. In practice the powers of these Ministers depended on the personality of the Emperor; under Akbar or Shāh-Djahān they were definitely subordinates, while Djahāngīr's Prime Minister was at times practically the ruler of the country.

The system of general administration to which the Mughals succeeded in Northern India was not highly developed. The great bulk of the country was held by officers in assignment (a term explained below); the assignee was responsible for keeping the peace, and in practice had a free hand in the methods employed. Under Akbar a more effective system was established, which was maintained throughout the period. The empire was divided into provinces (*ṣubah*), each of which was in charge of a Viceroy (*Sipahsālār*, *Ṣubahdār*), who at first was responsible to the Emperor for all branches of administration, but after 1595 was relieved of revenue work. Apart from the Viceroy, officers who may be described as Governors were stationed at selected places, with the duty of keeping the peace and putting down rebellion, a term which covered failure to pay the revenue due. The ordinary designation of these Governors was *Fawjdār*, but in outlying regions which were controlled by fortresses the Governor was the fortress-commander (*Kifādār*), while in a few large assignments the assignee exercised the powers of a Governor. Cities

were governed by officers designated *Kotwāl*, who combined the functions of magistrate, police-commandant, municipality, and censor of morals. There was no regular police force at the disposal of these officers, who were expected to employ the troops they maintained as a condition of their rank, obtaining help when their own forces were insufficient. The efficiency of this organisation varied with that of the central administration, which depended mainly on the personality of the Emperor; by the close of the xviiith century it was definitely breaking down, and conditions of anarchy were spreading over the empire.

It is difficult to state in precise terms the relation of this organisation to the extensive portions of the empire where internal jurisdiction remained in the hands of Hindu Chiefs; but apparently the Chief was regarded officially as assignee of his territories, and was expected to maintain order within them. If he failed to do so, the Viceroy or Governor concerned might intervene, but his action would ordinarily be directed against the Chief rather than against the people.

The revenue administration was controlled by the *Wazīr*, sitting in the Revenue Ministry, which was known as *Drwānī*, as opposed to *Hudūd*, or the Court, whence orders were issued by, or in the name of, the Emperor. Revenue at this period meant practically Land Revenue; the Imperial Treasury had receipts from other sources — Customs, Salt, Mint, Presents, Inheritance, and, under Awrangzēb, the Capitation Tax (*djizya*) —, but, taken collectively, they were of little importance compared with the income obtained from the peasants. Under the system traditional in India, and embodied in Hindu law, every person cultivating land was required to pay a share of the produce to the King, who determined, within somewhat elastic limits, the amount of the share, and who also prescribed the methods of assessment and collection. The first Muslim conquerors accepted this "King's share" as the *kharājī* to which they were entitled under Islāmic law; the question of property in land was not raised, but occupants were ordinarily allowed to retain possession subject to due payment of the revenue.

In the Mughal period agricultural land fell into three classes: Chiefs', Reserved and Assigned. The areas governed by the more important Chiefs were not assessed to revenue (*kharājī*) by the *Wazīr*; that was the privilege of the Chief, and any payments which he made to the treasury were in the nature of a tribute, determined by negotiation. The treatment of the numerous smaller Chiefs is not on record; but the few facts which have survived are consistent with the view that assessment was made through them, and that they were allowed to retain a portion of the revenue in return for their services. In the regions which were directly administered, certain areas of land, described as *khalīṣa*, were reserved to furnish the treasury with cash, and were managed by the staff employed by the Revenue Ministry; at first the local staff was under the provincial Viceroy, but in 1596 a *Drwān* was posted to each province, to manage all revenue business directly under the Minister, and in this way emerged the dichotomy into *drwānī* (revenue business) and *fawjdārī* (general business) which henceforward characterised the local administration.

The land not reserved for the treasury was

available for assignment. Every officer appointed to the Emperor's service was entitled to an income defined in cash, which represented both his personal salary and the cost of the troops he was required to maintain. For a short period in Akbar's reign, this income was paid, as well as defined, in cash, but the ordinary practice in the empire was to assign to each officer an area (*dhāgīr*, *tuyūl*, or *ikṭā'*) estimated to yield as revenue the amount of his stated income; and the officer thereupon took charge of the area assigned to him, and assessed and collected the revenue in accordance, at least theoretically, with the general orders in force. If the yield proved insufficient, he could claim the balance from the treasury, while he could be required to account for any excess receipts; but in practice these matters seem usually to have been adjusted by bribery, for which there was also extensive scope in securing profitable assignments, and in getting rid of those which had been squeezed dry. Changes of assignment were ordinarily so frequent that an officer would have been unwise to spend money on fostering agricultural development, or do anything beyond extracting the largest income which his assignment could be made to yield. The great bulk of the land was ordinarily assigned, the reserved area being one-sixth or one-seventh of the whole.

The share of the peasants' produce claimed by Akbar was one-third; later, at some uncertain time in the first half of the xviiith century, this figure became the minimum, with a maximum of one-half, which inevitably tended to become the standard. Three principal methods of assessment were in vogue: Sharing (*ghalla bakhsī*), Measurement (*paimāyish*), and Group-Assessment (*nasak*). In Sharing, the produce of each peasant was ordinarily estimated (or occasionally ascertained at harvest), and the prescribed share valued to determine the cash-revenue due for that season. In Measurement, a fixed charge, varying with the crop, was made on each unit of area sown; it might be fixed in either cash or produce and in the latter case it was valued at current prices. Under both these systems payment in cash was the general rule, but payments in kind were permitted in some backward regions where currency was scarce. In Group-Assessment, the official concerned came to terms with the headmen of the village to pay a sum fixed in cash for the year, thus avoiding the necessity of detailed assessments on individuals; this system tended to pass into Farming, when terms were made, not with the headmen, but with an outsider.

Each ruler determined at his pleasure which of these methods should be employed, and in what regions. Group-Assessment was the prevailing system at the time of Bābūr's conquest, and apparently was accepted by him. After the expulsion of Humāyūn from India, Sher Shāh introduced Measurement throughout his kingdom, and his methods were at first adopted by Akbar; the revenue claimed from each unit of area was at this time a stated quantity of produce, calculated to be one-third of the average yield, and, except in the tracts where payment in kind was practised, this amount of produce was commuted to cash at prices fixed officially for each season. Practical difficulties arose, however, in regard to commutation; and in 1579—1580 the revenue was put definitely on a cash basis, the charge on each unit of area

sown being a fixed number of *dām* (reckoned at 40 to the rupee) instead of a fixed weight of produce. Schedules of cash-rates adapted to the varying productivity of different regions were now drawn up, which remained in operation during the rest of Akbar's reign. At some uncertain period, probably under Dījahāngīr, these schedules were discarded, and a return was made to Group-Assessment, which was the standard system in the middle of the xviiith century, and survived into the British period; Sharing was now practised only in backward tracts, or in some cases where the headmen refused to pay what the assessor thought a reasonable revenue, in which case he proceeded to detailed assessment on individuals, by Sharing or by Measurement according to circumstances.

Such was the history of assessment in the heart of the empire, but the outlying provinces were not brought into rigid uniformity, local conditions determining the system applied in each; while in the Dakhan provinces a distinct and elaborate system was introduced in the middle of the xviiith century in order to promote recovery from the effects of war and famine.

It would be futile to criticise these varying institutions, for the value of all alike depended on the spirit in which they were worked. In administrative circles there was throughout the Muslim period a definite ideal of agricultural prosperity as the foundation of the State, its elements being extension of cultivation, improvement in the class of crops, and development of irrigation. Against this ideal operated the urgent need for the largest immediate revenue that could be wrung from the peasants. The course of the struggle cannot be traced in detail but the central fact is that by the middle of the xviiith century agriculture had ceased to be an attractive career, and the peasants were deserting the land for other occupations; the resulting decline in agricultural production was the chief economic factor in the eventual collapse of the empire.

The remaining branches of the administration require little description. Customs duties were formally low, but their incidence was increased by arbitrary over-valuation and unauthorised payments required to secure prompt clearance of goods. In the towns, civil justice was administered mainly by the *kādī*; in the country, disputes were apparently decided summarily by the executive officials. Punishments for crime were summary and drastic, and were not always in accordance with Islāmic law. By Indian tradition, local officials raised a large revenue for local purposes by a multitude of taxes and exactions of a most oppressive nature; these were prohibited *en masse* by Akbar, and again by Awrangzēb, but the system survived. Its worst feature was the levy of transit dues on internal trade, which were a cause of constant complaint by Indians as well as foreigners.

Special attention was given to the coinage, as being a recognised appanage of sovereignty. Gold, silver and copper were coined, all the coins circulating at their metallic value, so that the exchange rate between different denominations fluctuated; but gold was not in general circulation. The chief coin of the empire was the silver rupee, containing nearly 180 grains of almost pure silver; the principal copper coin was the *dām*, of nearly 324 grains; and there were various smaller coins of both metals.

The unit of weight used in wholesale commerce

was the maund or *man*, which varied in different parts of the country. In the south of India it ranged round about 25 lb; in Gujārāt it was 33 lb, but in 1635 this was raised to 37 lb; in North India, it was 52 lb at Akbar's accession, was raised by him to 55 lb, by *Djahāngir* to 66 lb, and by *Shāh-Djahān* to 74 lb. In Bengal, it was 64 lb in the West, and 46 lb in the East. All these figures are given to the nearest lb. The unit for retail trade varied from place to place, but was ordinarily smaller than those which have been named. Measures of capacity were not used in wholesale commerce. The measure of length in the North was the *gaz* or yard, which was standardised by Akbar at about 33 inches, and by his successor at about 40 inches, but the smaller unit survived; in the South the *hāsta*, or cubit, of about 18 inches was used; in Gujārāt the unit was about 26 inches; and in Bengal about 27 inches.

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(W. H. MORELAND)

II. THE DECLINE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE.

The decline of Mughal authority, already manifest during the reign of Awrangzēb, rapidly developed under his immediate successors. Bahādūr Shāh [q.v.] (1707—1712) was too amiable, Djahāndār Shāh [q.v.] (1712—1713) was too vicious, Farrukhsiyar [q.v.] (1713—1719) was too feeble, to revive the empire. In seven bloody battles of succession, fought within six years of Awrangzēb's death, the imperial family attested its inherent lawlessness and declining power. Then it became the sport of rival factions. For a while the two famous Saiyid brothers, 'Abd Allāh and Ḥusain 'Alī of Bārha, became the joint mayors of the palace. But they were unable to conciliate the support of the Mughal nobles. In 1720 Āṣaf Djāh Nizām al-Mulk rose in arms. Ḥusain 'Alī marched against him, but was murdered with the connivance of Muḥammad Shāh, the emperor whom he and his brother had set up in 1719. Shortly afterwards, his brother 'Abd Allāh was defeated, and, after lying in prison at Dihli for two years, was poisoned. When they fell, Nizām al-Mulk strove hard to restore something like the old order of administration. But he was unwilling to force himself upon Muḥammad Shāh as the Saiyids had forced themselves upon Farrukhsiyar. When the emperor whom he had delivered refused his advice, and the favourites of the court made fun of his antiquated dress and ceremonious manners, he preferred to retire and rule the Dakhan in virtual independence. Ironically enough, Mu-

hammad Shāh believed that Nizām al-Mulk had been plotting his overthrow.

With Nizām al-Mulk's departure from Dihlī the last chances of a revival of the empire vanished. Never did a falling state betray greater incapacity for reformation. No phoenix could arise from those shameful ashes. Even while Nizām al-Mulk still retained the nominal control of affairs, extraordinary incidents could occur. At Dihlī itself, for example, a Hindu clerk in one of the imperial offices turned Muslim, and, when his wife and daughter refused to follow his change of faith, he laid a complaint against them, alleging that, as his daughter had not attained puberty, she was therefore of her father's religion. The case offered certain technical difficulties, was at last referred to the *sadr al-ṣudūr*. His treatment of the case displeased the Dihlī mob. Riots arose, the recital of the *khutba* at the Djahān-numā Masjid was interrupted, two or three Hindus were seized and circumcised. To pacify the rioters, the girl was imprisoned, and, a few days later, buried with Muslim ceremonial. "To cut a long story", says Kāmwar Khān who relates the incident, "she was killed; otherwise there would have been many headaches and much vexation".

Nizām al-Mulk's successors were worthy of the frivolous emperor whom they professed to serve. For twelve years the imperial councils were directed by a man called Shāh 'Abd al-Ghafūr. By origin a cotton-weaver of Tatthā, he had lived both as *rogi* and *fakīr*. Claiming magical powers and popularly believed to consort with djinn and devils, he was summoned to interpret the dreams of the emperor's mother. This led him into the imperial service, and he contrived to accumulate in his own hand a great number of offices, producing a revenue of 5,000 rupees a day, apart from the bribes which he received, said to amount to as much more. This man was pithily described as never having spent money on a good work, never having conferred a favour, and never having done a kindness. He was a miser, and at his downfall (for even at Dihlī under Muhammad Shāh such qualities at last produced their natural reaction) more than a crore of rupees was found in his private hoards. But the unpopularity which his character and habits naturally evoked were as nothing compared with the detestation with which his son and daughter were regarded. No one in Dihlī was safe who displeased them or denied them anything that they desired.

Amid such confusion and under such rulers the empire rapidly lost its cohesion. The Marāṭhās [q. v.], whom even Awrangzēb sought in vain to subdue, soon became the most formidable power in India. On Awrangzēb's death, his successor, Bahādūr Shāh, had released the Marāṭhā prince, Shāhū Rājā, in the desperate hope of reestablishing through him the form, if not the substance of imperial control. Shāhū Rājā met with influential and talented support. In 1708 he took possession of Satara and by the next year was generally recognised as ruler. A Chitpavan Brahman, Bālādji Wishwanāth, became his *pēshwā* or first minister, and began to develop the characteristic Marāṭhā policy, which was to play a part in the enfeeblement of the empire. This was to put forward claims to a share (under the title of *ḥaṭh* or a quarter part) in the imperial revenues in as many provinces as possible. In 1709 the Mughal governor in the

Dakhan admitted this claim, and, although later governors contested it, it was again recognised by the Bārha Saiyids in 1719. In the next year Bālādji Wishwanāth was succeeded by his son, Bādji Rāo I, and the process was extended farther afield. Particular provinces were assigned to particular officers, who were to realise the *ḥaṭh* either by collecting the amount from the provincial governor, or by plundering the country. Bādji Rāo employed Pilādji Gāekwār as his chief leader in raids in Gujjarāt; Raghudji Bhonsla established himself at Nāgpur; these and other leaders spread the terror of Marāṭhā devastations in all directions, and it was no longer possible for the provincial governors to make their annual remittances to the capital. At the same time, seeing that their tenure of office was coming to depend more and more upon their own power and resources, the governors tended to become virtually independent rulers. Āṣaf Dījāh Nizām al-Mulk in the Dakhan continued to profess himself a humble servant of the emperor, but he repelled by force of arms the persons who came with imperial *farmāns* ordering his supersession, and when he died in 1748 he was succeeded by his son. In Bengal too the succession had become a matter of heredity or war. But the respect which the name of the empire still enjoyed and the degradation into which the empire itself had fallen were exemplified by the large gifts sent by a new ruler for *farmāns* of investiture and the unhesitating compliance with which they were issued.

The troubles bred by this internal dissolution were enhanced by those of foreign invasion. In 1722 the Šafawids were overthrown in Persia, and, after a short period of great confusion, the Turk-mān Nādir Kulī established himself as ruler under the title of Nādir Shāh [q. v.]. With him difficulties arose over the Kāndahār frontier. He was engaged in reducing the Ghilzais there to submission. Thrice he sent envoys to the court of Dihlī requesting that his enemies should not receive shelter in the Mughal territory. But by this time the Kābul province was falling into a like disorder with the rest. The governor spent his time in prayer and hunting. The money which had been regularly sent from Dihlī to bribe the hill-tribes into quietude and pay the troops ceased to be sent, partly because of the growing imperial penury, partly because it was believed that it never reached the governor but was embezzled by his patron at court. Large bodies of Ghilzais therefore were able without the least difficulty to take shelter from Nādir Shāh's troops in the Mughal province, while the Mughal court foolishly supposed it was evading its difficulties by neglecting to answer Nādir Shāh's repeated demands. The ineptitude of the court, therefore, rather than (as used to be supposed) any elaborate intrigue of party against party, made Nādir Shāh resolve to invade India. No effective opposition could be offered in either the Kābul province or the Pandjāb. In 1738 Kābul was occupied. In the next year Nādir Shāh's army appeared before Dihlī. The emperor went out, not to strike a blow in his own defence, but to make his humble submission. Conqueror and captive then entered the city. The Dihlī mob, grievously mistaking its strength, attempted to massacre the foreigners. As a punishment Nādir Shāh deliberately let loose his troops for five long hours — from 9 o'clock in the morning till 2 in the afternoon — during which some 20,000 of the inhabitants are believed to

to have perished; and beyond this toll of life a great ransom was exacted, including 50 crores' worth of those wonderful jewels which earlier Mughal sovereigns had heaped up for their delight. From this time onwards the annals of the Mughal empire contain nothing but dishonour. Nādir Shāh fell; but Ahmad Shāh Durrāni established on the borders of India another empire and repeatedly invaded India between 1748, the year of the ignominious Muḥammad Shāh's death, and 1761, the year in which he inflicted the severest defeat in all their history upon the Marāṭhās at Pānīpat. Until the decay of the Durrāni empire in the early years of the nineteenth century, the provinces of Sind, the Panjāb, and Kashmīr, were dependencies of the Afghān kingdom.

Europeans in India — Dutch, French, and English — had observed these events with great concern. Early in the eighteenth century the Dutch had sent a great embassy to Bahādūr Shāh, and a little later the English had sent one to Farrukhsiyar. Both had secured far-reaching *farmāns* by profuse expenditure; both had found that their *farmāns* were waste paper wherever they ran counter to the interests of local governors. But it was the Frenchman Dupleix who first sought to put into practice the conclusions to be drawn from this situation. Others were convinced that European force could easily establish itself in India; but he began experiments, and, in the hope of keeping the English motionless while he acted, he professed to be acting on behalf and in the name of the Mughal emperor. This fiction became the traditional basis of French policy in India, and down to the end of the century Frenchmen were elaborating plans (which their failure to control the sea brought to nothing) for establishing themselves in India and expelling their rivals under cover of imperial grants. With equal consistency the English adopted a political realism which squared far better with the circumstances of the time. They fought and overcame Dupleix in the name of their national interests. When they acquired Bengal, they carefully avoided all obligation to reestablish the imperial authority; and it appears that their acceptance of the *diwāni* of Bengal was dictated, not by any desire to mask the reality of their power (which no one in India doubted), but by the desire to take on behalf of the East India Company something which could not be taken over by the English crown as a territorial sovereignty certainly would have been. Thus it was that Prince 'Alī Gawhar, who proclaimed himself as Shāh 'Ālam II [q. v.] in 1760, on learning of his father 'Ālamgīr's murder by his wazīr, Ghāzī al-Dīn, first came under the protection of the English. He had for some years been attacking the province of Bihār with the aid of the Nawāb Wazīr of Oudh. But after the battle of Baksar in 1764 he had given up the struggle, joined the English camp, and in the following year on Clive's demand bestowed on the East India Company the *diwāni* of the provinces it held in return for an annual allowance of 26 lakhs of rupees. At the same time the districts of Kora and Allāhābād were assigned to him and he proceeded to reside in the latter city. Soon however, he wearied of his position of dependence, and departed to join the Marāṭhās, who, having recovered from their defeat at Pānīpat, were once more invading northern India. On this Warren Hastings decided to hand

Kora and Allāhābād over to the Nawāb Wazīr and refused to continue the payment of the 26 lakhs. From this time until the close of the century he remained under the control of the Marāṭhās, except at such times as their internal dissensions led to the recall of their forces from the north. One of their chief leaders at this time, Mahadājī Sindhiā, gradually built up a strong principality for himself, conquering the provinces of Agra and Dihli, and becoming the emperor's real custodian. So matters remained till Sindhiā's defeat by the English in 1803 transferred the guardianship of Shāh 'Ālam into the hands of the latter. They carefully refrained from entering into engagements with him, but they assigned revenues for the maintenance of the imperial family, they permitted all orders issued in the city of Dihli to run in the emperor's name, though the actual administration was conducted by an English agent, and they attempted no interference within the precincts of the palace. Gradually the traditional observances broke down. The Mughal emperor and the British governor-general met with the ceremonial of equals. The emperor's name was removed from the coinage. And it had been resolved no longer to recognise the imperial title after the death of its holder, Bahādūr Shāh II, when the Indian Mutiny, in which several of the imperial princes took an active part although they seem to have had little share in bringing it about, led to the formal trial and deposition of the emperor and the disappearance of the shadowy court which for a century had lingered on under the toleration of the real powers of India.

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III. MUGHAL ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA.

The Mughal dynasts brought to India strong Central Asian predilections and a keen feeling for natural beauty. But each in succession obeyed his own instincts, education and caprices. Hence they patronised no "schools" of art, but came to employ an almost cosmopolitan body of artists, Persian, Indian, Turk and even European, who one and all had to adapt their own canons to the aesthetic moods of their employers. In general the Mughals forbade any sculpture of the human form, but like the Orthodox Greek Church, were usually less rigid towards paintings of it and even fostered portraiture till it reached a high level. Yet, with relatively few exceptions, the Mughal buildings were all religious, comprising mosques and tombs or shrines. Hence their scope was limited, though within their limits they express the religious feelings and policies of the dynasty. Even the conqueror Bābur found leisure in his brief reign of five years, 1526—1531, to build at Pānīpat the Kābul Shāh mosque, whose name commemorates at once his love of Kābul and his victory at Pānīpat in 1526. His mosque at Sambhal in Rohilkhand is marked by an ovoid dome. When he required constructive work Bābur summoned pupils of Sinān, an Albanian, from Constantinople, and avoided Indian, Hindu or indigenous standards, though he must have employed Indian workmen in spite of his dis-

paragement of Indian skill and knowledge in design or architecture.

Humāyūn's longer but still more chequered reign produced many buildings, of which few remain. His mosque at Fathābād near Dihli is massive and well-proportioned, recalling the Tughlak or Turkish period, with domes rather more than hemispherical. It is decorated with enamelled tiles in the Persian manner, apparently the earliest example of that style now extant. His tomb at Dihli, doubtless begun, as is customary among pious Easterns, during his lifetime, is of red sandstone and also Persian in style, but in its coloured tiles are replaced by white marble, of which the dome is wholly composed, the rest of the masonry being also inlaid with that material. The main dome has a narrow neck, the first of its type to appear in India, the four corner cupolas, also a new feature, support domes of an earlier style.

Akbar (1556—1605) was versatile in his architectures as he was in his religion. In the Fort at Āgra he built the palace — one of the few secular buildings of the Mughal period which survive — called the *Djahāngirī* Maḥall. His other buildings at Āgra were demolished by *Shāh-Djahān*. This palace, built of red sandstone which has weathered badly, bears the impress of Akbar's vigour and originality. Throughout arches are used sparingly, the horizontal style of construction being the rule. Its forms also are as Hindu as its construction, but the ornamentation, carved on all flat surfaces, is of a type used by Akbar but not found in other buildings. During the early part of his reign was erected at Gwalior the tomb of Muḥammad Ḡhawth, who died in 1562. Closely resembling that of *Shēr Shāh* at Sahsārām, it marks a considerable advance in tomb-building during the brief period that had elapsed between the erection of the two, an advance ascribed by Fergusson to the invigorating touch of Akbar's genius, but doubtless due in great measure to the skill of the Gwalior school of architects and masons who were probably Hindus. The tomb is a square, 100 ft. each way, exclusive of the hexagonal towers, and its chamber forms a hall, 43 ft. square, with the angles cut off by pointed arches so as to form an octagon on which the dome rests. Around this square building is a wide gallery, enclosed on all sides by a screen of exquisite tracery in pierced stonework with a projecting porch on each face.

At Fathpur-Sikrī, the new capital founded by Akbar where the court resided from 1569 to 1584, the emperor's eclectic phase found its fullest expression. Its architecture is admirably illustrated in W. E. Smith's works¹), but all its significance has not yet been explained. The site was chosen because Akbar's patron saint, the Sūfī Salīm Ḡishtī, lived in a cave on its summit²). Akbar's own residence was the "House of Dreams", the *Khwāb-gāh*, an unpretentious structure standing on the roof of the Maḥall-i Khāṣṣ, which contains paintings attributed by Smith to Chinese artists

and apparently depicting Buddha as Yamāntaka¹). However this may be, the design of his throne in the *Diwān-i Khāṣṣ* massive pillar symbolizes that he sat there as a Ḡakravartin or ruler of the four quarters, as Havell suggests, though it is conceivable that it signified his claim to the supreme headship of his new religion, the *Dīn-Ilāhī*. But it is rash to dogmatise on the symbolism of a builder who seems to have had no settled design for the plan of his new city. The Maḥall-i Khāṣṣ regarded by Fergusson as the original block of building at Fathpur-Sikrī, has two spacious courtyards and is larger than the Red Palace at Āgra, but its surrounding structures are inferior in richness of design and ornamentation. From time to time Akbar added courts and pavilions as if to compensate for this inferiority. While the *Diwān-i Khāṣṣ* is square, as befits a Hall of Audience, the *Daftar-Khāna* or Record Office is peristylar like the one erected by Akbar at Allāhābād. The Panč Maḥall, a five-storeyed open pavilion with richly carved pillars, and long colonnades and walls connecting these buildings one with another, complete this group of structures. The most characteristic and beautiful of his designs here are the three small buildings, the Maḥall or apartment of Birbal's daughter, the house of Mariam Zamānī, mother of *Djahāngir*, and the palace of the Rūmī Sultāna, Ruḡaiya Begam, a cousin of Akbar and his first consort. Akbar's greatness however demanded more grandiose monuments. The *Djāmi*^c Masjdīd or cathedral mosque, erected in 1571 (the year in which he proclaimed himself the *mudjtahid* of Islam) and openly claimed the spiritual headship of Islām) commemorated his victories in the Dakhan (Southern India). It ranks amongst the finest ecclesiastical buildings of India. According to its inscription, it was designed by *Shaiḡh* Salīm Ḡishtī himself and modelled on the Ka'ba. Though highly ornate it betrays few or no traces of Indian influence²). The tomb of the *Shaiḡh*, in its courtyard, is built wholly of white marble, with windows of pierced tracery of the most exquisite geometrical patterns, and a deep cornice of marble supported by brackets of a design so elaborate as to be almost fantastic. The other tomb in the courtyard, that of Salīm's grandson, *Shaiḡh* Islām Khān, is of sober and excellent design but eclipsed by its surroundings. The Buland Darwāzah or "lofty gateway", built in 1602, commemorates Akbar's conquest of Khāndesh and dwarfs even the *Djāmi*^c Masjdīd. It is the grandest gateway in India and one of the loftiest in the world, its height being enhanced by its position on the brow of the hill on which Fathpur-Sikrī stands. Its architect placed its portals at the back of a semi-dome, which thus became its porch or portico, and its dimensions impress themselves as those of the actual portal. It must be added that Akbar intended his new capital to be a school of all the arts and that he allied architecture to painting. From the fragments of interior mural paintings which survive, it is clear that he employed Persian and Indian artists, who worked independently, and some idea of their technique is doubtless to be gathered from the miniatures of this period, as mural artists were also required to illustrate manuscripts.

1) *The Mughal Architecture of Fathpur-Sikrī*, Allāhābād, Government Press, N. W. P. and Oudh, 1898, 4 vols. and *Journal of Indian Art*, Nrs. 47, 64 and 60.

2) The tomb of Salīm Ḡishtī is described and illustrated in Smith's work cited above and in *J. Indian Art*, N^o. 64 (vol. viii., p. 41 and sqq.), 1898.

1) *J. Indian Art*, N^o. 47 (vol. vi., p. 66), 1894.

2) For its wall-paintings see *J. Indian Art*, N^o. 66 (vol. viii., p. 55), 1899.

At Allāhābād, the city where Akbar was compelled by administrative duties to reside more than at his new but isolated capital, he built the pavilion of the Čālis Sitūn or "Forty Pillars", of which only the hall survives. Its plan is square, supported by eight rows of columns, eight in each row, making sixty-four in all; and it is surrounded by a deep verandah of double columns, with groups of four at the angles, all surmounted by bracket capitals of the richest design.

But perhaps the most characteristic of Akbar's buildings, observes Fergusson, is his tomb at Sikandra, begun in his lifetime¹⁾ but completed by his successor. Unfortunately Djahāngir, in his *Tūzūk* (transl. A. Rogers, i. 152), asserts that he demolished Akbar's work and reconstructed the tomb. But, seeing that the plan of the building is unique in India and has no Persian or Saracenic parallel, it is more likely that only its exterior is the work of the fastidious orthodox Djahāngir. Its original plan was modelled on the Panč Maḥall, being composed of five square terraces diminishing in size as they ascend. Thus the outline of the structure is pyramidal, not domical. Standing in an extensive garden it is approached by a single gateway and stands on a raised platform. Excluding the angle towers the lowest storey measures 320 ft. each way, and on this terrace stand three more, similar in design but more ornate, each about half the height of the lowest storey or terrace. Within and above the highest storey is a white marble enclosure, 157 ft. square, contrasting with the red sandstone of which the rest of the structure is built. The outer wall of this enclosure is entirely composed of beautiful trellis-work; and inside it is a colonnade or cloister, also of white marble, in the centre of which is placed the tomb of Akbar, resting on a platform of exquisite arabesque tracery. This doubtless typifies Akbar's celestial resting-place, for below it lie his remains under a far plainer tombstone in the basement. That Djahāngir here departed from the original plan is certain. According to W. Finch, the tomb was to have been covered with a canopy of "curious white and speckled gold richly inwrought". What Akbar planned and what he meant to express by his design must remain a matter of conjecture. Fergusson postulates a Buddhist model, and even sees in the pavilions which adorn the upper storeys reminiscences of the cells which stand on the edge of the great rock-cut rath at Māmallapuram; but these may have been intended for use as a theological college like the rooms and pavilions in the upper storey of Humāyūn's tomb. He also thought that a domical chamber over the tombstone formed part of the original design, since no such royal tomb remains exposed to the air in any Indian mausoleum — a dangerous generalization. Havell sees in the building an Indian five-storeyed Assembly-Hall, apparently a meeting-house for the royal order, the Dīn Ilāhi, the four lower pavilions (or terraces) corresponding to the four grades of the order. Even Cambodian

influences have been conjectured¹⁾. Yet it is not impossible that a Zoroastrian model was kept in view, as Akbar borrowed from that faith among others.

As compared with Akbar Djahāngir contributed little to the architectural magnificence of Mughal India. At Lahore, which he made his capital, he added the Barā Khwāb-gāh or greater sleeping apartment to the Fort; and the tomb of Anārkalī was also erected in that city. Near Srinagar in Kashmir he made the Shālīmār gardens with their summer-houses; and the fine gateway to the Sarāi at Nūrmahal near Djalandhar is also ascribed to his reign. The quadrangle at Lahore was doubtless executed by Hindu artisans, as the colonnade, which surrounds three sides of its area, is supported by pillars of red sandstone with bracket capitals and carved figures of elephants, peacocks and conventional animals like those found in the Red Palace at Āgra. Djahāngir's greatest buildings were however erected at Dakka, in Eastern Bengal, where he made a new provincial capital in supersession of Gawr; but his structures there were principally built of brick, covered with stucco, only the pillars and brackets being of stone, and they have been almost destroyed by the jungle. In one respect only did Djahāngir innovate. In 1600 he built the Moti Masdjīd or "Pearl Mosque" at Lahore, the first of its kind in India. Between Akbar's style and that of Djahāngir little difference exists. The former had used colour ornamentation at Fathpur-Sikrī; its later buildings were richly decorated with wall-paintings, and marble mosaic was used in the Djāmi' Masdjīd. Djahāngir relied still more on mosaic decoration, e.g. in Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, but soon after its completion we find variegated marble mosaic supplemented by *pietra dura*, as in I'timād al-Dawla's tomb, and in the Tādj we still find inlay almost exclusively used. Akbar had continued the use of enamelled tiles at Fathpur-Sikrī for roofing and more sparingly for ornamentation; and they were employed by Djahāngir at Sikandra and by Wazīr Khān, his *wazīr*, on his mosque at Lahore. Indeed this mosque is only noteworthy on account of this decoration. Akbar had also introduced painting on interior walls.

Djahāngir's wife Nūr Maḥall or Nūr Djahān erected at Āgra the tomb of her father, I'timād al-Dawla, completed in 1628. Built almost entirely of white marble, enriched with semi-precious *pietra dura* patterns, it foreshadowed the finest work of Shāh-Djahān's reign. Djahāngir's tomb, at Shāh-darā near Lahore, has little architectural merit, consisting of a vast platform 209 ft. square, with a minaret at each corner. The façades are decorated with white marble let into the red sandstone and the flat roof with geometrical mosaics. The emperor's remains are probably buried beneath an opening in the roof so that the rain and dew of heaven might fall on his tomb, as his earliest chronicler says²⁾. In brief the actual grave was hypaethral³⁾.

1) This view is contested in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1903—1904*, p. 19, but it was certainly the usual custom for a Mughal emperor, like any other good Musliman of means, to build his tomb during his lifetime. The problem is fully discussed in *The Tomb of Akbar*, by E. W. Smith and W. H. Nicholls, published by the *Arch. Survey of India, Allāhābād 1908*.

1) Cf. Vincent Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 411.

2) Muḥammad Šāliḥ Kambū, in his *Shāh-Djahān-Nāma* (also called the *Amal-i Šāliḥ* in Elliott and Dowson's *Hist. of India*, vii., p. 123) cited in *Arch. Survey of India, Annual Rep.*, 1906—1907, p. 13.

3) A contrary view, that the tomb had a closed

following the precedent set by Bābur. The sarcophagus is of white marble, inlaid with *pietra dura*, and it stands in an octagonal chamber 21 ft. high and $20\frac{1}{2}$ in diameter. This chamber is enclosed in nearly solid walls of masonry, 56 ft. thick on all sides, and access to it is afforded by two oblong apartments, one on each side, but it does not open into any of the forty other rooms behind the arches which surround the structure, each façade having a central arch with five smaller arches on each side.

Under Shāh-Djahān (1627—1658) Mughal architecture attained its zenith. One of his earliest buildings was the incomparable Tādj Maḥall [q. v.], begun the year after the death of the empress, Ardjūmand Bānū Begam, entitled Mumtāz Maḥall, or the "Chosen One of the Palace". For himself Shāh Djahān planned a corresponding tomb of equal magnificence on the opposite bank of the river Djamnā, but Awrangzēb did not carry out the scheme, probably because it savoured of paganism¹). Considerable controversy has raged over the question of its architect. Shāh-Djahān's style was essentially Persian, with an indefinable difference of expression, and it was sharply distinguished from those of Ispahān and Constantinople by a lavish use of white marble, sumptuously decorated with *pietra dura*. Coloured tiles had by now become rare. Spacious grandeur was combined with feminine elegance, to which inimitable open-work tracery contributed. In the mosques colour was eschewed, and the finest art is found in the Pearl Mosques at Āgra and Dihli. The former was built in 1646—1653. Meanwhile Shāh-Djahān had founded Shāh-Djahānābād, the great palace near modern Dihli, recently restored to something like its pristine

beauty. A Persian engineer, 'Alī Mardān Khān, had tapped the Djamnā 6 miles above Dihli, and his canal fed the new capital with many streams. The most favoured of them was the Nahr-i Bihisht of "Stream of Paradise", which was so named by Shāh-Djahān himself. It fell in a cascade down a marble chute in a pavilion — the Shāh Burdj — and flowing along the terrace which bordered the Ḥayāt-Bakhsh ("life-giving") garden, it traversed the chain of stately edifices that lined the eastern wall of the Palace — the Hammām, Diwān-i Khāṣṣ and Khwāb-gāh — silently gliding beneath the Mizān-i Inṣāf ("Balance of Justice") across a sun-bathed court into the cool of the Imtiyāz Maḥall or "Palace of Distinction", styled later the Rang Maḥall Kalān or "Greater Colour Palace", from its elaborate painted decoration and gilding. Set on a marble terrace which formerly swept from end to end of the Fort, it overhung the Djamnā whose course then flowed along the base of the red sandstone walls. On the West an orchard separated it from the Diwān-i 'Ām. Thence, still southward, it passed through the Lesser Rang Maḥall, the Mumtāz Maḥall and other buildings of the imperial *zanāna*. Thus Dihli combined the Mughal love of enclosed gardens, watered by running channels, with their passion for architectural beauty. It preserved Bābur's love of nature, and perhaps added to it a sense of landscape which also found expression in the Mughal gardens of Kashmīr.

With Awrangzēb (1659—1707) set in the period of decline, due no doubt largely to that emperor's orthodox prejudice against art, but partly also to his conscientious parsimony. He declined to complete Shāh-Djahān's tomb, ostensibly on the ground of expense, but also perhaps because he regarded the scheme as savouring of paganism. Yet he constructed at Benares the great mosque with its lofty graceful minarets, built a copy of the Dihli mosque at Lahore, and at Awrangābād imitated, though on a small scale and with success, the Tādj in the tomb of his favourite wife. Awrangzib's own tomb, at Khuldābād, a hamlet just above the caves at Elūra, is mean and insignificant. But some of his buildings, in spite of their incipient decadence, are the last great examples of the Mughal style. His Djāmi' or Bādshāhi mosque at Lahore is pleasing in form, though the marble ornamentation of its great central and front façade is very inferior in detail to its prototype at Dihli. Its three domes of white marble and the imposing gateway of red sandstone and marble leading to it from the Hazūri Bāgh are its finest features.

Near Dihli the tomb (1756) of Nawwāb Safdar Djang, Wazīr of Oudh, is a passable copy of a Humāyūn's mausoleum, but its interior is marred by indifferent plaster decoration.

At Lucknow, the capital of the Nawwāb Wazīrs of Oudh, the buildings erected by that dynasty and its nobles hardly deserve to be classed as Mughal. The one exception is the vast Imāmbāra, built by the fourth Nawwāb, Āsaf al-Dawla, in 1784. Conceived on a grand scale for the celebration of the Muḥarrām according to the Shī'a rite, its details will not bear close examination, though its solidity is impressive. The buildings of the Muḥammadan dynasty of Mysore (1760—1777) have still less claim to be regarded as Mughal.

To conclude, the architecture of the Mughals was, like all their arts, a resultant of many forces.

roof and only an uncovered tombstone is maintained by J. P. Thompson in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, i. 12—30 (also W. H. Nicholls, in *Arch. Survey of India, Annual Rep.*, 1906—1907, p. 12). But hypaethral shrines were not uncommon during the Mughal period (see H. A. Rose, in *Journ. Panjab Hist. Soc.*, iii. 144—145, and *Glossary of Panjab Tribes and Castes*, i. 534). It is possible to reconcile the structural evidence with tradition by assuming that the tomb was originally hypaethral, but that a dome was subsequently erected over it and that Awrangzib removed the addition in order to restore the original design; but hardly, as Moorcroft states, with the intent that "his grandfather's tomb might be exposed to the weather as a mark of his reprobation of the loose notions and licentious practices of Djahāngir" (cf. W. Moorcroft and G. Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces*, London 1841, i. 108—109).

1) For twin shrines on either side of the Indus see the account of Daira Din Panāh in Muzaffargarh (Punjab) District *Gazetteer*, Lahore 1910, p. 71. Tavernier records this tradition in his *Travels*, Bk. i., Ch. vii., but he does not add the further tradition that Shāh-Djahān's mausoleum was to have been of black marble, a rarity hardly procurable in India. The Tādj was however only the central feature in a group of smaller and hardly less beautiful buildings, e. g. the four Saheli Burdjes, tombs of the empress' maids-of-honour; see *Arch. Survey of India, Annual Rep.*, 1903—1904, p. 14 and plate iii.

But its essential distinction over Hindu art lay in its balanced use of purely Indian and imported technique; while it recognised the value of symbolism in its structures, it never made its arts merely a vehicle for symbols, as Hindu sculpture tended to do.

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MUGHAMMAS or according to others **MUGHAMMIS**, a valley near Mecca on the borders of the sacred area. According to tradition, Abrahā [q. v.] ordered his army to encamp here when he was going to attack Mecca, but was prevented from doing so as birds slew his soldiers by dropping stones on them. In Mughammas is shown the tomb of the Tā'ifī Abū Righāl who died here after acting as guide to Abrahā. He was so hated by the Meccans for this that the custom grew up of casting stones on his grave [cf. AL-DJAMRA]. Whether this explanation is true or not is unknown, but in any case a verse of Hassān b. Thābit (ed. Hirschfeld, LXII/i.) shows that in the time of the Prophet the mention of his name was sufficient to insult the Tā'ifīs. The antiquity of the custom of stoning his tomb is shown by a verse of Djarīr: "When al-Farazdaq dies, stone him as you stone the grave of Abū Righāl".

Bibliography: al-Bakrī, *Geogr. Wörterbuch*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 553; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 33; Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 937; Azrakī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 93 sq.; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Araber und Perser*, p. 207 sq. (FR. BUHL)

AL-MUGHĪRA B. SHU'BA, of the sept of the *Ahlāf*, a subdivision of the Thakīf, further a member of the clan of the Banū Mu'attib — guardians of the sanctuary of al-Lāt — and nephew of 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd [q. v.], companion and martyr. For having attacked and plundered some travelling companions during their sleep, he was forced to leave Tā'if, his native town, and came to Medīna to offer his services to Muḥammad. The latter used him to attract the Thakīf to Islām and after the submission of Tā'if, sent him to this town to superintend the destruction of the national sanctuary and the liquidation of the treasure of al-Lāt. In the caliphate of Abū Bakr, although he never succeeded in attaining to one of the great posts which were reserved for the Kuraish, Mughīra was able to keep a position in governing circles. 'Omar, while under no illusions about his morals, appointed him governor of Baṣra. A scandalous incident temporarily interrupted his administrative career. He was accused of adultery. The evidence was overwhelming: instead of having him stoned, 'Omar only dismissed him. Mughīra holds in tradition the record for marriages and divorces: the figures of 300, 700 and 1,000 are given. In the

year 21 (642), recalled to public life, he was appointed to the important governorship of Kūfa. His slave Abū Lu'lu'a, who lived in Medīna, assassinated the Caliph 'Omar. Under 'Othmān, Mughīra retired to private life. In the reign of 'Alī, he withdrew to Tā'if to watch the course of events. He went without having been invited to the conference of Adhruḥ [q. v.]. In 40 (660), taking advantage of the general confusion that followed the assassination of 'Alī, he produced an alleged certificate of appointment from Mu'āwiya and took over the control of the annual pilgrimage.

The great Sufyānid was able to appreciate at their true value auxiliaries of the stamp of Mughīra, one of the chief *dāhiya* of his time, the man "who could get himself out of the most hopeless difficulty": "if (it was said) he were shut behind seven doors, his cunning would have found a way to burst all the locks". Of shocking morals, free from any attachment to the 'Alid party, equally free from any claims to the caliphate, free from the jealousies of the Kuraish families, as well as the narrowmindedness of the Anṣār clans, a member of the intelligent and enterprising tribe of Thakīf, everything attracted Mu'āwiya's attention to him. In the year 41 (661), this Caliph appointed him governor of Kūfa, a region disturbed by the intrigues of the Shī'a and the continual risings of the Khāridjīs. Mughīra succeeded in not compromising himself with the former: he was content to advise them to avoid any too striking outburst. Now nearly sixty, the able Thakāfi felt the unusual ambition of remaining where he was and of finishing his troubled career in peace and honour. This opportunist, who had come over to the Sufyānids after cool calculation, felt little desire to sacrifice his own peace and leisure for the consolidation of the Omayyad dynasty; he was solely concerned with keeping on the right side of the sagacious Mu'āwiya. The sudden rising of the Khāridjī leader Mustawrid failed to disturb his equanimity. With remarkable cleverness he was able to let loose against these rebels their born enemies, "the fine flower of the Shī'a". Whichever was victorious, it could not fail to lighten his responsibilities. By setting them against one another he rendered harmless the most dangerous elements of disorder in his province. The crushing of the Khāridjīs enabled him to breathe freely.

Thanks to this combination of mildness and astuteness, and by knowing when to shut his eyes, Mughīra succeeded in avoiding desperate measures against the people of the 'Irāk, who were a continual source of trouble, and succeeded in retaining his position. He was even regretted by his former subjects after he was gone. Not quite satisfied, Mu'āwiya thought of breaking this lieutenant of his who was playing a double game. Mughīra was always able at the opportune moment to provoke troubles which required the continuation of his services. In this way he prepared the return to favour of Ziyād b. Abīhi [q. v.], destined to be his successor. He is also said to have disarmed the Caliph's suspicions by suggesting the plan of proclaiming Yazīd heir-apparent. As the general situation had considerably improved in the 'Irāk and order prevailed, on the surface at least, the Caliph left him in office till his death, the date of which is uncertain but which must be placed between 48 and 51 (668—671). Mughīra died of the plague at the age of about 70.

Bibliography: Aghānī, xix. 97, 140—148; xvi. 2 sq.; xviii. 165; xx. 117; xxi. 281—284; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, iv. 116; Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii. 4, 8, 10, 16, 19—21, 36—39, 40, 42, 44, 61, 67, 86—88, 111—115, 173, 174, 181, 207. — For other references cf. H. Lammens, *Ziād ibn Abihi, vice-roi de l'Iraq, lieutenant de Mo'awia Ier*, p. 1—15; extract from the *R.S.O.*, iv. 1—15. (H. LAMMENS)

AL-MUGHNĪ. [See ALLĀH II.]

AL-MUHĀDJIRŪNA, the emigrants, a name often applied in the *Kur'ān* to those followers of Muḥammad who had migrated from Mecca to Medina with him. The word is derived from *hijra*, which does not mean "flight" but breach, dissolution of an association based on origin, in the place of which a new connection is formed. The term *muhādjir* is not applied to the Prophet himself but only to those who migrated with him and later made up a considerable portion of the population of Medina. The followers of the Prophet who were natives of Mecca were given the name *Anṣār* [q. v.] to distinguish them from the Muhādjirūn, because the immigrants were mainly dependent on their help and active support after they had given up their homes and livelihoods in Mecca. It now became one of Muḥammad's main objects to arouse sympathy for them, because in the early days after their migration they were for the most part in very needy circumstances. With the greatest eloquence he describes them as the particular favourites of Allāh who will receive a splendid reward for their sacrifices "when those who have adopted the faith, who have migrated and fought for Allāh's cause may hope for his grace" (*Sūra* ii. 215); "the sins of the emigrants and of those driven from home are forgiven" (iii. 191). Those who remained in Mecca and feared to migrate although the earth was large enough to afford them shelter are severely censured. He who emigrates finds a home on the earth and if he dies Allāh will reward him (iii. 101). This was however at first only an indication of a future which had not yet materialised, and in addition to these rosy utterances (cf. xvi. 43; viii. 75; xxii. 57) the Prophet made more practical efforts to help those who were living in difficult circumstances. A portion of the plunder taken in fighting was given to the poor emigrants who had been driven from their possessions in order to aid Allāh: "they are the trustworthy" (lix. 8). In order to make the bond between them and the Medinese as tight as possible it is announced in *Sūra* viii. 73 that the emigrants who had left their homes to fight for the true religion and those who gave them shelter (cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 321 sqq.) and assistance (the *Anṣār*) should enjoy rights of kinship with one another while on the other hand, those, who while adopting Islām had not migrated, should not have any rights of kinship. According to the usual interpretation, this passage refers to the peculiar bond of brotherhood which Muḥammad instituted between each emigrant and a Medinese believer, an explanation which is however not quite certain as the passage perhaps only expresses a general principle (cf. Fr. Buhl, *Leben Muḥammads*, p. 209). Besides, the usual exegesis sees in the regulations for inheritance (*Sūra* iv. 13, 15) a proof that this special bond was very early abolished again.

The high esteem in which the emigrants were

held finds expression in *Sūra* ix. 20, where we read "those who believed and migrated and expended blood and treasure in fighting for the cause of Allāh, occupy a higher position (than other believers); they are the fortunate ones". Muhādjir in this way became a title of honour (cf. *Sūra* xxix. 25 where Lot is so called). Individuals who had migrated not to Medina but to Abyssinia also proudly called themselves muhādjir (see Fr. Buhl, *op. cit.*, p. 172). But the real "migration" was that to Medina in which the Prophet himself took part. The number of the Muhādjirūn gradually grew as the increasing power of Muḥammad from time to time induced Meccans to leave their heathen city and go to Medina. It is to them that *Sūra* viii. 76 refers, where those who adopted Islām later than the first emigrants who migrated and afterwards fought alongside of the older Muhādjirūn are acknowledged as belonging to the community ("they are of you"). After the treaty of Ḥudaibiya [q. v.] in particular, we hear of Meccan women who left their pagan husbands and went to Medina where in accordance with Muḥammad's interpretation of the treaty they were not surrendered if they offered the so-called women's pledge (see *Sūra* ix. 11 sqq.). Thus the Muhādjirūn, later and earlier, formed an increasing element in the population of Medina, whom Muḥammad often mentions along with other sections of the community as possessing equal rights with them (e.g. *Sūra* xxxiii. 6, 49) in which connection it should be noted that Muhādjirūn is never, as was the case among the *Anṣār*, used in genealogies.

That these emigrants were specially dear to Muḥammad is easily intelligible, for they had shared his sufferings in Mecca and made the greatest sacrifices for him and included in their number men who had adopted his teaching out of pure conviction. With the occupation of Mecca, the migration ceased while the Muhādjirūn remained as a separate highly honoured body. It is natural to suppose that a certain amount of rivalry might easily arise between them and the other elements of the community, and that there was actually a certain amount of friction between the emigrants and the Medinese is evident from the fact that in the troubles after the Prophet's death the Medinese endeavoured to set up one of their number, Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, as successor to the Prophet. The attempt failed through the energetic action of 'Umar, Abū Bakr and Abū 'Ubaida, and the leadership of the community remained in the hands of the Muhādjirūn until the descendants of Muḥammad's old opponents in Mecca seized power for themselves.

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MUḤĀL. [see MANṬIḲ.]

AL-MUHALLAB B. ABĪ ŠUFRA, ABŪ SA'ĪD AL-AZDĪ, an Arab general. Al-Muhallab is said to have been born two years before the death of Muḥammad. In the reign of Mu'āwiya he undertook a campaign against India and raided the country between Kābul and Multān (44 = 664—665). He next distinguished himself in the expeditions of the governors of *Khurāsān* against Samarkand. Then however, he left the Umayyads and joined the anti-Caliph 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair who gave him the governorship of *Khurāsān*. When he was just about to start for there, he was appointed commander-in-chief in the war against the Azraḳīs

[q. v.] on the urgent appeal of the people of Baṣra. After he had driven them from the Tigris he defeated them in Shawwāl 66 (May 686) at Sillabrā, east of the Dūdjal, whereupon they withdrew to the east. He then took part in the war against al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Uбайд [q. v.]. On the latter's defeat and death (Ramaḍān 67 = April 687) he was sent to al-Mawṣil to defend the frontier against the Syrians by Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubair, who shortly before had been appointed governor of Baṣra. In the meanwhile, the Azraḳīs had been growing more and more dangerous and the only course for Muṣ'ab was to send al-Muhallab once again to al-Ahwāz. Here he fought the Azraḳīs for eight months; when Muṣ'ab fell at Maskin (72 = 691) he paid homage to the caliph 'Abd al-Malik. The new governor of Baṣra, Khālīd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Khālīd b. Asīd, himself then undertook the leadership in the war against the fanatical Azraḳīs, but he was not fit for this task so that the caliph found himself forced to send for al-Muhallab and give him the supreme command. Khālīd was soon afterwards dismissed and Baṣra given to 'Abd al-Malik's brother, the governor of Kūfa, Bishr b. Marwān. But since the latter out of jealousy worked against Muhallab, the latter's movements were hampered, though he succeeded in seizing the town of Rāmahumuz. On the death of Bishr, al-Ḥajjdjādī [q. v.] received the governorship of the 'Irāq and as soon as he took up his appointment, the campaign against the Azraḳīs was resumed with vigour (beg. of 75 = 694). At the end of Sha'bān 75 (Dec. 694), al-Muhallab assumed the offensive. The Azraḳīs had to retire to Kazarūn where they held out for over a year. They then left Fārs and went to Kirmān. Here they entrenched themselves in the town of Dīraft and it was some time before Muhallab could overcome them so that al-Ḥajjdjādī became impatient and tried to hurry him up. Al-Muhallab preferred however to await the favourable moment. Fortunately the Azraḳīs split into two parties, one of which, led by Kaṭārī b. al-Fudja'a [q. v.] and 'Abida b. Hilāl, fled to Ṭabaristān whereupon al-Muhallab easily overcame the rest. He then returned to Baṣra where as a reward for his services he was given the governorship of Khurāsān (78 = 697–698). From Merw he undertook two expeditions against Bukhārā; on his way back he died at Zāghūl, a village in the district of Merw al-Rūdh, in Dhu 'l-Hijja 82 (Jan.–Feb. 702). According to another statement, his death did not take place till next year. His son Yazid succeeded him in his office. By finally disposing of the fanatical Azraḳīs al-Muhallab rendered a lasting service to the caliphate and he is incontestably entitled to a place of honour among the generals of the Umayyads.

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Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien*, p. 34 sqq.; do., *Das arabische Reich*, p. 141 sq. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-MUHALLABĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD, a vizier of Mu'izz al-Dawla. He belonged to Baṣra and was born in Muḥarram 291 (= Dec. 903). In 334 (945) when Mu'izz al-Dawla was marching on Baghdād, he sent him in advance to negotiate with the Caliph and on Djumādā I, 27, 339 (= Nov. 950) al-Muhallabī was appointed vizier. He was given the supreme command in the war with 'Imrān b. Shāhin [cf. MU'IZZ AL-DAWLA] and had brought him into a very precarious position when he himself fell into an ambush and could only save himself with difficulty, whereupon Mu'izz al-Dawla had to conclude peace with 'Imrān. In 341 (952–953) the ruler of 'Omān, Yūsuf b. Waḳīth, undertook a campaign against Baṣra; al-Muhallabī, however, anticipated him, occupied the town and defeated Yūsuf. In the same year, he fell into disgrace but was able to retain his office and the good relations between Mu'izz al-Dawla and his vizier were restored. A few years later, Mu'izz al-Dawla equipped an expedition against 'Omān and put al-Muhallabī in command. The latter set out in Djumādā II, 352 (= June/July 963), but soon fell ill and decided to return to Baghdād. He died on the way on 26th Sha'bān of the same year (= 19th Sept. 963) and was buried in Baghdād. On his death Mu'izz al-Dawla confiscated all his property, a measure which aroused general indignation.

Bibliography: Yaḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb* (ed. Margoliouth), iii. 180–194; Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), N^o. 177 (transl. de Slane, i. 410–412); Muḥammad b. Shākir, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, i. 131–133; Ibn al-Aṭhīr (ed. Tornberg), viii. 337, 365, 368 sq., 372–375, 405.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

MUḤAMMAD, the founder of Islām, was a native of the city of Mecca, out of which the energetic Kuraish had in the sixth century created a flourishing centre of commerce by exploiting the much visited places of pilgrimage there. In consequence of the unreliability of the sources at our disposal the very first question a biographer has to ask, namely when was his hero born, cannot be answered with certainty. That Muḥammad's activity in Medina covered ten years (622–632) is certain; but we have no certain data for the Meccan period. There is however no cogent reason to doubt the statement in a poem ascribed sometimes to Abū Kaīs b. Abī Anas and sometimes to Ḥassān b. Thābit (ed. Hirschfeld, N^o. 19, 1) to the effect that his prophetic activity in Mecca lasted "ten and some years". The parallelism between the two periods, which might be brought forward as a ground of suspicion, is not complete, and on the other hand, the annual recurrence of the great pilgrimage at Mecca must have made it easy for the inhabitants to reckon by them, so that a chronological statement originating there deserves more confidence than others. The Meccan period in any case must not be put too short, for according to 'Urwa's story mentioned below (Ṭabarī, i. 1181), "several years" passed after the migration of his followers to Abyssinia before they returned, after which new difficulties arose which produced the migration to Medina. — For the period before he came forth as a religious reformer we have only the indefinite expression 'umr (Sūra x. 17). The

Muslim historians make him usually 40, sometimes 43 years old at the time of his call, which, taken with the already mentioned data, would put the date of his birth at about 570 A.D. When however tradition puts the date of his birth in the "year of the Elephant" (see ABRAHA and SŪRA cv.), this is a result of an unhistorical combination, for Abraha's attack on Mecca must have taken place considerably before 570. But Lammens has cast various, not unfounded doubts on the whole chronological calculation itself; in particular the fact that Muḥammad's migration to Medina and his resultant activities there do not give the impression that he was then a man already in the fifties. In reality 580 or one of the years immediately following would suit very well as the date of the Prophet's birth, so that the Qur'anic expression 'umr would mean about 30 years.

The name "Muḥammad" occurred previously among the Arabs (e.g. Ibn Durajid, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 6 sq.; Ibn Sa'd, i/i. 111 sq.) and therefore need not be regarded as an epithet only adopted later in life by the Prophet. As to Muḥammad's descent, several old poems (e.g. Ḥassān b. Thābit, ed. Hirschfeld, N^o. 25, 7; A'shā in Ibn Hishām, p. 256, 1; cf. also on Dja'far: Ḥassān b. Thābit, N^o. 21, 8; Ka'b b. Mālīk in Ibn Hishām, p. 800; on Ḥamza: Ibn Hishām, p. 630, 7; on Abū Lahab: Ḥassān b. Thābit, N^o. 217, 3) confirm the statement of tradition that he belonged to the family of Hāshim; and that he was recognised by them as one of themselves is evident from the fact that only the protection of a fairly powerful family could have made it possible for him to stay so long in Mecca in face of the hostility of his fellow-citizens (cf. the words put in the mouth of the enemies of Shu'aib [Sūra xi. 93]: "Had we not had consideration for thy family, we would have stoned thee"). The Hāshim family related to the Banū Muṭṭalib (Ibn Hishām, p. 536, 14) was apparently one of the better class families of Mecca (cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 821 and the words of the poetess Kutaila, *ibid.*, p. 539, which however might be interpreted merely as a polite formula; cf. Song of Solomon, vii. 2; Dalman, *Palästinischer Diwan*, p. 190, 255 sq.; E. Littmann, *Neuarabische Volkspoesie*, p. 141). On the other hand, the Meccan enemies of the Prophet say in Sūra xliii. 30 that they would believe in him more readily if he had been one of the prominent men of the two cities (Mecca and Ṭā'if). The Hāshim family in any case could not compare with the most prominent families like the Makhzūm and Umayya; and what is recorded of the needy circumstances of Muḥammad and some of his relatives suggests that the Hāshim family must have been exceedingly poverty stricken at this time. On his mother's side he had connections, which are not clear to us, with Medina [cf. AMINA and HĀSHIM]; according to Mūsā b. Uqba the Medinese called al-'Abbās their "sister's son" (cf. Ibn Sa'd, iv/i. 8, 12). We know nothing more that is definite about his ancestry, for most of what is related is legend. His father, who is said to have died before his birth, is quite a colourless figure, whose name 'Abd Allāh is perhaps only a later improvement on a heathen name. His grandfather is called Shaiba or 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; the connection between these two names is however as obscure as is that between 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the oft mentioned family of Muṭṭalib (Ḥassān b. Thābit, N^o. 184, 2; Ibn Hishām, p. 230, 23, 536, 14) or the Banū Shaiba (Ibn Sa'd, i/i. 94, 6; ii/i. 124, 25).

The only thing certain from the Qur'an is that Muḥammad grew up as an orphan in very miserable circumstances (Sūra, xciii. 6 sq.). The first tangible historical figures among his relatives are his uncles: Abū Ṭālib, with whom tradition records that he found a kindly reception, 'Abbās, Ḥamza [q.v.] and 'Abd al-'Uzzā [cf. ABŪ LAHAB]. On the idyllic little story of the boy's stay with the Beduin tribe of Sa'd b. Bakr, see the article ḤALĪMA. The story of the cleansing of his breast (a similar story is related of Umayya b. Abi l-'Salt; cf. Goldziher, *Abh. z. Arab. Phil.*, i. 213) is a materialisation of Sūra xciv. 1.

In Sūra xciii. already quoted, we are told that Allāh made the poor orphan prosperous. Corresponding to this in tradition is the marriage of Muḥammad with a rich merchant's widow, in whose service he had been [cf. KHADĪDJA]. She bore him four daughters, who play a part in later history, and several sons all of whom died in infancy; one of them at least must be historical as his pagan name 'Abd Manāf (Sprenger, i. 199 sq.; Caetani, i. 173) could not be invented by later writers; such a fiction in any case, as posthumous comfort to alleviate the disgrace of the lack of male heirs (Lammens), would be very inadequate, if it had to make the sons die again soon after their birth. The interest in business matters apparent in the Qur'an (Sūra ii. 194; lxii. 9 sq.) as well as his fondness for business expressions (cf. however similar expressions in the Wisdom of Solomon, iv. 20; Pirge Abot, iii. 16; iv. 22; Horn, *Gesch. d. Pers. Lit.*, p. 10) are very natural if Muḥammad took part in business transactions as Khadīdja's assistant and husband. On the other hand, it would be wiser to set aside the alleged trading journeys into neighbouring lands, which he is said to have made even as a child with Abū Ṭālib and later in Khadīdja's service; in the form in which they are given, they have distinctly apologetic tendencies [cf. BAḤĪRA] and are quite unnecessary to explain his later religious development. Sūra xxxvii. 137 sq. in any case is not clear proof that he himself had passed by Lot's dwellings on a journey. Nor did Khadīdja equip trading caravans independently. Equally little confidence is to be placed in the story, which is given in the usual *märchen* style, of the part played by Muḥammad in rebuilding the Ka'ba.

While the questions already raised are really of no great importance, the problems which concern Muḥammad's début as a religious reformer are of the utmost importance but offer the greatest difficulties to the student in view of the insufficient material available in the sources. The main question is: whence did Muḥammad, who everywhere betrays a great receptivity for foreign matter, get his ideas? That he originally shared the religious conceptions of his milieu is in every way the most natural supposition — his uncle Abū Lahab was an ardent defender of paganism and Abū Ṭālib, who was like a father to him, died without adopting Islām — and is confirmed not only by the name of his son already mentioned but also by Sūra xciii. 3: "God found thee wandering and guided thee" (cf. also xlii. 52: "Thou didst not know what book or belief was" and the statement of Ibn al-Kalbī that he once brought a sheep as a sacrifice to al-'Uzzā). Distinct traces of his early beliefs survived in his later life. He shared the belief of his fellow-countrymen in *djinn* and *shayāṭin*, in evil omens etc. Mecca with its sanctuary was a sanctified place in his eyes (Sūra xxvii. 93; xxviii. 57; xxix.

67; cv. i sqq.; cvi. i sqq.); he admitted the sacrifices offered there into the true worship (cviii. 2) and allowed his followers to take part in the pilgrimage (vii. 29 sq.) so that it was all the easier for him later to accept it as one of the main features of his religion (see below). We shall later discuss a relapse into paganism, which however was speedily overcome, as well as the fact that he was only gradually led to attack on principle the gods of Mecca. He was also influenced by the manner of the old Arab inspired soothsayers (cf. on the modern Rwala: Musil, *Die Kultur*, 1910, p. 10) to the extent that he adopted their peculiar form of speech with mysterious oaths and rhymed prose (*sadq*; cf. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen z. arab. Philol.*, i. 59 sqq.; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, iii. 381 sq.) when he began to announce his revelations. All his earlier conceptions were however driven out except for such trifling residua as these, when a new world of ideas began to fill him to an ever increasing extent, until he was finally compelled with irresistible force to come forth and proclaim them. These new ideas point mainly to the religions of the "possessors of a scripture" — Judaism and Christianity — and he was conscious of this, in as much as he repeatedly emphasises the agreement between his teaching and these older religions of revelation as irrefutable evidence of its truth (cf. the significant passage: "If thou art in doubt about what We have revealed, ask them who read the scripture before thee", Sūra x. 94). The only question is, in what way did he become possessed of these new ideas. This much only is certain that he did not get them from his own reading of the holy scriptures of the Jews and Christians. The word *ummī* [q. v.], applied to him (Sūra vii. 156) signifies, without committing us to anything about his ability in reading or writing — as a merchant he must have had a certain knowledge of these arts — that he was an illiterate layman, who was not able to read the Hebrew or Greek Bible, and that this was actually the case, the *Qur'ān* shows on every page. For this explanation of the term Wensinck, *Acta orient.*, ii. 191 and (citing the Hebrew *ummōt ha-olām*) Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, p. 52 would put "pagan", *ἔθνικός*, but, although this might fit some passages, it could hardly suit Sūra ii. 73 where there is a reference to a difference between the "possessors of a scripture" and the *ummīyūn* among the Jews. The usual explanation suits well enough, as it is certain and it is confirmed by the *Qur'ān* everywhere that, while Muhammad had some notion of the books of the Bible, the Hebrew and Greek Bibles were closed books to him. Utterances like the saying that Jesus "received" the Gospels (iii. 44; v. 50; lvii. 27) and that it should be "observed" like the law (v. 70, 72) clearly show that he did not know its real contents. Sūra xxi. 105 contains a quotation from the Psalms, but this is quite an isolated instance and he knew nothing of the Psalms as a part of the Old Testament (xvii. 57). The parable of the camel and the eye of a needle (vii. 38) proves of course no literary dependence and the alleged description of Muhammad and his followers in the Gospels (xlvi. 29) shows what he could build up on a vague recollection of something he had heard. On the other hand the stories reproduced, e. g. the long account of Joseph (Sūra xii.), show that he was indirectly dependent on the Bible and not only on the Old but also on the New Testament (cf. what

he relates of Mary, Joseph, Zacharia and John); the story of the Seven Sleepers (cf. Aṣḥāb AL-KAḤF and M. Huber, *Die Wanderlegende von den Siebenschläfern*, 1910) also presupposes Christian authorities. One therefore cannot blame his enemies when they said that he had foreign teachers (xvi. 105; xxv. 5 sq.; xlv. 13), which is certainly not refuted by the reply in xvi. 105. Further it is clear from the *Qur'ān* that he did not come into contact in this indirect way with the books of the Bible in their simple form, but that his authorities had drawn on Midrashic and Apocryphical works, which is easily explained by the varied and luxuriant character of the religious tendencies in Arabia. In particular what he tells of the birth and childhood of Jesus (xix. 22 sqq.; iii. 41; v. 109 sq.) comes from Apocryphal sources, and his account of the death of Jesus (iv. 156) has parallels among the Manichaeans and Basilidians.

To state exactly what religion exercised particular influence on Muhammad's ideas is hardly possible in view of the scanty information available about conditions in these days, especially as many things indicate that he was influenced from various sides, primarily by Christian sects, but later also by the Jews. There was ample opportunity to become acquainted with both these religions from caravans passing through to Syria or the lands of the Euphrates, from communication by sea with Abyssinia, and from foreign merchants visiting the great markets; and not only in the more advanced districts of South Arabia, but also among several Beduin tribes (e. g. Bakr, Taghlib, Ḥanifa, Ṭaiy), Christianity had established itself, while Jewish colonies had settled in Medina and the oases north of it. But a citizen of Mecca in particular had repeated opportunities of coming into contact with Christians and Jews. The great festivals attracted people from all districts and it is expressly recorded that Christians also took part in the pilgrimage (Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, p. 28, 128, 159); in addition there were Christians captured in war and immigrant Ḡhassānids living in Mecca (Azraqī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 97, 458, 466; cf. the Christian slave in Ṭā'if: Ibn Hishām, p. 280 sq.). In the *Qur'ān* alongside of expressions coming from the Aramaic, several Ethiopic loanwords are evidence of religious influence from Abyssinia (cf. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 47). Recently scholars have been fond of seeking a main source of Muhammad's ideas and their formulation in the religious development which is alleged to have taken place in South Arabia. This is certainly a possibility to be reckoned with, but so long as we know so little of South Arabian religious history and in particular so long as no intermediate South Arabian forms are found for the Abyssinian loanwords in the *Qur'ān* we are better to set it aside. It should also be noted that Muhammad in his stories of the prophets frequently mentions the Arab tribes of 'Ad and Ṭhamūd [q. v.] but only rarely touches on the older history of South Arabia (Sūra xxvii. 20 sqq.; xxxiv. 14 sq.; xlv. 26; l. 13, on the other hand hardly lxxxv. 1 sqq.; cf. M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, p. 474). In the utterance ascribed to the Prophet (Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, iii. 56): "Belief and wisdom are Yemenī", Yemenī, as the context shows, only means "of Yemenī fashion", i. e. cultured, human, in contrast to Beduin uncouthness. The main objection however, is that the hypothesis would only mean

an unnecessarily circuitous route, for Muḥammad always appeals directly to his agreement with Christianity, without suggesting any remodelling of these religions through a South Arabian medium. And the stronger one endeavours to make Yemenite influence on religious matters in Mecca, the more unintelligible becomes the stubborn opposition of the Meccans to Muḥammad. Much greater weight should be given to Tor Andrae's treatment of the question of Muḥammad's dependence on Christianity. After calling attention to the wide dissemination and dominating position of Nestorianism in the Persian empire, which is of importance as it must have been much more accessible to Muḥammad than Monophysitism, he points out the close relationship between Muḥammad's ideas and the ecclesiastical writings of the Syrians: the contempt for worldly possessions, the strong condemnation of the arrogance and frivolity of the unbelievers, the warnings against laughing, joking and careless speech, the emphasis on the significance of almsgiving as an atonement for sin, the descriptions of Paradise (we even find the *houris* in Ephraim the Syrian) etc. Alongside of these very instructive similarities, there is however one point to be remembered in which the relationship is somewhat modified, namely Muḥammad's Christology. It is, in any case, remarkable in several respects for it is distinguished from his other accounts of prophets and approximates to the teaching of the Church in striking fashion, e.g. in the account of the birth of Jesus and his miraculous gifts and in the undeniable echoes of the doctrine of the Logos (Sūra iii. 34; iv. 169). But already in the Meccan period (e.g. xliii. 57 *sqq.*) Muḥammad vigorously rejects the idea of Christ being the son of God and definitely denies that he had ever asserted anything of the kind of himself. Here it is not sufficient to point to the Nestorians since they did not deny that Christ was the son of God. When Muḥammad from the first insists on the complete agreement of his teaching with the old revealed religions, i.e. with Christianity also, he seems to have been influenced by a form of Christianity where this dogma occupied a very unimportant position.

What one can deduce in this way from the Qur'ān about Muḥammad's development is supplemented in an important way by tradition, according to which he was not alone in his search for a purer religion. Various individuals are named who, dissatisfied with old Arab religion, were seeking for a more intellectual faith, in particular a cousin of Khadija, Waraqa b. Nawfal. Even if these traditions cannot be utilised in the form in which we have them, as they have been influenced by later Muslim ideas, yet they certainly have a historical basis, because they are not taken from the Qur'ān and are not intended to show Muḥammad in a more favourable light. In addition there are the Ḥanīfs [q.v.] of whom the traditions of the Arabs have preserved only a very hazy picture, and Umayya b. Abi 'l-Salt [q.v.] whose poems often have points of contact with the Qur'ān, which would be of great importance if they could even in part be regarded as genuine [cf. also the article MUSAILIMA].

While Muḥammad was in a state of great spiritual excitement as a result of contact with the religious ideas that had penetrated into Arabia, something happened which suddenly transformed his whole consciousness and filled him with a spiritual strength

which decided the whole course of his life: he felt himself called to proclaim to his countrymen as a prophet the revelations which were communicated to him in a mysterious way. When Caetani wishes to see in this the result of a long development and continued reflection, this is certainly not correct. We have much rather every reason to trust the tradition which tells of a sudden outburst of conviction that he was called to proclaim the word of God. For this view we have the analogy of prophets in general, from the Old Testament prophets down to Joseph Smith; and no long drawn reflections but only an overwhelming spiritual happening could give him the unshatterable conviction of his call. This is also confirmed by several passages in the Qur'ān, which point to a deciding moment, definite in time (xliv. 2 *sq.*; xcvi. 1; ii. 181), in which connection it is of minor importance whether it is possible to identify the revelation of the call itself among the Sūras of the Qur'ān (according to a common opinion, xcvi. 1 *sqq.*; according to some, on the other hand, lxxiv. 1 *sqq.*), especially as one must reckon with the possibility that the very earliest revelations were not written down. If this really was the case, however, the reason certainly was not that they were deliberately suppressed, since a revolutionary change of his world of ideas into its diametrical opposite while retaining the earlier apparatus of inspiration would be quite an untenable hypothesis.

The Qur'ān gives only a few hints about the manner of these inspirations; a veil lay over them which the Prophet either could not or would not raise completely. Perhaps the wrapping up (lxxiii. 1; lxxiv. 1) refers to a preparation for the reception of the revelations in the manner of the old Arab *kāhins*; but we are taken further in an indirect way by the oft recurring accusation of his enemies that Muḥammad was possessed (*madjūnūn*), a soothsayer (*kāhin*), a magician (*sāḥir*), for they show that in his moments of inspiration he made an impression similar to those figures well known in ancient Arabia. In addition there are several traditions which describe his condition in such moments more fully and may undoubtedly be regarded as genuine, since they are the last thing later Muḥammadanism might be expected to invent, while these mysterious seizures afforded to those around him the most valid evidence for the superhuman origin of his inspirations. In Byzantine authors we find it stated that the Prophet was an epileptic (e.g. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, i. 334); and modern psychiatrists recognise the correctness of these descriptions of his attacks and we must of course leave it to them to define the exact nature of his condition. From the scientific point of view the fact is that the voice heard by him only uttered what he had from time to time heard from others and which now cropped up out of his subconscious. The scientific student therefore does not see in Muḥammad a deceiver but fully agrees with the impression of sincerity and truthfulness which his utterances in the older revelations make (e.g. Sūra, x. 16, 20, 113; xxviii. 85 *sq.*; lxix. 44; lxxv. 16 *sq.*; cf. vii. 202; xvi. 100; the cogent imperatives lxxiv. 2; xcvi. 1; the self-denunciation lxxx. 1 *sqq.* etc.) along with the fact that he unselfishly endured years of hostility and humiliation in Mecca in the unshakable conviction of his lofty task. It is more difficult with the later Medinese revelations, in which it is often only too easy to

detect the human associations, to avoid the supposition that his paroxysms (e.g. at the battle of Badr: Ibn Hishām, p. 444; in the slandering of ʿĀʾisha, p. 736, 2) could sometimes be artificially brought on, and there is even a tradition which makes ʿĀʾisha say to the Prophet: "Thy Lord seems to have been very quick in fulfilling thy prayers". It must not be forgotten however that natures like this, without actually being conscious of it, are able to provoke the same states of excitation, which earlier arose without their assistance; and so probably not only were his followers in Medina (cf. Ka'b b. Mālīk in Ibn Hishām, p. 614, 9) but even he himself convinced, that the spirit was continually hovering about him to communicate the revelations to him. By this we do not of course mean that in his ecstatic condition he received the divine communications *in extenso*, as we now have them in the Qurʾān; only the foundations were given him, which he afterwards developed into discourses of greater length. Since in doing this he used the external forms of the old Arab soothsayers it is natural that the Meccans took him for one, but it does not follow that he was spiritually akin from the first to those soothsayers who were inspired by *djinn*s. The indignation with which he objects to being associated with them is not a proof of such a relationship of which he wished to rid himself, simply because he was conscious of the similarity, but a natural result of the fact that the enlightened Meccans saw in persons of this kind ludicrous fanatics of the lowest kind, while he was firmly convinced that he was filled with quite a different spirit, one quite unfamiliar to his enemies.

While it is in this way possible with the help of the Qurʾān and Tradition, to get an on the whole satisfactory picture of Muḥammad's development and his condition when prophesying, he himself gives in the Qurʾān quite a different interpretation of the revelations that came to him, which is based on a peculiar theory which he apparently did not invent himself but adopted from others. The fundamental idea in it is the conception of a divine book existing in heaven, *al-Kitāb*, a well guarded book, which only the pure may touch (lvi. 76 *sqq.*), a well guarded tablet (lxxxv. 21 *sq.*), the mother of the book (xliii. 2 *sq.*), on honourable leaves, exalted and pure, by the hands of noble and pious scribes (lxxx. 13 *sqq.*). He himself did not read this book, as E. Meyer erroneously thinks, but it was communicated to him orally piece by piece, not in its original form but in an Arabic version intelligible to him and his countrymen (cf. xii. 1; xiii. 37; xx. 112; xxvi. 192 *sqq.*; xli. 2; xliv. 58 and especially xli. 44: "If we had made it a Qurʾān in a foreign tongue, they would say: These are its *āyāt* ["signs", from the small sections of the text] not expounded intelligibly?, a foreign text and an Arab reader!"). In addition there is the fact that Muḥammad was aware that the complete contents of the book were not communicated to him, as he expressly states, e.g. of the stories of the prophets, not all of which were related to him (xl. 78; iv. 162). He received the communications orally, Allāh rehearsing to him the substance of the separate sections (lxxv. 16 *sqq.* etc.), while in several passages it is stated more precisely that the revelations were communicated through the Spirit (xxvi. 192 *sq.*;

xvi. 104; xlii. 52) or the Angel (xvi. 2; xv. 8; cf. liii. 5 *sqq.*; lxxxi. 23 *sqq.*); a late passage of the Medina period (ii. 91) is even more precise in saying that they were communicated by Gabriel. References to visions are rare (e.g. the encouraging apparitions in Sūra viii. 45; xlviii. 27; the night journey must also have been a vision) and even in such cases the main thing is not what he heard (liii. 10; lxxxi. 19). These communications were the great miracle that was granted him, while he expressly and repeatedly says that the ability to perform miracles in the usual sense was denied to him (unlike Jesus).

From this book in heaven, the all-comprising contents of which are not by any means exhausted in the extracts forming the Qurʾān, also came the older religions of revelation "of the possessors of a scripture", whose religions therefore in his view coincide with his and, as he often says, were confirmed by it (cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, N^o. 134, 5). This again is connected with a theory expounded by him of a line of prophets which began with Adam, and of which he was the last representative. His source for this idea was not Judaism, for he does not know of the great prophets who wrote books of the Old Testament; instead of them he mentions individuals, whom the Jews do not count as prophets, e.g. Lot, Joseph, Solomon, Job, etc.; on the other hand the fact that Jesus and John the Baptist are the last links in the chain of prophets clearly suggests a Christian origin, and certain parallels in more or less heretical early Christian literature can be demonstrated. Of the prophets Muḥammad relates a number of stories, which do not begin to appear in any number until the middle Meccan period when the Meccans were beginning sharply to reject his mission.

The ideas in the oldest, passionately excited inspirations, developed under a baroque power of imagination rarely reached later, are very simple. They are based not on the dogmatic conception of monotheism but on the strong general religious and moral impression which contact with older religions had made upon him, which was bound finally to lead to a breach with polytheism. In particular he was filled with the idea of the moral responsibility of man created by Allāh, and with the idea of the judgment to take place on the day of resurrection, which again points undoubtedly more to Christian than Jewish influence (cf. especially the introductory sounding of trumps, not found among the Jews). To this are added vivid descriptions of the tortures of the damned and seductive pictures of the joys of Paradise, which are further of interest because they reveal Muḥammad's strongly sensual temperament. Gradually monotheism was emphasized as an overruling basic idea and at the same time he attained a somewhat wider conception of the Deity. With all the vigour of an elemental religious nature, he points to the wonders of everyday life, especially to the marvellous phenomenon of man (in this connection cf. the poem of the Jew Samaw'al, *al-Aṣma'iyāt*, ed. Ahlwardt, N^o. 20, 1). The religious duties which he imposes on himself and others are simple and few in number; one should believe in God, appeal to Him for forgiveness of sins (xxiii. 11), offer prayers frequently on the model of the Jews and Christians, in the night also (xi. 116; lxiii. 20; cf. lxxvi. 25 *sq.*), assist one's fellow-men, especially those who are in need, free oneself from the love of delusive wealth and — what

is significant for the commercial life of Mecca — from all forms of cheating (xxvi. 182 sq.; lv. 8 sq.), lead a chaste life and not expose newborn girls, as the barbarous custom of the time was (according to Sūra vi. 152; xvii. 33 from poverty, cf. al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 277; originally perhaps a kind of magic to procure sons, when only girls had been born, cf. Musil, *Kuṣair 'Amra*, p. 38; even before Muḥammad's time there had been people who fought against this barbarous custom, cf. al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, loc. cit.). This is the ideal of the truly pious man who is called by the name of *muslim* (lxviii. 35; xxi. 108 etc.) or *ḥanīf* (x. 105; xxx. 29; xcvi. 4; cf. vi. 79 and the article). Cf. in this connection the list of Muḥammad's precepts in A'shā's poem (Ibn Hishām, p. 255; *Morgenländische Forschungen*, p. 25 sq.).

From all this, it is quite evident that Muḥammad had at this time no thought of founding a new religion. His task was only to be a "warner" (li. 50; lxxiv. 2; lxxix. 45; lxxx. 11; lxxxviii. 21 sqq.), in view of the approach of the day of judgment, to his countrymen, to whom no prophet had yet been sent (vi. 157; xxviii. 46; xxxii. 2; xxxiv. 43; xxxvi. 51; no notice is taken here of Hūd and Ṣāliḥ) and as a result of the revelations granted him to give them, in the form of a lucid Arabic Qur'ān (see above), what the "possessors of a scripture" had in their scriptures, which were not accessible to the Arabs and thereby to save them from the divine wrath. The Jews and Christians also must therefore testify to the truth of his preaching (x. 94; xvi. 45; xxi. 7; xxvi. 197; xxviii. 52 etc.).

On account of the insufficiency of the sources, it is very difficult to ascertain in detail how Muḥammad's relations with the Meccans developed. The Qur'ān contains only vague hints, which permit no chronological arrangement, while the traditions are very full but little reliable. Only one report, which 'Urwa composed for the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (Ṭabarī, i. 1180 sq., 1224 sq.), the value of which has already been indicated by Sprenger, gives a brief but apparently trustworthy glimpse of the main events (cf. also al-Zuhri in Ibn Sa'd, i/i. 133). At first Muḥammad met with no serious opposition and in not a few cases his preaching fell on fruitful soil; indeed in the words addressed to Ṣāliḥ (xi. 64) we may find a hint that he had at first aroused considerable expectations among the Meccans. All traditions agree that Khadija was the first believer, while they differ as to who was his first male adherent. In any case Abū Bakr, the manumitted slave Zaid b. Hāritha, Zubair b. al-'Awwām, Ṭālha b. 'Ubayd Allāh, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, and Muḥammad's cousin 'Alī [q. v.] were among his earliest followers. The majority of those who were won over by his preaching were however young and of no great social standing, while the well-to-do and influential held back (xix. 74; xxxiv. 30 sqq.; xxxviii. 62 sq.; lxxiii. 11; lxxx. 1 sqq.; cf. the veiled references in vii. 73; xi. 29; xvii. 17; xxvi. 111). This became still more the case when the full consequences of his ideas became clear to him and he openly attacked the religion of his native town; for the Meccans, to the majority of whom such devotional meetings had been a matter of complete indifference, now discovered that a religious revolution might be dangerous to their fairs and their trade. That this was the salient feature of their resistance to Muḥammad is evident from the

fact that he frequently endeavours to calm the fears of the Quraysh on this point: the Meccan sanctuary, he said, belonged to his god Allāh, whom the Meccans also recognised as the highest god (xxxi. 24; xxxix. 39; cf. Kais b. al-Khaṭīm, ed. Kowalski, v. 14; xiii. 12 where Allāh is the lord of the Ka'ba) and he will protect and bless his sanctuary, if they submit to him (xxvii. 93; xxviii. 57; xxix. 67; cvi. 1 sqq.). In addition there was the conservative attitude of these merchants in the field of religion and their animosity to new and fantastic ideas, particularly to that of the resurrection of the dead.

Traditions record at great length the persecution and ill treatment which Muḥammad and his followers suffered at the hands of the Meccans. These descriptions are undoubtedly much exaggerated, for the object was to glorify the self-sacrifice of the believers and no doubt also to put the old patrician families of Mecca in an unfavourable light. But it is equally certain that there is some foundation for these stories. 'Urwa speaks of two persecutions (*fitna*) which twice forced the believers to migrate, and in the Qur'ān there is mention of "trials" which their opponents inflicted upon the believers, men and women (lxxxv. 10), and it is expressly mentioned that the influential wished to prevent Muḥammad from praying (xcvi. 9 sq.; cf. the veiled account vii. 84), while on the other hand, the complaints about what they would have liked to do should not be taken at their face value without more ado (viii. 26; xxxvi. 17; xvii. 78; cf. xi. 93). The peculiar feature, repeatedly found in stories of the prophets, that their opponents threaten them and their followers with stoning (Sūra xi. 93 and frequently) might suggest the hypothesis that Muḥammad was actually threatened in this way by the Meccans, but this would probably only have been in a momentary outburst of passion and in any case the quarrel was mainly conducted in endless wordy disputations in which the spiritual advantage lay with Muḥammad. His strength lay in the consciousness that he lived in a higher intellectual world which was closed to the Meccans and that he proclaimed ideas, "the equal of which neither men nor djinn with combined efforts could produce" (xvii. 90). Very pertinently he often points to the lack of logic in his enemies, when they recognise Allāh as the real true God but will not draw the logical deductions from this. But even his most crushing arguments rebounded from the impregnable wall of their prejudices which were based on their material interests. This circumstance now began to influence the matter of his preaching in a very remarkable way. When his opponents mocked him because the divine judgment threatened by him did not come (xxxviii. 15; lxx. 5) he began to describe in an increasing degree in his stories how the contemporaries of earlier prophets had met them with incredulity and had therefore brought on their heads dreadful punishments. That he did not use such means at the very beginning of his mission is evident from the fact that his preaching, according to the already mentioned credible tradition, at first gave no offence, and indeed this feature is lacking in the sūras which are certainly the oldest. It was the hardness of heart of his countrymen which made him take to this weapon in order to stir them. At first it proved by no means ineffective, as the Arabs knew of old trading peoples like the

Thamūd [q.v.], whose destruction might well give them cause for reflection. But gradually this line of attack lost its effect. To Muḥammad however this resistance to the obvious truth was something so unintelligible that he could only find solace in an idea, which was to be of far-reaching importance in the further development of Muḥammadan dogmatics: Allāh, the immeasurably exalted and almighty, could of course not be impeded by the resistance of mortals; the unbelief of the Prophet's opponents was therefore an effect of the divine will: "Allāh makes to err whom he will and guides whom he will" (x. 99; xxxii. 12 *sqq.*; xxxv. 9; lxxiv. 34 etc.), a view which his enemies endeavoured not unskillfully to turn against himself (xvi. 37; xxxvi. 47).

Several episodes stand out in the Meccan period which are unfortunately more or less obscure and may be interpreted in various equally uncertain ways. It is certain, in spite of the silence maintained about it in the Qur'ān (even xvi. 43 *sq.* does not refer to it), that Muḥammad's community was at one time in so great distress that a considerable section of them migrated to Abyssinia. The later view was that participation in this flight became a patent of nobility similar to that conferred by the great Hidjra to Medina, which was actually granted as a titular distinction (Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iv. 113); but the Prophet gave the advice to seek protection among the Abyssinian Christians only to those of his followers, of whom he was afraid that they had not sufficient strength to maintain their faith under the difficult conditions in Mecca (cf. the significant story of the cool reception which some of the exiles later received on their return to Medina; Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, iii. 128). M. Hartmann's view that the emigrants were to conduct political propaganda in Abyssinia is not capable of proof. According to 'Urwa, these emigrants (i. e. probably the greater number of them) returned to their native town, when Islām had become strengthened by the accession to its ranks of a number of individuals of position. At the same time there is a different story of their return, which it would not be difficult to combine with 'Urwa's story if we assume that they gradually drifted back. We are told that Muḥammad proclaimed in one of his sermons that the favourite deities of the Meccans, al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā and Manāt [see these articles], might be regarded as divine beings whose intercession was effectual with Allāh. This led to a general reconciliation, news of which reached Abyssinia and induced a number of the Muslims there to return home. Here however they learned to their horror that the agreement had been of short duration, as the Prophet had very soon recognised these words as interpolations of Satan and had substituted for them the words which we now have in Sūra liii. 19—23. The credibility of this story has been doubted, certainly wrongly; for in view of the absolute impossibility of such a story being a later invention, any possible objections to the reliability of the authorities cited (Ṭabarī, i. 1192, 1195; Ibn Sa'd, i/i. 137 *sq.*) hardly deserve consideration and passages like vi. 56, 57; xvii. 75 *sq.* (cf. iv. 113) amply show that the incident was quite possible from the psychological point of view.

It is much more difficult to elucidate another episode of the Meccan period, the story of the boycott of the Hāshimids. That Muḥammad's whole

position during his struggle with the Meccans was only made possible by the support given him by his own family has already been indicated. All members of the family of Hāshim with the exception of Abū Lahab [q.v.], who on this account is perpetually damned in the Qur'ān along with his wife, chivalrously fulfilled their duty in this respect, although only a few of them believed in his call. It would therefore be not unnatural in itself for the Meccans in the end to attempt to make the whole family innocuous without bringing on themselves the guilt of bloodshed by an open attack. The story, however, which tells how they forced the Hāshimids to withdraw into their own part of the town and pledged themselves to refrain from intermarriage or commerce with them, is confirmed neither by the Qur'ān nor by 'Urwa, but sounds in itself somewhat suspicious and is probably much exaggerated. That the effort finally failed is conceded by the story itself. On the other hand, it is quite possible that Khadīdja's fortune may have suffered considerably from Muḥammad's obligations to his necessitous followers and from the enmity of the influential merchant princes.

To the last portion of the Meccan period most probably belongs Muḥammad's nocturnal journey, later so celebrated, to the "remotest place of prayer", to which xvii. 1 (perhaps also verse 62) briefly refers, no doubt a vision, which however made upon him an impression of reality. According to the prevailing opinion, the terminus of this journey was the temple in Jerusalem, and conclusions are drawn from this about the great significance which this city then had for him. Schrieke (*Isl.*, vi. 1 *sqq.*) and Horowitz (*ibid.*, ix. 159 *sqq.*) have however sought to show that *masājid al-aḡṣā* refers to the place of prayer of the angels in heaven (cf. vii. 205; xxxix. 75), for which view several cogent arguments can be produced, notably that the nocturnal journey is associated with the journey to heaven as early as in the tradition given by Ibn Ishāq and that in the Qur'ān there is several times a reference to an ascent into heaven (vi. 35; xvii. 92 *sqq.*; xv. 14 *sq.*).

Of other details we may further recall that Muḥammad, who, as already remarked, was firmly convinced that his preaching agreed with the religion of the "possessors of a scripture", nevertheless had already begun in Mecca to reject the christological dogmas of the church. This is certain from the conversation with his pagan opponents (xliii. 57 *sqq.*) which can only have taken place in Mecca. This however does not affect his idea of the fundamental identity of his with the older revelations but only the false doctrine later adopted in the church, for he makes Jesus vigorously reject the doctrine of his divinity; but this limitation of his theory was not without importance and was able to serve him as a model in his later criticism of Judaism.

The sources are somewhat fuller for the close of the Meccan period, although late tendentious historiography has coloured everything in the traditions. According to 'Urwa's account, Muḥammad did, it is true, succeed in winning a few notables in Mecca (including probably 'Umar) for his teaching, after the emigration of a number of his followers to Abyssinia. But on the whole his attempt at a religious reformation could be regarded as having failed; and when Khadīdja and Abū

Tālib died, his position gradually became more and more hopeless. An attempt to establish himself in Tā'if brought him into considerable danger, according to the narrative, although the approval of his preaching expressed by some djinn (cf. xli. 28; lxxii. 1) certainly raised his drooping spirits. It was probably at this period that Muṭ'im b. 'Adi took him under his protection, which is corroborated by Ḥassān b. Thābit (N^o. lxxxviii.). He could now have consoled himself with the reflection that he had done his duty as a "warner" and could regard it as the will of Allāh that his contrymen were not to be saved (cf. x. 99; xliii. 89). But the consciousness of being a chosen instrument of Allāh had gradually become so powerful within him that he was no longer able to sink back into an inglorious existence with his object unachieved. His astonishing gift of being able to exert a powerful religious suggestion even on men who were intellectually superior to him imperiously demanded a wider sphere of activity than a small number of adherents, mostly without influence. In addition, there was a factor of which he himself was certainly unconscious but which is apparent on every page of the Meccan sūras, namely his mental exhaustion. All this brought him to the idea of looking for a new sphere of activity outside Mecca, however difficult it must have been for an Arab to break the links that bound him to his tribe and family. The congress of people from all parts at the pilgrimage gave him good opportunities to attempt to find one. After several unsuccessful negotiations he found a favourable soil for his scheme with some men from Medina. Unfortunately we know very little about conditions at this time in this town [q. v.] but we may safely assume that the large number of Jews in it had contributed to make the peasant population of Medina somewhat familiar with religious ideas (cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 178). There is however no question that the Medinese did not so much want to attract an inspired preacher to themselves as to get a political leader, who would readjust their political relations, which had been shattered in the tribal conflicts culminating in the battle of Bu'ath [q. v.]. With this we are faced with one of the most difficult problems in the biography of Muḥammad, the double personality which he presents to us. The inspired religious enthusiast, whose ideas mainly centred around the coming last judgment, who had borne all insults and attacks, who only timidly touched on the possibility of active resistance (xvi. 127) and preferred to leave everything to Allāh's intervention, with the migration to Medina enters upon a secular stage and at one stroke shows himself a brilliant political genius. That Muḥammad's eye in Mecca took in the wider political situation is evident from the prophecy in Sūra xxx. 1 *sq.*; but the passage is quite isolated there and in any case M. Hartmann's effort (*Die arabische Frage*, p. 53), to make him play the part of a far-seeing diplomat in international politics is based on fanciful arguments with no basis in the sources. Nevertheless in the despatch of a section of his followers to Abyssinia and in the attempt to reach a compromise with the polytheists in Mecca, we have hints which to some extent bridge over the gulf between the two figures. The decisive point however is that the Medinese would certainly not have thought of seeking in him a saviour from their social and political difficulties, if they had not been

much impressed by his abilities in this direction.

After Muḥammad had entered into relations with some Medinese who had come as pilgrims to Mecca, the latter began to spread Islām in their native town along with men whom he had sent there and thus he was able after a preliminary conference in al-'Aḳaba [q. v.] to conclude at the pilgrimage next year (622) at the same place a formal agreement with a considerable number of Medinese, in which they pledged themselves in the name of their fellow-citizens, to take him into their community and to protect him as one of their own citizens, which, as the further history shows, was also to hold for his Meccan followers if they moved to Medina. Tradition, and no doubt rightly, here mentions only the promise of the Medinese to take Muḥammad under their protection and not any further obligations. On the other hand according to Ibn Hishām, p. 287, at the first conference at 'Aḳaba Muḥammad is said to have imposed a series of commands upon them; but this so-called "women's homage" is, as the very name shows, taken from the later Sūra lx. 12 and is clearly adapted to Meccan conditions (cf. especially the vow not to kill children). These negotiations, which could not remain unknown to the Meccans, produced great bitterness, and a second *ḥina*, as 'Urwa says, began for the believers, which must have still more confirmed them in their resolution to migrate to Medina. They slipped away in larger or smaller bodies, so that finally only Muḥammad with Abū Bakr and, according to the story 'Alī, was left. That the Prophet did not go with the others was certainly due to the fact that the Meccans otherwise would have prevented the whole emigration. They knew him well enough to see the danger if he were to ally himself with another tribe and there is therefore no reason to doubt Tradition when it relates, although with much legendary embellishment (cf. on David's flight: Tabarī, i. 556), how he had to be the last to flee from the town. Tradition is also confirmed by Sūra ix. 40 where there is mention of Muḥammad and his companion (Abū Bakr) stopping in the cave.

The migration of the Prophet, the Hidjra [q. v.], has been with justice taken by the Muslims as the starting-point of their chronology, for it forms the first stage in a movement which in a short time became of significance in the history of the world. According to the usual calculation, he arrived in Ḳubā', a suburb of Medina, on the 12th Rabi' I of the first year, i. e. Sept. 24, 622 and shortly after went into his new home. The tasks which awaited him placed the greatest strain on his diplomatic and organizing abilities. He could only rely with absolute certainty on those who had migrated with him (the *Muhājirūna*, q. v.) for their whole future existence depended entirely on him and of course only those had migrated who were firmly convinced of the truth of his mission. In addition, there were those Medinese who had already adopted Islām or did so soon after his arrival, the so-called *Anṣār* [q. v.] or "helpers", who however formed only a portion of the inhabitants of Medina. He only found direct opposition in a few families, like the 'Aws Allāh; but at the same time there were a number who while they did not exactly oppose him only reluctantly accepted the new relations, the so called *munāfiḳūna* [q. v.], who were to cause

him much anxiety. Fortunately for him, they were led by a man, the Khazrajī 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, who possessed the *munāfiq* quality of irresolution to such an extent that he regularly let slip every occasion on which he might have offered successful opposition. A further danger lay in the fact that the old and bitter feud between the two chief parties, the 'Aws and Khazrajī, had by no means died down, but might easily break out again on any occasion. Finally there were the Jews (in the first place *al-Kāhinānī*, i. e. the Nadir and Kuraiza; cf. Kais b. al-Khaṭīm, ed. Kowalski, xx.; Ḥassān b. Thābit, N^o. 216, 19; Ibn Hishām, p. 660 and Ibn Sa'd, viii. 86, 91) and the judaicised tribes in Medina, who played an important part because of their wealth and the support they had in the Jewish colonies in Khaibar etc. For Muḥammad they were on the whole a plus factor in his calculations for, according to his theory already mentioned, he ought to expect that they would champion the truth of his preaching. His relations with the Christians in Medina (cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, N^o. 133, 17) were no longer absolutely unstrained, since he had begun in Mecca to reject the orthodox ecclesiastical Christology; but they were insignificant and could be ignored. He also had a much greater sympathy with them than with the Jews (v. 85; lvii. 27).

Muḥammad had to form a united community out of these heterogeneous elements. The first problem to be tackled was how to procure the necessary means of subsistence for the emigrants, who were for the most part without means or work, which could for the time being only be done through the self-sacrifice of the Anṣār and certainly only very inadequately. To strengthen their claims for protection, he ordered the relationship of brotherhood to be created between each emigrant and a man of Medina. This arrangement, to which was added brotherhood between every two emigrants, was abolished after the battle of Badr by Sūra xxxiii. 6 and left only a few traces (see Ibn Sa'd, iii. xxxiv.). On the other hand, we possess for a somewhat later period, when relations between Muḥammad and the Jews had begun to be strained, a very valuable document in Muḥammad's constitution of the community which has been preserved by Ibn Ishāq. It reveals his great diplomatic gifts, for it allows the ideal which he cherished of an *umma* definitely religious in outlook to sink temporarily into the background and is shaped essentially by practical considerations. It is true that the highest authority is with Allāh and Muḥammad, before whom all matters of importance are to be laid; but the *umma* included also Jews and pagans, so that the legal forms of the old Arab tribes are substantially preserved. This scheme had however no considerable practical importance; it is nowhere mentioned in the Qur'ān (hardly even in viii. 58), because it was soon rendered obsolete by the rapidly changing conditions.

It is a proof of the Prophet's political wisdom that he endeavoured to attach the Jews to himself by taking over several features of their worship. Thus he made the 10th Muḥarram a fast-day, obviously in imitation of the Jewish fast on the 10th Tishri, the day of atonement, which is particularly obvious in its name, taken from the Aramaic (*ʿashūrā*). On Jewish practice are probably also based the introduction of the midday ṣalāt, which was now (ii. 239) added to the morning and

evening ṣalāts and the easier rule about purification before the ṣalāt (iv. 46; v. 97). On the other hand, Friday as the day of the common ṣalāt, which probably goes back to the Jewish day of preparation (cf. Becker's correction to Ibn Sa'd, III/i. 83, 23, in *Isl.*, iii. 519), is said to have been already introduced before the Hijra by Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr (according to others, Asad b. Zurāra). Whether the choice of Jerusalem as the *qibla* [q. v.] was one of the concessions made to the Medinese Jews is uncertain as the statements about his attitude in Mecca on this point differ. But it is improbable that he should have turned towards the Ka'ba there, otherwise it is difficult to understand how the different stories could have arisen. But whether he then used Jerusalem as the *qibla*, which need not necessarily mean a borrowing from the Jews, as this direction of prayer was elsewhere found in the east, e. g. among the Ebionites and Elkesaites, whether he turned to the east like many Christians, or whether he had a *qibla* at all (the Qur'ān is silent on the point) is uncertain, but in any case the balance of probability is in favour of the Jerusalem *qibla* having been one of the alterations made to gratify the Medinese Jews. If some writers have seen in the immediate erection of a place of prayer (Ibn Hishām, p. 336) a copying of the Jewish synagogues, Caetani has with weighty reasons argued that this was not a building definitely assigned to the worship of God, since the alleged masjid was also used for all kinds of secular purposes, because in reality it was simply the court-yard (*dār*) occupied by Muḥammad and his family, while the assemblies for regular worship were held on the *muṣallā* [cf. MADĪNA]. But nevertheless the "mosque of opposition" so called by the Prophet with horror (Sūra ix. 108; see below) seems to have been an actual building recalling the Jewish synagogues. In spite of these concessions to the Jews, it soon became obvious that he had seriously miscalculated with regard to them. Although they undoubtedly cherished lively expectations of the coming of the Messiah (Ibn Hishām, p. 286, 373 *sq.*) they could not possibly recognise an Arab as the expected Messiah and he had soon reason to lament that only a few among them believed in him (iii. 106). In particular, the misunderstandings in his reproduction of the Old Testament stories or laws aroused the notorious Jewish love of ridicule and thus brought him into an unfortunate position. His conviction of the divine origin of his mission and his position among the believers would not allow him to confess that he had made a mistake and on the other hand he had too often himself appealed to the testimony of the older religions of revelation to be able to ignore this criticism. He rescued himself from this dilemma by asserting that the Jews had only received a portion of the revelation (iv. 47; cf. iii. 115) and even this included a number of special laws adapted to a particular age (iv. 158; vi. 147; xvi. 119) but they had also concealed all sorts of things in their holy scriptures (ii. 39, 141, 154, 169; iii. 64 etc.) and indeed had even falsified their scriptures (ii. 56; iv. 48; v. 16, 45; vii. 162; cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, N^o. 96, 2; and the article TAHRIF), in short they obtained hardly more benefit from their scriptures than an ass from the books which he is carrying on his back (lxii. 5). The Jews were not able to refute these assertions for, although he challenged them to produce these scriptures

(iii. 87) neither he nor his followers could read a word of them. He therefore now poured forth the vials of his wrath upon the Jews in many speeches and awaited the time when he would be able to refute their criticism and malicious witticisms and tergiversations in convincing fashion (e. g. iii. 177 *sqq.*; iv. 48). As he had now already begun to regard the church doctrine of the Christians as a corruption of the true teaching of Jesus, he felt himself called upon to reform the degenerate religions of revelation, each of which asserted it was the only true one (ii. 107). As a result he now claimed a special place among the prophets: he is seal of the prophets (xxxiii. 40; a metaphorical expression which Mani among others applied to himself and which indicates the conclusion of the series), he is the last prophet, to whom Jesus himself had pointed under the name Aḥmad (lx. 6; cf. iii. 75). Still he is not thinking any more than before of introducing a new religion but only of restoring the religion proclaimed by the prophets from the beginning. But nevertheless the early years after the migration were the period when Muḥammadanism was born as an independent religion, for parallel with his criticism of the religions of revelation and in particular opposition to Judaism ran a positive shaping of Islām, through which he was emancipating himself in important points from his previous models. He gave his religion a pronounced national character by taking over various elements from the worship of the old Arabs and associating them with his religious ideas. In the second year of the Hidjra (July 623—June 624) after some hesitation, he ordered that Jerusalem should no longer be the *qibla* at prayer but the ancient sanctuary of the Black Stone at Mecca (ii. 136—145) for it "is a gathering-place and a safe retreat for men" (ii. 119). His native town was thus made the centre of the true religion. As a substitute for the pilgrimage which he now adopted into his religion as one of the main rites, but from which he and his followers were temporarily cut off, he had an animal sacrificed in this year on the 10th *Dhu 'l-Hidjja* on the *muṣallā* in Medina (Ṭabarī, i. 1362; according to Ibn Sa'd, i/ii., 9 he continued this after the occupation of Mecca) and in the following year he calls the ḥajjīd one of the obligations of believers towards Allāh (iii. 90 *sq.*). Friday retained its significance but was not to be a day of rest like the Jewish Sabbath (lxii. 9 *sq.*), which is connected with his rejection of the Old Testament idea of God resting after the creation (I. 37). In place of the fasting on 'Āshūrā, he substituted quite a new particular rite, according to which his followers were to fast throughout Ramaḍān, the month, in which he had received the fundamental revelation (ii. 281), as long as the sun was visible in the heavens. The Manichaeans had a similar custom; but whether he took the new revelation from them or from another sect cannot be ascertained [cf. RAMAḌĀN].

This nationalisation of Islām, which was to have so many results, gave Muḥammad a final legitimisation, which brought it into harmony with his earlier appeal to the religions of revelation, as he came forward as the restorer of the religion of Abraham (*millat Ibrāhīm*) which had been corrupted by the Jews and Christians. Abraham, whom Jews and Christians alike regarded as the great type of faith and whom he had himself emphatically indicated as the true *ḥanīf* (e. g. vi. 79), now becomes

the great *ḥanīf*, not only in contrast to the heathen but also to the possessors of a scripture (neither polytheist, nor Jew nor Christian [ii. 129; iii. 60, 89] wherefore, as Snouck Hurgronje has shown, vi. 162 and xvi. 124 must also be Medinese). He and his son Ishmael, the ancestor of the Arabs, founded the Meccan sanctuary and the rites celebrated here, now corrupted by the heathen, which Muḥammad is to restore (ii. 118 *sq.*; xxii. 27 *sqq.*). Whether this bold idea, which according to Sūra iii. 58 met with opposition from the possessors of a scripture, was an original one and in this case a really brilliant invention of Muḥammad's or whether it was already in existence, for example among arabicised Jews, cannot be decided. The only thing certain is that he cannot have been acquainted with it in Mecca for we meet it nowhere in connection with mentions of the Ka'ba and it is actually excluded by the passages mentioned above (p. 726^a).

While his religion was being transformed in this way, Muḥammad's personal position was being gradually changed by the altered conditions. According to the already mentioned constitution of the community, all important matters were to be laid before Allāh and himself. It now became a fundamental duty of the believers to be obedient to Allāh and to himself (iii. 3, 29, 126, 166; iv. 17 *sq.*, 62 [where it is added: "and to those among you who have to exercise authority"]; v. 93; xxiv. 51, 62; cf. also lx. 12, the "women's homage" which is inserted in the account of the second conference at 'Aḳaba, Ibn Hishām, p. 289) and those who are disobedient are threatened with the tortures of hell (ix. 64). Alongside of the belief in Allāh now appears belief in the Prophet (xlvi. 9; lxiv. 8 etc.). Allāh is his protector, as is Gabriel, and the angels are at his disposal (lxvi. 4). He claims certain privileges, which suggest a worldly mortal rather than a spiritual leader (xxiv. 62; xlix. 2 *sqq.*; xxiv. 63; lviii. 13 *sq.*; xxxiii. 53) but which however must be described as quite moderate demands.

The elevation of Mecca to be the centre of his religion imposed on Muḥammad new tasks, which were soon to lead to unexpected results. If visiting the holy places in and around Mecca was a duty of the Muslims, who were excluded from the town (xxii. 25 *sq.*), the result was the inevitable necessity of forcing admission to them. In addition the Prophet had an account to settle with the Meccans, for by his expulsion they had triumphed over him in the eyes of the world and the punishment repeatedly threatened them had not materialised, unlike the stereotyped punishments of the godless in the stories of the prophets. This led to a new command, that of the holy war ("war on the path of Allāh", *al-djihād*, q. v.), and to set such a war in motion now became the object of his endeavour, which he tenaciously pursued. There were however considerable difficulties in the way of achieving this object. The Medinese had only pledged themselves to defend him like one of their number if he were attacked, and the anything but warlike merchants of Mecca were not inclined to oblige him by beginning. The emigrants were, it is true, not bound in this way, but it went nevertheless very much against their feelings as Arabs openly to fight members of their tribe and blood relations. How much their resistance vexed him is shown by the vigorous reproaches which he makes to his

followers in this connection (ii. 212; xxii. 39 sqq. etc.). He succeeded however in finding a way out of the difficulty, which might be able to pave the way for military enterprises without injuring these feelings too much. After he had sent different men with small armed forces who did not succeed in encountering the enemy, in Radjab, one of the sacred months in which all fighting was forbidden, he sent some of his followers to Nakhla, where a caravan was expected and gave their leader sealed orders in which he left it to their judgment what they should do. They did not disappoint him for they fell upon the caravan which felt secure until the end of the month and one of the Meccans was killed. The rich plunder was sent to Medina, where in the meanwhile a storm of indignation had broken out. Muḥammad however gave the people time to recover and finally calmed them, by the revelation ii. 214. The success of the coup had had such an effect in Medina that not only emigrants but also a number of Anṣār offered their services, when he appealed for followers in Ramaḍān 2 A. H. in a new raid, which he himself would lead. On this occasion chance came to his aid in unexpected fashion. He had learned that a rich caravan was on its way from Syria and he decided to ambush it at Badr [q. v.]. The very cautious Abū Sufyān [q. v.] who was leading the caravan got wind of his plan however and sent messengers express to Mecca for help. But when by a diversion to the coast he had reached safety, he soon afterwards sent other messengers to Mecca to cancel the first message. The angered Meccans had however already collected an army which was three times the size of Muḥammad's little handful of men and were unwilling to let the opportunity escape of properly chastising their troublesome enemy. They went to Badr where soon afterwards Muḥammad arrived with his men, expecting to meet Abū Sufyān's helpless caravan. When they discovered their mistake they were filled with terror (viii. 5 sqq.; cf. the continuation of 'Urwa's story: Ṭabarī, i. 1284 sq.); but the Prophet saw in the encounter the wonderful dispensation of Allāh, who wished to force them to a battle and his remarkable power of suggestion was able so to inspire his men that they completely routed the far superior enemy. A number of the Meccans, including the leader of the aristocrats Abū Djaḥl, were slain and several, including Muḥammad's uncle 'Abbās, were brought prisoners to Medina, where Muḥammad had two of them, al-Naḍr and 'Ukba b. Abi Mu'ait, put to death, while the others were held to ransom. This in our eyes very insignificant fracas, which however must be judged in light of the observation by Doughty who knew the country (*Travels*, ii. 378), became of the utmost significance for the history of Islām, for Muḥammad saw in the victory a powerful confirmation of his belief in the superiority of Allāh (viii. 17, 66; iii. 119; cf. Ka'b b. Mālik, in Ibn Hishām, p. 520 sq.) and in his own call, and besides the commercial city of Mecca enjoyed such great prestige in Arabia that its conqueror was bound to attract all eyes to himself. He therefore displayed even greater energy and was able to utilise the advantages he had won. After he had drawn up the programme given in Sūra viii. 57 sqq. he began to besiege the Jewish tribe of Kaīnuḳā' in their forts. The Munāṣikūna did not dare to oppose him seriously and the other Jews left their co-religionists in the lurch in shame-

ful fashion (cf. lix. 14) so that the latter were forced to migrate to Transjordan.

In order to protect himself while fighting from attacks from another foe, Muḥammad at this time adopted a plan which is a further proof of his outstanding political ability. He concluded, as a number of letters that have been preserved show (cf. J. Sperber, *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orient. Sprachen*, 1916), as lord of Medina, alliances with a number of Beduin tribes in which the two parties pledged themselves to assist one another.

In the year 3 A. H. (June 624—June 625) Muḥammad continued his attacks on the Meccan caravans so that the Kuraish finally saw the necessity of taking more vigorous measures and revenging themselves for Badr. An army of 3,000 men was equipped and set out with much display for Medina under the leadership of Abū Sufyān, who was little suited for the task. Although several of his followers advised Muḥammad to make his defence within the town, he decided to go out with his forces, which, had been much reduced by the departure of the Munāṣikūna, and took up a position at the foot of the hill of Uḥud [q. v.]. In spite of the numerical superiority of the Meccans, the fighting at first went in favour of the Muslims, until a number of archers who had been placed to defend his flank joined against Muḥammad's express orders in the battle, which promised to yield rich booty and this at once enabled Khālīd b. al-Walīd to fall upon Muḥammad's flank. The tables were now turned and many of the Muslims began to flee, especially when the rumour spread that the Prophet had fallen (cf. iii. 138). In reality he was only wounded and escaped with a few faithful followers through a ravine on to the south side of the hill. Fortunately for him, the Meccans were quite incompetent to follow up their victory and as they thought that Muḥammad had been punished and their honour saved, they turned quietly back to Mecca. The Prophet was thus saved from the worst, but he had to lament many fallen friends including Ḥamza [q. v.] and his newly acquired prestige naturally also suffered. With all the eloquence in his power he endeavoured to raise the morale of his followers by exhortation and censure alike (iii. 114 sq., 133—154, 159—200) but the consequences of his reverse did not fail to materialise. The Jews who had taken no part in the fighting (according to Ibn Hishām, they were observing the Sabbath), made no secret of their delight at his misfortune, and several Beduin tribes next year (4 A. H. = June 625—beginning of June 626; the eclipse of the moon which took place in Djumādā II of this year was that visible in Medina in the night of Nov. 19—20, 625, cf. Rhodokanakis, in *W. Z. K. M.*, xiv. 105; Caetani, i. 598 sq.) showed how much his prestige with them had sunk [cf. Bī'r Ma'ūna]. It was therefore all the more necessary to make an example and another Jewish tribe in Medina, the Naḍir, seemed a suitable object after Ka'b b. Ashraf's (q. v. and cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, N^o. 97) murder had served as a prelude. It is made a charge against them in Sūra lix. 4 that they defy Allah and his messenger, on which account Tradition imputes all sorts of crimes to them. After a siege of several weeks (Ṭabarī, i. 1850; cf. Euting, *Tagebuch*, p. 111) they were forced to emigrate to Khaibar or Syria. They left behind them their weapons and their gold and silver as a rich booty, the distribution

of which on this occasion Muḥammad reserved for himself (lix. 6 *sqq.*).

To this period most probably belongs the prohibition of the drinking of wine which is characteristic of Islām (v. 92 *sq.*; cf. the instructive gradation in lxxxiii. 25; xvi. 69; iv. 46; ii. 216, where the word "great" is to be deleted as Schwally proposes). It has been connected with a number of features of life in the old Semitic east but the main reason should rather be sought in the connection with the *maisir* games [q. v.]. Drinking-bouts with feasting on a specially slain camel and games of chance, which were in the eyes of the old Arabs the bright spots in their hard struggle for existence, and in which they endeavoured to display their nobility and hospitality, brought the Muslims into suspicious relations with pagans and with Christian and Jewish wine-sellers, which might easily lead to their faltering in their new religion (cf. Wākidi, transl. Wellhausen, p. 100; Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, ii. 270 *sq.*); and this might explain why he forbade both at the same time, which of course does not exclude the possibility that forms of abstinence for other reasons may have been known to him (Musailima's prohibition of wine was obviously intended as asceticism; cf. the article). While Muḥammad was endeavouring to restore his weakened authority, a new and threatening storm came upon him and Medina from Mecca. The Kuraish, whose caravans were being continually harassed by him (cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, N^o. 16, 6 *sq.*) and who were urged on by the Jews of Khaibar, recognised that the victory at Uhud had only been a blow in the air and realised the necessity of occupying Medina, which they had then neglected to do. Conscious of their slight military skill, they negotiated vigorously with various Beduin tribes and thus raised a large army — said to have been 10,000 men — with which they set out against Medina in the year 5 (June 626—May 627). The various accounts of the season of the year (sometimes a month after the barley harvest, sometimes cold winter storms, the latter in agreement with Sūra xxxlii. 9; cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, N^o. 14, 9) may be reconciled by the possibility that the siege lasted a considerable time (cf. Doughty's description, *Travels*, ii. 429 *sqq.* of the siege of 'Anẓe, which in general illustrates this war excellently). The advance of this imposing army produced great consternation in Medina, which was still further increased by the vacillating attitude of the Munāfiqūn^a and by the discovery or perhaps only the suspicion that the Jews were conspiring with the enemy (xxxiii. 10 *sqq.*, 26). Muḥammad in order to strengthen the defences had a ditch (*khandaq*, a Persian word) dug in front of the unprotected parts of the town. According to several stories, he did this on the advice of a Persian named Salmān but J. Horowitz (cf. *Isl.*, xii. 178—183) would reject this as a later accretion. Modest as the defences were — about 150 years later 'Isā b. Mūsā bridged the ditch which had been restored by Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, by throwing a few doors across it — they seem to have imposed upon the enemy who had little experience in the art of war and the siege gradually dragged on. The able lord of Medina used the time for secret negotiations with the Ghatafan and cleverly stirred up distrust of one another among his opponents and when at the same time the weather conditions became unfavourable the besiegers lost heart and

gradually began to retire so that the last effort of the Kuraish to destroy their sinister foe came to nothing. For one section of the participants however, the comedy of the "War of the Ditch" was to become a bloody tragedy. Hardly had the besiegers retired than the Prophet declared war on the last Jewish tribe of any size, the Kuraiza, and began to besiege their quarter of the town. The Jews no doubt hoped to escape in the same easy fashion as the Naḍir had, especially as their allies, the 'Aws, were very actively trying to induce Muḥammad to clemency; but this time he was inexorable and carried out seriously a threat that he had previously made (lix. 3). Tradition has however endeavoured to put the responsibility for the massacre of the Kuraiza on Sa'd b. Mu'adh (cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, N^o. clxvii., who asserts Sa'd's innocence). But there are various indications that it was the Prophet himself who made the decision and perhaps induced the Jews to surrender. On this occasion the Jews showed a strength of character and nobility of spirit which throws a redeeming light on their otherwise so ignoble history.

By these amputations, which however did not remove all the Jews from Medina (cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 895; Wākidi-Wellhausen, p. 264, 309, 393; Ḥassān b. Thābit, N^o. 133, 17), the Prophet had come nearer his goal, the organisation of an *umma* on a purely religious basis, which hitherto he had to keep somewhat in the background for political reasons. For the present he continued his attacks on the Meccan caravans far into the year 6 (May 627—May 628) and his raids, usually punitive expeditions, on Beduin tribes; of these expeditions, which have no particular interest, mention may be made of that against the Banū Muṣṭalik which must have taken place about this time, as it gave rise to a serious conflict between the Muhadjirūn and the Anṣār and involved 'Ā'ishā [q. v.] in the celebrated adventure which nearly cost her her position as the wife of the Prophet, until finally a revelation saved her (xxiv. 4 *sq.*, 10—20).

Towards the end of the year 6 Muḥammad thought that his position in Medina was so firmly established that he could risk a step, which would bring him nearer the desired goal. He and the emigrants were still excluded from Mecca and its holy places, but through secret confidential agents, among whom we may certainly include his carefully calculating uncle 'Abbās, he knew that feeling in the town had been gradually coming round (cf. xlviii. 15; lx. 7). An increasing number had become tired of the hopeless wars and thought it would be much more advantageous for the commerce of Mecca to make peace with their indefatigable enemy, especially after he had adopted into his programme the pilgrimages to their fairs, the source of the city's wealth. Trusting to this revulsion of feeling he gave his followers in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da of the year 6, i. e. March 628 (the news of the death of the Persian king Khusrāw Parwēz on the Feb. 29 of this year reached him on the way) orders to provide themselves with sacrificial victims and undertake an 'umra [q. v.] with him to Mecca, as Allāh in a vision had promised him a successful fulfilment of the visit (xlvi. 27). He probably chose an 'umra deliberately (Ibn Hishām, p. 740; Wākidi-Wellhausen, p. 249 *sq.*, 253; cf. Sūra, xx. 30, 34) instead of the great pilgrimage which was soon due, as the consequences of an encounter with all manner of tribes, with whom he might

possibly have been waging war, were too incalculable for him; but perhaps he cherished also the hope that, if all went well, he might remain there in the following month also (cf. ii. 192 which perhaps belongs to this connection). The step was nevertheless a risky one, so that he asked several Beduin tribes to accompany him in case they met with resistance. To his disappointment however, they refused (xlvi. 11 sq.) so that he decided to abandon the military character of the march and make his followers go as harmless pilgrims. In Mecca many were inclined to meet his wishes but the belligerent party was still strong enough to get a body of armed men sent to meet him to prevent him entering the town. He therefore encamped at al-Hudaibiya [q. v.] where he began to negotiate with the Meccans, and when this led to no result he sent 'Uthmān, who was protected by his family connections, into the town as his representative. But when the latter showed no signs of returning and finally a rumour got about that he had been murdered, the situation became critical and Muḥammad dropped all negotiations, collected his followers under a tree, probably one long held sacred, and made them swear to fight for him to the last, which they did with enthusiasm (xlvi. 10, 18). But soon afterwards a number of Meccans arrived and offered a compromise, which is very characteristic of the aimless Meccan policy, by which he was to retire this time but to be allowed to perform an 'umra next year. He agreed to the proposal, concluded a ten years' truce with the Kuraish and further promised to surrender all Meccans of dependent status who came to him. His followers, whom he had worked up into a state of great excitement by his promises and the taking of the oath, heard these conditions with scarcely concealed anger; but Muḥammad calmly ordered the sacrificial animals brought with them to be slain, which was to have been done at an 'umra in the town (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v. *maḥill*), and had his hair cut and by his authority forced his grumbling followers to do the same. Only later did they discover that he had made a brilliant stroke of policy for he had induced the Meccans to recognise the despised fugitive as an opponent of equal rank and had concluded a peace with them which promised well for the future.

He and the participants received ample compensation for the apparently frustrated 'umra at the beginning of the year 7 (May 628—April 629) by the capture of the fertile oasis of Khaibar [q. v.] which was inhabited by Jews. It was the first actual conquest by the Prophet and he instituted on this occasion a practice which became regular afterwards, when Jews or Christians capitulated: he did not put the people to death or banish them but let them remain as tenants, as it were, who had to pay dues every year. This expedition which also brought the Jewish colonies of Wādī 'l-Kurā into his power, made the Muslims rich (xlvi. 18–21).

In this period, although the exact date is variously given, tradition puts the despatch of letters from the Prophet to Muḥawḳis, governor of Alexandria, the ruler of Abyssinia, the Byzantine emperor, the Persian king etc., in which he demanded that they should adopt Islām. The alleged original manuscript of the first of these has however proved not to be genuine (see *J. A.*, 1854, p. 482 sqq.; Zaidān, in *Hilāl*, 1904, p. 103 sq.; Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, i. 3). But even what is related

about these epistles hardly deserves the faith most people have put in it. Even if we disregard the many apocryphal details, we must surely consider it very unlikely that so sober a politician as Muḥammad, who had at this time a very definite object, the conquest of Mecca, before his eyes, should have thought of indulging so fantastic an idea as the conversion of Heraclius or the Persian king, to whom the "lucid Arabic Qur'an" was no less unintelligible than the Bible to the Prophet and his countrymen, and whom he could neither compel by force nor entice with proffered advantages. It is very doubtful if Muḥammad ever thought at all of his religion as a universal religion of the world, as for example Nöldeke, in *W. Z. K. M.*, xxi. 307, Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, p. 25, and T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, p. 23 sqq. hold (against them, see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mohammedanism*, p. 48 sqq.; H. Lammens, *Étude sur le règne du calife Mo'awia*, i. 422). The passages in the Meccan sūras which can be quoted in favour of this theory (vi. 90; xii. 104; xxi. 157; xxv. 1; xxxiv. 27; xxxvi. 70; xxxviii. 87; lxviii. 52; lxxxi. 27; cf. from the later period: iii. 90; xxii. 25) are limited by their context or by unambiguous parallels (like vi. 92; xlii. 5 [the mother of the city, i. e. Mecca]; cf. xxvi. 214). Besides, in the Medina period, the place of persuasion and proof ("no compulsion in religion": ii. 257; cf. xvi. 126), was taken by the spread of Islām by force of arms, which, although based on the supremacy of Islām over other religions (iii. 79; ix. 33; lxi. 4), was confined to the lands inhabited by Arabs. If after the conquest of Mecca he also declared war on the possessors of a scripture (see below) the campaigns undertaken by him prove that he was only thinking of Arabs under Byzantine or Persian rule, and it cannot be proved that he ever went beyond this in his schemes (the gift of Hebron, Balāḥūrī, ed. de Goeje, p. 129 may be confidently asserted to be a forgery; cf. the article UṢĀMA). The decisive consideration however is that Muḥammad at the height of his power never demanded from Jews or Christians that they should adopt Islām but was content with a political subjection and the payment of tribute. The correct conclusion is therefore to reject those stories and to look for the real historical basis in negotiations of a purely political nature, e. g. with the friendly Muḥawḳis (q. v. and cf. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 1902) and to assume that the idea of a great missionary enterprise arose later under the influence of Christian traditions, notably of the miracle of Pentecost.

On the other hand, the character of the genuine letters of the Prophet to the Arab tribes changes at this time, for he was no longer content with a purely political agreement but, relying on his now consolidated power, also demanded that they should adhere to his religion, which involved performing the ṣalāt and paying "alms"; he even gave the *Djudhām* on the Syrian coast a respite (*amān*) of two months after which they were to decide (see Sperber, *op. cit.*, p. 14 sqq.).

In March 629, Muḥammad performed the 'umra stipulated for him by the peace of Hudaibiya (the 'umra of the "contract" or "recovery"). For him who had been driven out of his native city it was undoubtedly a great satisfaction to be able to visit Mecca as the acknowledged lord of Medina;

but otherwise the significance of the occasion was more symbolical and the efforts of the practised diplomat to prolong his stay by his marriage with a sister-in-law of his secret ally 'Abbās [see MAIMŪNA] were politely but firmly resisted by the Meccans. On the other hand, it was of great significance that some of the most important Meccans, like 'Amr b. al-Āṣī and the military genius Khālid b. al-Walid, who saw he was the coming man, openly joined him, while his uncle 'Abbās and the very patriotic (Ibn Hishām, p. 275) but cautious Abū Sufyān endeavoured in secret negotiations to prepare in the most favourable way for the inevitable result. In the meanwhile he continued his military expeditions. His forces suffered a serious reverse in the first considerable effort to extend his authority over the Arabs on Byzantine soil, at Mu'ta [q. v.] in Transjordan; this is also recorded by Theophanes (*Chronographie*, ed. de Boor, i. 335). But several Beduin tribes now began to see what advantages they would procure not only for the next but also for this world by joining him, and large groups like the Sulaim voluntarily adopted Islām and placed themselves under his flag.

That it was Muḥammad's intention to break the truce with the Quraysh at the first opportunity may be taken as certain; for it must have been intolerable for him that the heathen should still have Allāh's sanctuary in their control (ix. 17 sq.; cf. iii. 3). The tactlessness of the Meccans now gave him his opportunity. Very much against the advice of Abū Sufyān, the belligerent party in Mecca had supported the Bakr against the Khuzā'a, who were Muḥammad's allies, and thus given a plausible casus belli (cf. perhaps ix. 12 sq.). In Ramaḍān of the year 8 (May 629—April 630) he set out at the head of an army of Muhādjirūna, Anṣār, and Beduins. The news produced considerable anxiety in Mecca where the number of those who wanted to fight shrank daily so that the more prudent now could take control. Abū Sufyān, who was sent out with several others (including the Khuzā'i Budail b. Warḳa who was a friend of the Prophet's) met Muḥammad not far from the town, paid homage to him and obtained an amnesty for all the Quraysh who abandoned armed resistance (cf. 'Urwa, Ṭabarī, i. 1634 sq.). Except for a few irreconcilables (cf. *Diwan der Hudhailiten*, N^o. 183; Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 365), they acquiesced and thus the Prophet was able to enter his native city practically without a struggle and almost all its inhabitants adopted Islām. He acted with great generosity and endeavoured to win all hearts by rich gifts (*ta'rif al-kulūb*, a new use of the alms; cf. ix. 60). Only he demanded ruthlessly the destruction of all idols in and around Mecca. Only Sūra cx. seems to preserve an echo of the exaltation with which this victory filled him; here as in the unusually touching passage xlviii. 1 sq., he sees in the success of his plans a sign that Allāh has forgiven him all his sins.

Muḥammad did not rest long upon his laurels for not only was Ṭā'if, which was closely associated with Mecca, still unsubdued but the Hawāzin tribes in Central Arabia were preparing for a decisive fight. A battle was fought with these Beduins at Ḥunain on the road to Ṭā'if [q. v.] which at first threatened to be a fatal disaster to the Prophet, mainly because of the unreliability of a number of the new converts, until some of his followers succeeded in recalling the fugitives and routing the enemy (ix.

25 sq.). On the other hand, his inexperienced troops were unable to take Ṭā'if with its defences (cf. the description of impregnable fortresses in *Diwan der Hudhailiten*, N^o. 66, 10 sq.). The people of Ṭā'if however afterwards fell in with the spirit of the time and adopted Islām. When Muḥammad, after raising the siege, was distributing the booty of Ḥunain, the Anṣār who as soon as he entered Mecca had expressed the fear that he would take up his residence again in his native town, became very indignant about the rich gifts that he made to his former opponents in order "to win their hearts", while they themselves went empty-handed (cf. Ḥassān b. Ṭhābit, N^o. xxxi.) but he spoke so kindly to them that they burst into tears and declared themselves satisfied. His conduct on this occasion reminds us to some extent of that of David towards the Jews and Ephraimites after Absalom's rebellion.

The characteristic feature of the year 9 (April 630—April 631) in the memory of the Muslims was the many embassies which came from different parts of Arabia to Medina, to submit on behalf of their tribes to the conqueror of Mecca (cf. cx. 3) and the letters which he sent to the tribes, to lay down the conditions of their adoption of Islām. In the autumn of this year, he made up his mind to conduct a campaign against Northern Arabia on a considerable scale, probably because the defeat in Transjordan required to be avenged and because the Ḥassānid king was adopting a hostile attitude (cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 911; Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, b. 78, 79). But his appeal for followers met with little support. Munāfiḳūna as well as Beduins held back and even among his devoted followers, there were some who put forward all sorts of objections, out of fear of a campaign so far away in the glowing heat (cf. ix. 45; lvi. 84—91, 98 sqq.). In particular he seems to have had to face at this time a considerable opposition in Medina (ix. 58—73, 125) so that he had to have recourse to his old instrument of intimidation and his words recall in a remarkable way the period of passion in Mecca (ix. 71, 129 sq.). Matters came to such a pitch that some of the opposition, behind whom is said by one tradition to have been his old inexorable opponent, the ascetic Abū 'Amir 'Abd 'Amr, founded a house of prayer of their own "for division among the faithful and a support for those who had formerly fought against God and his Prophet" (ix. 108 sqq.). Unfortunately the expressions in the Qur'ān and in the traditions are quite insufficient to enable us to get a clear picture of this very remarkable affair. In spite of all opposition however, he carried through his plan; but when after great hardships he had reached Tabūk on the frontier (in the land of the Byzantines; cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 956), he stayed there some time and then returned to Medina. The campaign was however not without success. His prestige had now become so great that the petty Christian and Jewish states in the north of Arabia submitted to him during his stay in Tabūk, for example the Christian king Yuhannā in Aila [q. v.], the people of Adhruh [q. v.] and the Jews in the port or Makna. Khālid also occupied the important centre of Dumat al-Djandal (cf. for a criticism of the account: Caetani, *lfi*. 261—268; Sperber, *op. cit.*, p. 44 sqq.; on the alleged letter from Muḥammad to the Jews in Makna, see also Wensinck, in *Isl.*, ii. 290).

Unfortunately we do not know how the matters which were rapidly coming to a head in Medina actually developed; but we may safely assume that the death of 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, which took place not long after the expedition to Tabūk, must have contributed to slacken the tension. These years showed a marked increase in the prestige of the lord of Medina abroad. Mecca was in his hands and among the Beduins an inclination was noticeable in several places to submit to the will of the conqueror of this town, to be safe against his attacks and to have a share in his rich booty. This was for example the case with the group of tribes of 'Amir b. Ṣa'sa'a, with portions of the great tribe of Tamim and the neighbouring Asad and further north with the Bakr and Taghlib. Even in regions so remote as Bahrain and 'Omān within the Persian sphere of influence and among the chiefs of South Arabia, the new teaching and order of things penetrated and found ardent followers in some places. But we must not allow ourselves to be deceived by the representations or the historians, from which it appears as if all the people in these lands adopted Islām. Caetani and Sperber in particular have shown that these accounts are not in keeping with reality and that it was only little groups that submitted, while there was a not inconsiderable number who rejected the Prophet's demands. As regards open opponents the question was quite simple; when they were heathen, adhered to their paganism and would not abandon their polytheism, they were to be threatened by Muḥammad with the "holy war". He had not only to deal with such as those in Arabia, but there were also in addition to the Jews who had already felt his strength, a considerable number of Christians, and some Parsis in the eastern and southern districts. Muḥammad was thus faced with a problem which he had to solve. From his words in Sūra ix. 29 *sqq.* where he includes the Christians and even the Jews, the people of such strict monotheism, among the polytheists, who give Allāh a son and honour men as lords beside him, one would expect that he would have fought them like the heathen, if they did not adopt Islām (cf. also the attack on the Christians, verse 76 *sqq.*). But in contrast to such utterances we have another (Sūra v. 85) where he mentions the Christians very sympathetically because they, unlike the Jews, show themselves kindly towards true believers and are not arrogant, which he ascribes to the fact that they have priests and monks (cf. his judgment on monasticism: Sūra lvii. 21). These remarkable contradictions may be explained, as pointed out by Tor Andrae, by the difference between the Monophysites and the Nestorians. The former aroused his unqualified displeasure by their Christology, while the latter, who were then predominant in the Persian empire, attracted him much more, and this attitude was shared by his followers after his death, as the letter of the Catholicos Ishō'yah, quoted by Tor Andrae, shows. On the other hand, his remarks about the Jews are always very severe. It is therefore all the more remarkable that the distinction between Jews and Christians completely disappears when their position is finally settled. They were included together as "peoples of a scripture" and they were allowed to retain their religion if they recognised the political suzerainty of the Prophet by paying a tax (*ḡizya*, q. v.); if they did not they were to be fought without mercy.

The memory of the agreement between Muḥammad's teaching and that of the "peoples of a scripture", earlier so much emphasised, must have contributed to this rather illogical settlement and in addition there was the fact that treating the Jews as tax-paying tenants, and allowing them to practise their religion, as had been already done at Khaibar, was much more practical for the Muslims than fighting them till they gave in. A further compromise with the "peoples of a scripture" was that believers were allowed to marry the daughters of the "peoples of a scripture" and to eat food prepared by them (v. 7). It is noteworthy that the Parsis (*Madjūs*: xxii. 17) were included among the "peoples of a scripture" which made a difficulty for later better informed generations (Tabari, i. 1005, 19 *sq.*; Balādhuri, p. 79); probably Muḥammad did not dare for political reasons to demand that they should give up their religion. This extended application of the term "peoples of a scripture" is found not in the Qur'an but in a letter of Muḥammad's to the Parsis in Hajar (Ibn Sa'd, i/ii. 19) but with the limitation that the Muslims are forbidden to marry their women and eat meat killed by them.

With these exceptions, the Prophet had approached nearer the object which was always before him, although it hitherto eluded him, the formation of an *umma* on a definitely religious basis, for the inhabitants of a number of parts of Arabia were now actually bound together by religion. The old differences between the tribes with their endless feuds, their blood-vengeance and their lampoons which continually stirred up new quarrels, were to disappear at the will of Muḥammad and all believers were to feel themselves brethren (ix. 11; xlix. 10 *sq.*). There was to be no distinction among believers except in their degree of piety (xlix. 13). The Prophet certainly had an ideal before him but it was realised only in a very incomplete way. The very rapid extension of Islām had been accompanied by a considerable diminution in its religious content. Alongside of the older adherents, who were really carried away by his preaching and whose faith had been tried by privations and dangers, there were now the many new converts who had been gained mainly by fear (cf. the well-known poem of Ka'b b. Zuhair; the poem of the Hudhaili Usaid b. Abi Iyas in Kosegarten, *Carmina Hudsal.*, N^o. 127) or by the prospect of material advantages. In spite of the teachers sent out to them there could be no question of any deep-seated conversion among these Arabs and how the old Arab spirit continued to flourish among them unweakened is shown for example by the boasting and abuse in the poems in Ibn Hishām, p. 934 *sqq.*, which are in no way inferior to the old poems. The Prophet himself in Sūra xlix. 14 has recorded very definitely how far the Beduins were from the true faith: they cannot say that they believe but only that they have adopted Islām. Commandments relating to religion and worship, which had considerably occupied Muḥammad in the early Medinese period, give way in striking fashion to social and political regulations, a natural result of the fact that the new members were not ripe for the former. Uncertainty on these matters was still great and even at headquarters much seems still to have been in an embryonic state. This is true even of so fundamental a law as the rule for the times of daily prayer, as the five prayers later obligatory are

nowhere laid down in the *Qur'an* (see above; cf. also the expression "morning and evening" in A'shā's poem: *Morgenländ. Forsch.*, p. 259). That they were introduced by Muḥammad himself at the end of his life is possible, but not very probable in view of the silence on the point in the *Qur'an*, and in any case it is not certainly proved by the mention of the five times of prayer in a letter of the Prophet's (Ibn Hishām, p. 962) as we are not justified in expecting absolutely literal accuracy in the transmission of such documents. Only one or two religious institutions are dealt with at all fully in the *Qur'an*, the great pilgrimage to the sanctuaries at Mecca and the 'umra in the town itself, but the ḥajj was indeed the crown of his endeavours begun in Mecca and carried through with tenacity. The Prophet, although he was nowlord of Mecca, did not yet take part in the pilgrimage in the year 8, which was so inexplicable to later generations that they invented an 'umra unknown to many of his followers (Ibn Hishām, p. 886; Ṭabarī, i. 1670 [Urwa], 1685; Wākidī, p. 380; Ibn Sa'd, ii/ii. 1, 123 sq.; iii/i. 103, 18; cf. ii/i. 123 sq.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaanse Feest*, p. 58 sq.). Nor did he come in the year 9 to Mecca to the ḥajj; he showed his interest in it however by sending Abū Bakr as his representative and making him read a proclamation which had momentous results (Bukhārī, iii. 163, 249; according to the usual tradition, it was 'Alī who acted as his deputy; but this is probably a tendentious alteration; cf. Ṭabarī, i. 1760 sq. where Abū Bakr complains about being passed over and is comforted by Muḥammad; there is also another tradition, according to which Abū Bakr commissioned Abū Huraira to proclaim the exclusion of the heathen from the pilgrimage (Ibn Sa'd, ii/i. 121 sq.). This was what is known as the *barā'a* [q. v.] in which Muḥammad, who had been for so many years excluded from the pilgrimage, forbade all heathen any participation in it and gave them a period of four months, after the expiry of which they had the choice between the adoption of Islām and merciless warfare (Sūra ix.). This explains his absence from the celebration in the two preceding years; he wished to wait until he could celebrate it as sole ruler and completely in agreement with his intentions or, as he said, with the ceremonies introduced by Abraham (ii. 119 sq.). Finally all was prepared and at the end of the year 10 (April 631–March 632) he was able to carry through the first reformed pilgrimage (the "Farewell Pilgrimage" or the pilgrimage of Islām), which became the standard for all time. It is remarkable that the regulations for the ceremonies of the ḥajj, the object of which was to remove all that was too obviously pagan in the old ceremony (cf. e.g. the *awthān* in Minā in Farazdaq, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lix. 604; Azraqī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 402) and to give it an Islāmic colouring, are found mainly in traditions, where later details can of course easily have been inserted, and only in fragments and more or less incidentally in the *Qur'an*; but broadly speaking, the later form is undoubtedly based on what the Prophet laid down on this memorable occasion [cf. the article ḤAJJ].

The Farewell Pilgrimage, at which an effective address, of which somewhat variant versions have been handed down, is put in the Prophet's mouth, marks the culminating point in his career. His feelings at this time are probably expressed in

Allāh's words in Sūra v. 5: "To-day I have perfected your religion, and completed my favours for you and chosen Islām as a religion for you". There is therefore a touch of the dramatic in the fact that his career closed a few months later. He himself hardly expected this, for only a month before his death he was preparing an expedition, which was to set out under the leadership of the young Usāma [q. v.] against Transjordan (not as in some traditions to West of the Jordan, cf. the article USĀMA) in order to avenge the death of his father. The situation was such in other directions also that it required a man in full vigour to deal with it; in several places the appearance of different "prophets" had provoked disturbances [cf. AL-ASWAD, ṬULAIḤA and MUSAILIMA]. Then Muḥammad suddenly fell ill, presumably of the ordinary Medina fever (Farazdaq, ix. 13); but this was dangerous to a man physically and mentally overwrought. He rallied a little but then died on the 13th Rabi' I of the year 9 (i.e. June 8, 632; only this date suits the statement in Ḥassān b. Thābit, N^o. cxxxiii. and all traditionists that it was a Monday) on the bosom of his favourite wife 'Ā'isha, according to the story with the words: "The highest friend" (*rafīq*, for which Goldziher once proposed *raḥīq*, "the vault of heaven") of Paradise!". He left — fortunately however for his community — no legal successor, for even the little Ibrāhīm whom the Coptic slave Māriya bore to him had died shortly before (on Jan. 27, 632, if the statement is right that there was an eclipse of the sun on the day he died; cf. Rhodokanakis, in *W. Z. K. M.*, xiv. 78 sqq.; Mahler, *op. cit.*, p. 109 sqq.). The wild confusion which party passions let loose on Mecca when his death became known had the remarkable result that his corpse remained neglected for a whole day until it was finally buried under 'Ā'isha's hut (Ṭabarī, i. 1817; Ibn Sa'd, ii/ii. 57, 2, 58, 28, 59, 1, 71, 6).

The great difficulty which the biographer of Muḥammad feels on every page is this, that the real secret of his career, the wonderful strength of his personality and his power of influencing those around him by suggestion, is not recorded in the early sources and indeed could not be recorded. From the *Qur'an*, it is true, one becomes acquainted with his earliest remarkable inspirations, which even now are not without effect, and with his eminent political gifts later in Medina. We do of course find instances in the battle of Badr or the agreement of Ḥudaibiya where his intellectual superiority is overwhelmingly evident; but these are only isolated flashes and for the most part we have to read the essentials between the lines and be content with instructive analogies, among which the influence of Joseph Smith on the intellectually far superior Brigham Young is a particularly striking example. The really powerful factor was his unshakable belief from beginning to end that he had been called by Allāh, for a conviction such as this, which does not admit of the slightest doubt, exercises an incalculable influence on others; and the certainty with which he came forward as the executor of Allāh's will gave his words and ordinances an authority which proved finally compelling. His real personality was revealed quite openly with its limitations; his strength and his knowledge were limited, the ability to perform miracles was denied him and he speaks quite frankly of his faults (vi. 69; xxxiv.

49; xl. 57; xlvii. 21; xlviii. 1 sq.; lxxx. 1 sqq.; ix. 43). Apart from the revelation with which he was favoured, he is a man like any other and several times refers to the fact that he will die (xxxix. 31; xxi. 35 sq.; iii. 138; the episode in Ibn Hishām, p. 1012 sq. is not historical but a tendentious story directed against the tendency becoming apparent to apotheosise the Prophet). This is exactly the field in which later ages have felt dissatisfied, so that they quite early, driven mainly by their disputations with the Christians (see M. Schreiner, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xlii. 594), wove around the person and life of the Prophet a network of superhuman features (see Tor Andrae's work quoted below). Apart from the traditions which are clearly confirmed by the *Qur'an* we can only have certainty in the strictest sense of the word in cases where the stories place the Prophet in an unfavourable light, not only from our point of view but also from that of the Muslims, e.g. in the story of his temporary recognition of the three Meccan goddesses or of his being censured by 'Umar for putting off the *ihrām* between the 'umra and *ḥajj* on the Farewell Pilgrimage, for it is quite incredible that such features should be later inventions and as a rule in such cases the compromising stories are confirmed by the existence of variant traditions which endeavour to dispose of the offensive features by glossing them over or altering them.

If the biographers of Muḥammad must for these reasons impose a very considerable restraint upon themselves, there is nevertheless one essential aspect of his activity, which ought to be very strongly emphasised, particularly as justice is not always done to it in modern treatments of his life. There is a tendency in some recent writers not only to emphasise all that is unfavourable but also to neglect his real religious importance. If he had really only been an oversexed man, anxious for worldly profit and quite unscrupulous in the choice of his means, Islām, which had been created by him and developed after his death, would have been an effect without a cause. It is impossible for the unbiased historian to deny that he aroused the religious instinct of his countrymen, and gave expression to a body of religious and moral conceptions which not only satisfied his fellow countrymen but supplied the needs of the people of lands which had old civilizations conquered by the Muslims and served them as foundations for a vigorous and far-reaching intellectual activity. Although as a result of his singular theory of inspiration, his direct dependence on the older religions of revelation remained concealed, he was able in his own way to communicate to his countrymen a part of the spiritual wealth of the "peoples of a scripture" and how he touched the soul of the Arabs is best seen by the efforts of the Wahhābīs at a reformation. In lands of ancient culture, Islām, it is true, was only able to carry out its task by a sometimes radical remoulding and the intellectual activity already mentioned developed also under the influence of Christianity and mysticism, but yet it was Muḥammad who set the whole process in motion and he could not have gained this influence if he had only been what the writers mentioned profess to have found in him.

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(FR. BUHL)

MUHAMMAD I-III. [See UMAIYADS II.]

MUHAMMAD I, according to the current view, the fifth Sultān of the Ottoman Empire, reigned, after the Empire's restoration in 1413, as sole acknowledged ruler until his death in 1421. Like many details of the first century of Ottoman history, the year of the birth of this Sultān is unknown; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, i. 66 gives 781 or 791 (1379 or 1389). It is commonly agreed, that he was the youngest of the six sons of Bāyazid I, which probably has made von Hammer accept the later date. At the time of Timur's invasion, Muḥammad resided at Amasia, but he was present at the battle of Angora (end of July 1402). From here he escaped with the help of the vizier Bāyazid

Pasha and was able to maintain himself in Amasia and Tokat against Timur's governor in Niksār and against Turkoman bands. Soon after Bāyazid's death in 1403, having found support with the dynasties of Karamān and Dhū 'l-Kadr, he conquered Brusa from his brother 'Isā, who had fled there after the battle of Angora. Then followed the struggle with his other brother Sulaimān, who had escaped to Adrianople but reappeared in Anatolia on account of his dealings, friendly as well as hostile, with the İzmir Oghlu Djunaid. Sulaimān was able to take Brusa but was soon obliged to return to Rūm-ili, where Muḥammad had sent their brother Mūsā (who, after Angora, had been prisoner for some time with the Germiān Oghlu). When in 1410 the struggle between Sulaimān and Mūsā ended in the latter's victory, Muḥammad, whose position in Anatolia was now strengthened, had to face Mūsā himself. At first the conquest of Rūm-ili did not seem hopeful, but after some high functionaries, like the Djandar-oghlu Ibrāhīm Pasha (cf. Täschner and Wittek, in *Isl.*, xviii. 95) and representatives of the old nobility, like Ewrenos, had gone over from Mūsā to his side, and after he had made the Byzantine Emperor Manuel his ally, Muḥammad was able to crush Mūsā in the battle of Čamurlu in Serbia (July 1413). By this battle the unity of the Ottoman state was re-established; nevertheless one gets the impression that, even after the battle of Angora, the supremacy of the house of 'Othmān over the other Muḥammadan and Christian chiefs in Anatolia and the Balkan Peninsula was never seriously questioned. The hereditary enemy in Asia, Karamān Oghlu Mehmed, who in the meantime had gone as far as besieging Brusa, was subdued at Djānik in 1414 and at the same time the turbulent İzmir Oghlu Djunaid was finally driven away from Smyrna. In 1416 the Ottoman power in the Aegean Sea was strengthened by the battle of Gallipoli against a Venetian fleet. That same year witnessed the extremely serious derwish revolt in Aidin and the peninsula of Kāra Burun, connected with the name of Simawna Oghlu Badr al-Dīn (cf. Babinger's monograph on the subject in *Isl.*, xi. 1—174 and, as to the date, p. 62 *sqq.*); its suppression required the levying of troops from all parts of Anatolia under Bāyazid Pasha. In the European part of the Empire the Sultān kept up friendly relations with the Byzantine Emperor. The Turks intervened, however, in Wallachia where the succession was disputed and they built there the fortress of Djurdjewo (Turk: Yer Kōkü) on the northern bank of the Danube; at the same time (1419), the raids of the Turkish troops reached Hungary, Bosnia and Styria. On the Asiatic side large parts of the possessions of the prince of Kaṣtamuni, including Tosia and Kaṅgheri, were incorporated into the Ottoman possessions. From 1416 Muḥammad had moreover to face a pretender to the throne who claimed to be his brother Muṣṭafā; this Dōzme Muṣṭafā found an ally in Djunaid. Both were defeated near Selānk and had to fly to Constantinople. The Sultān died in 1421 in Adrianople, shortly after his return from Anatolia. His death was kept secret from the army during forty days, until the heir to the throne Murād had arrived at Brusa.

Muḥammad I has won the reputation of a mild and benevolent ruler; he often occurs with the surname of Čelebi (as also do his brothers). Another surname is Kūrūshdji, the "Wrestler", which takes unrecogniz-

able forms in the European sources ("Crixia" in the Ragusan documents cited by Babinger on p. 63 of his article in *Isl.*). Important administrative measures are not recorded under his reign; the political and religious unification and pacification occupied all his forces. Some famous edifices are connected with his name; he finished the Ulu Djāmi' in Adrianople and the mosque of the same name in Brusa. A new building of this Sultān was the well known Yeshil Djāmi' at Brusa (cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, *Travels*, ii. 15).

Bibliography: The ancient Ottoman chronicles 'Ashfk Pasha Zāde and *Tawārikh-i Al-i 'Othmān*, edited by Giese; Urudj Bey, ed. Babinger and the later historians, especially 'Alī, *Kunh al-Akhbār*. — Of the Byzantine writers this period is treated by Phrantzes, Ducas and Chalcondylas. Further: von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 331 *ssq.*; Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, Hamburg 1840, i. 388—500 and Jōrga, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, i. 361—377. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD II, with the surname Abū 'l-Faḥ, or, more popularly, Fātiḥ, seventh ruler of the Ottoman Empire, reigned from 1451 until his death in 1481. He was born, according to *Sidqill-i 'Othmān*, i. 67, in Rādjab 832 (April 1429) and resided during his father Murād II's lifetime as governor in Magnisa; after the death of his brother 'Alā' al-Dīn in 1444 he became heir to the throne. Before his final enthronement Muḥammad had twice resided in Adrianople as sultān, on account of the abdication of Murād II; the first time in June 1444, after a ten years' peace had been concluded with Hungary. When, notwithstanding this treaty, Hungary and her Christian allies again took the offensive in July, Murād came back from Magnisa, to which he had retired, and won the battle of Varna (Nov. 10, 1444). Then Murād abdicated a second time, but a menacing revolt of the Janissaries in Adrianople made the grand vizier Khalil Pasha call him back again, after which Muḥammad was relegated once more to his Anatolian governorship until his father's death.

On Febr. 9, 1451 this new sultān arrived at Adrianople and seemed at first peacefully inclined. In reality his reign was to become a period of untiring and continual conquest under the personal leadership of Muḥammad himself, who, especially in the beginning of his reign, took part in nearly all the important campaigns. His conquests did not very much enlarge the boundaries already reached at Murād II's death, but consisted more in a bringing under immediate Turkish rule of a large number of countries, regions and towns that were still held by local rulers under the Ottoman suzerainty. In this way Muḥammad's conquests made possible the enormous expansion of the Ottoman empire in the xvth century.

The first, and at the same time most conspicuous military achievement of his reign was the conquest of Constantinople, where, by the grace of Murād II, the Palaeologue Constantine was still reigning. The preparations for this memorable siege had begun in 1452 with the construction of the castle of Rūmili Hışār (in which an inscription by Zaḡhanos Pasha, one of the builders, of 856 [1452], is found; cf. Khalil Edhem, in *T. O. E. M.*, ii. 484—497) and other military preparations, e. g. the casting of an enormous siege gun. Constantinople was taken on May 29, 1453 and Galata surrendered soon afterwards [cf. CONSTANTINOPLE]. In the next

year, the sultān obtained successes against Serbia, while Turākhān [q. v.] intervened in Morea, where the last Palaeologue despots were at war with the Albanians. Immediately after the taking of Constantinople the grand vizier Khalīl Pasha had been deposed and executed by order of the sultān, who had personal and political causes of complaint against him (cf. Taeschner and Wittek, in *Isl.*, xviii. 105 sqq.); he was replaced after nearly a year by Maḥmūd Pasha [q. v.], who for the next twelve years was to be a no less energetic supporter of Muḥammad in the achievement of the programme of conquest. The year 1455 saw both of them in Serbia and on the Aegean coast, where the principal conquests were Ainos and the island of Lemnos [q. v.]. In 1456 they were unsuccessful in the siege of Belgrad. During the years 1458 and 1459 Serbia was made a direct Ottoman province (Semendra taken in 1459 by Muḥammad), and in the same year and in 1460 the sultān took part in several campaigns in the Morea, the northern part of which was conquered from the Paleologues. About the same time a temporary understanding was reached with Skanderbeg [q. v.] in Albania.

Then came the amazing Asiatic campaign of 1461. Amasra (Amastris) was taken from the Genoese and Sinub [q. v.] from the last Isfandiār Oghlu; the fall of Trebizond immediately followed [cf. TARABZUN], after the beginning of a conflict with Uzun Ḥasan of the Ak-Koyunlu. In the next year the sultān's army drove the famous Wallachian woiwod Wlad Dracul from his principality, which was given to his brother Radul, and at the end of the year Muḥammad and Maḥmūd made an end to the rule of the Genoese dynasty of Lesbos. The years 1463 and 1464 were mainly occupied by the annexation of the kingdom of Bosnia. In 1463 began a war with Venice, which was to last seventeen years; the main theatre of hostilities was the Morea, but also in the islands of the Aegean there were continual encounters with Venetian fleets.

The death of the Ḳaraman Oghlu [q. v.] Ibrāhīm in 1464 had first provoked the sultān's intervention and soon nearly all the towns of this once powerful principality were conquered during Muḥammad's campaign of 1466 (battle of Larenda). In that same year Muḥammad was successful in Albania, where he fortified the town of Ilbašan [cf. SKANDERBEG].

Maḥmūd Pasha had been deposed as grand-vizier after the Ḳaraman campaign and replaced by Rūm Muḥammad Pasha. But it was Maḥmūd who as governor of Gallipoli and Kapudan Pasha, helped Muḥammad in the conquest from Venice of the islands of Negroponte (Euboea) in 1470. In the same year began again a series of campaigns under Rūm Muḥammad and Gedik Aḥmad Pasha against the last towns held by descendants of the Ḳaraman Oghlu, who were supported by Uzun Ḥasan [q. v.] and by Christian fleets on the sea side. When Uzun Ḥasan had even taken the offensive by conquering the town of Tokat, great preparations were made for a new Asiatic campaign of the sultān, and Maḥmūd was again made grand vizier. The sultān's army won in 1473 the great victory of Erzindjān, which put an end to danger from that side. In this campaign a part was played by prince Muṣṭafā, the heir to the throne, who completed in 1474 the conquest of İč İli (Cilicia) but died soon afterwards. Maḥmūd Pasha had been deposed

again from the grand vizierate and executed in August 1474; Gedik Aḥmad Pasha took his place.

In the following years, until 1480, the sultān's chief attention was given to conquests in Europe. He built in 1471 the fortress of Sabacs (Bögürdelen) in Syria, near Belgrad, while his troops in these and the following years made incursions into Hungary and far into Austrian territory; the war with Venice continued and in 1474 the Albanian Skutari (Shkodra) was in vain besieged. The year 1475 brought the great success of the conquest of Kaffa from the Genoese and, as a result of the establishing of the Ottoman power in the Crimea, the submission of the Tatar Ḳhānate of the Crimea to Ottoman suzerainty. In 1476 the sultān himself was successful in Moldavia, but in the next years the Turkish armies had less success against the Venetians in Albania and southern Morea; finally in 1478 Muḥammad himself went to Albania and took Croia; Skutari was besieged a long time, but surrendered only on account of the peace negotiations with Venice, which led to a peace treaty (confirmed January 26, 1479) leaving a certain number of towns in Albania and Morea to Venice. The Ionian islands, however, were conquered in 1479 by a fleet under Gedik Aḥmad, who, at the same time, went so far as to take Otranto in southern Italy. An endeavour to conquer the island of Rhodes in the same year was not successful.

Muḥammad's last campaign took place in 1480, when he intervened in the dynastic disputes of the dynasty of Dhū 'l-Ḳadr [q. v.], which intervention gave rise to the first difficulties with Egypt. In the next year, 1481, he had already set out for a new military enterprise in Asia, the aim of which was yet unknown, but may have been connected with the same difficulties, when he died, rather suddenly, in the place called Tekfur Çayırı or Khunkiār Çayırı between Skutari and Gebze (May 3, 1481). His body was transported to Constantinople and buried in the *türbe* of the Fātiḥ Mosque.

Besides being a great conqueror, Muḥammad II was the builder of many important edifices, in the first place of the Fātiḥ Mosque in Constantinople and the mosque of Eiyüb (*Ḥadīkat al-Djawiāmi*², i. 8 sqq.; 243 sqq.) and further of the castles on the Dardanelles and other works of naval and military importance. In the army administration he succeeded in restoring discipline among the Janisaries by incorporating in them the corps of the Segbans; further his name is connected with the first Ottoman *Kānūn-nāme* (printed as an appendix to *T.O.E.M.*, iii.). He encouraged scientific studies and showed an interest in literature and poetry (he pensioned thirteen Turkish poets), even for the Renaissance arts in Italy (he summoned Gentile Bellini to Constantinople, who made his portrait; cf. also Tschudi, *Vom alten Osmanischen Reich*, Tübingen 1930, p. 18).

Bibliography: Among the early sources, the Byzantine historians (Phranzes, Ducas, Chacondyles) are by far the more important. The Greek description of Muḥammad's life by Critobulos was translated into Turkish (appendix to *T.O.E.M.*, i. and ii.). The old Ottoman chronicles (*Neshri* and others) often treat the beginning of Muḥammad's reign in their last part; the later historical sources (Sa'd al-Dīn, 'Āli, Feridūn) are far from being reliable for this time. Further: von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, i., ii.; Zinkeisen (i.) and

Jorga (i.); Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, ii.; L. Thueasne, *Gentile Bellini et Sultan Mohammed II*, Paris 1888. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD III, thirteenth ruler of the Ottoman Empire, was born on May 16, 1567, the son of Murād III and the Venetian lady Baffa, and reigned from January 27, 1593 until his death, December 22, 1603. He was the last sultān who, as crown prince, had resided as governor in Maghnisa. During his short reign he does not seem to have exercised any great influence on the policy of the Empire, being mostly under the influence of his mother who, as *wālide sultān*, intervened in affairs of state through her protégés within and without the palace. Much against her will but on the insistence of a large part of the troops and of the high dignitaries, Muḥammad took part in one campaign, namely that of 1596, in which the Hungarian town of Erlau (Egri) was taken by the Turks (September 1596). This campaign was a part of the war against Austria that lasted during all his reign and occasioned every year a military expedition to Hungary or to Wallachia. The grand vizierate was changed not less than twelve times under this sultān; the most conspicuous grand vizier was Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha [q. v.], his brother-in-law and the protégé of the *wālide*. Ibrāhīm three times held the sultān's seal, three other titularies ended their office by being executed. In the same year as the conquest of Erlau, the Turks won the battle of Keresztes over the Austrians and Hungarians; the severity of the then grand-vizier Čighala Sinān caused a great number of the troops to desert and to appear some years afterwards as *firāris* or *djelālis*, provoking dangerous revolts in Asia Minor which lasted thirty years and began with the taking of Urfa by Ẓāra Yazıdī [q. v.] in 1599. A third memorable feat of the Hungarian war was the conquest of Kanizha in 1600 by Ibrāhīm Pasha. In other parts of the Empire the situation was relatively quiet; only in the Crimea was there a war between two rivals to the *khānate*, in which the Ottoman government had to intervene. Relations with the European powers were peaceful. France began already to exercise considerable influence through her ambassador; with Persia there was peace until September 1603, when a war began with the taking of Tabriz and Nakḥcawān by Abbās I.

The Empire was still supported by the traditions of Suleimān's time, but the lack of strong government had introduced a lot of abuses, notably in the administration of the *timārs* and of the finances. One of the consequences was the dangerous revolt in January 1603 of the *sipāhis* in Constantinople, who demanded the abolition of the harem régime in the capital and the restoration of the authority of the government in Anatolia. Two high harem functionaries fell as victims of this revolt; the grand vizier Yemişdji Ḥasan was able to oppose the *sipāhis* with the aid of the Janissaries, thus creating an everlasting feud between the two corps, but in October of the same year this nefarious policy caused his own fall and execution.

Muḥammad III was buried in a *türbe* of the Aya Sofia; a short time before his death, he had ordered the execution of his eldest son Maḥmūd. He is said to have made a great show of piety, and had some excellent councillors in his environment, such as the *khwādja* Sa'd al-Dīn (died 1599), who had determined him to accompany

the army in 1596; but on the whole his mother's influence prevailed by keeping him mainly confined to the harem in the palace.

Bibliography: Among the Turkish historians the works of 'Alī (until 1596); Selānikī (until 1600), Peçewī and Ḥasan Beg Zāde are valuable as contemporary sources, further Na'imā (i.) and Ḥādīdjī Khalifa. Von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iv. and the works of Zinkeisen (iii.) and Jorga (iii.). A contemporary European source is Laz. Soranzo, *Ottomanus sive de rebus turcicis liber continens descriptionem potentiae Mahometis III*, 1600.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD IV, nineteenth Sultān of the Ottoman Empire, was born on December 30, 1641 and was placed on the throne on August 8, 1648, after the deposition, soon followed by the execution, of his father Sultān Ibrāhīm. The power in the state was at that time divided between the court, where the old *wālide* Kösem [q. v.] and Sultān Muḥammad's mother, the *wālide* Tarkhān, held the reins, and the rebellious soldiery of the Janissaries and the Sipāhis. The lack of stability in the government at this time is shown by the fact, that, until the nomination of the grand vizier Köprülü Muḥammad in 1656, there were no less than thirteen grand viziers. In 1651 the old *wālide* Kösem was assassinated and at the same time the resistance of the Janissaries was broken; the régime of the court party that followed under the sultān's mother did not improve the situation. The grand vizierate of Ibshir Pasha (1654—1655), who at first seemed to be the strong man needed, was brought to an early end by his rival Murād Pasha, and in the meantime the Cretan war against Venice was exhausting the resources of the Empire. In March 1656 a military rebellion forced the sultān to allow the execution of several of his favourite courtiers.

The real strong man proved to be Köprülü Muḥammad Pasha [q. v.] (Sept. 15, 1656—Oct. 31, 1661) who eliminated immediately the influence of the harem on state affairs and became until his death the real ruler of the Empire. His régime began with a Turkish maritime defeat by the Venetians at the Dardanelles, but already in the following year he obtained as *ser'asker* successes in Transylvania and succeeded at the same time in establishing firmly the Turkish authority in the Danube principalities; the collaboration with the Crimean Khān was here of great value. In 1658 and 1659 he was able to suppress rebellions in Asia Minor, and in the Venetian war a great fleet of Venetian ships and other Christian allies did not succeed against the Turkish forces on Crete. After his death (Oct. 31, 1661), he was succeeded in his office by his son Köprülü Aḥmad Pasha, who completed the work of his father by carrying through the final conquest of Crete (surrender of Kandia on Sept. 4, 1669) followed by peace with Venice. In 1661 the war with Austria had begun again, where Sultān Muḥammad took part in several campaigns, notably that of 1663 in which Újvár (Neuhäusel) was taken. In 1664 took place the famous battle of St. Gotthard, where the Turks were beaten by an allied army, a part of which was formed by French troops; still the peace concluded with Austria in 1665 was favourable for Turkey. In 1672 the sultān took part in the campaign against Poland, after the Ukrainian cossacks had invoked Ottoman aid

against the Polish king; the Polish war, ending in a peace treaty of 1676, strengthened still further the Empire's position in the north. Köprülü Aḥmad Paşa died Oct. 30, 1676. Though the sultān, who had developed in the meantime a morose and capricious character, never showed him the same deference as to his father, Aḥmad had been easily able to maintain himself against enemies in the interior, not least by forming new troops (the *beṣli* and the *gönüllü*), who were far more reliable than the Janissaries and Sipāhis. He had not been able, however, to put an end to the extravagant luxury of the court, which wasted enormous sums. The sultān had an abnormal liking for big hunts, that were organized at enormous cost in the environment of Adrianople, which town he preferred as a residence to Constantinople.

After Aḥmad's death the sultān did not himself take the affairs of state in hand; he appointed Kara Muṣṭafā Paşa [q. v.] as his grand vizier. The latter continued in an unnecessary way the tradition of warfare; in 1677 and 1678 he obtained successes against the Cossacks, behind whom the Muscovite power now began to gain in importance in Turkish affairs. In 1682 war broke out again with the Austrian monarchy and led to the second Turkish siege of Vienna (July 13—Sept. 12, 1683), ending in a Turkish débâcle, thanks to the intervention of the Polish king Sobiesky. This disaster cost Kara Muṣṭafā his office and his life and at the same time the influence of the Serail became again predominant. The grand viziers now following proved unequal to their task and in the years 1685—1687 nearly the whole of Hungary was lost to the Austrian armies (Turkish defeat at Mohács on June 22, 1687). At the same time the hostilities with Venice had been reopened in the Morea and in the Archipelago.

All these disasters caused a revolt of the troops in the field; they marched on the capital in September 1687 under Siyawush Paşa of Aleppo. This time the sultān himself fell a victim to them; he was deposed on November 8, 1687 by the *kā'im-makām* Köprülü Muṣṭafā Paşa and lived in seclusion in Adrianople until his death on December 17, 1692. He was buried next to his mother in the Veñi Djāmi'.

Bibliography: Na'ima (ii.) and Ḥādjīdī Khalīfa, and until 1660 the *Ta'rikh* of Rāshid are the most important Turkish historical sources. The *Siyāhat-nāme* of Ewliyā' Čelebi describes many of the military expeditions of this period and is also otherwise a valuable source of information. Among the European sources this period is covered by P. Ricaut, *Histoire des trois derniers empereurs des Turcs depuis 1624 jusqu'à 1677*, Paris 1683. Further, von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, v., vi. and the works of Zinkeisen (iv. and v.) and Jorga (iv.). See also the monographs of Aḥmad Refik, *Köprülüler*, Constantinople 1331 (1913), *Kadınlar Saltanatı*, Constantinople 1914—1924, and *Fetāket Seneleri* (1094—1110), Constantinople 1332 (1914).

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD V RESHĀD, thirty-fifth Ottoman Sultān, was born on November 2, 1844 as a son of Sultān 'Abd al-Madīd. During the reign of his brother 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II he lived in seclusion; his very existence inspired 'Abd al-Ḥamīd with such terror that even the mentioning of persons with the name Reshād had to be avoided

in his presence (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iii. 232). He was a man of mild character, who owed his accession to the throne (April 27, 1909) only to the victory of the Young Turks; moreover he was the first constitutional ruler of Turkey, but he was unable to give direction to the very disparate political tendencies that manifested themselves within and without the Parliament during the years after the Revolution, and, after the final victory of the Unionist party in January 1913, Muḥammad V had to submit, much against his will, to their government.

At the very beginning of his reign, Turkey lost her last vestige of authority over Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary's annexation, and over Bulgaria by the declaration of its independence (Oct. 5, 1909). The cabinets under Husein Hilmi Paşa (until January 18, 1910) and İsmā'il Ḥakki Paşa (q. v.; until Sept. 29, 1911) were not able to bring about a peaceful situation in the interior (revolts in Albania). Ḥakki Paşa had to resign on account of the declaration of war by Italy. Under the grand vizierate of Sa'īd Paşa [q. v.] the Italian war led to the loss of Tripoli, confirmed by the peace treaty of Ouchy (Oct. 15, 1912). The peace was signed under the anti-unionist cabinet of Aḥmad Mukhtār Paşa, but in the same month began the so-called Balkan War against the confederated Balkan States. The reactionary cabinet of Kāmil Paşa soon showed an inclination to conclude a disastrous peace through the intermediary of the European powers (Conference of London); then on January 23, 1913 the Unionist coup d'état brought again a Unionist government under Maḥmūd Shewket Paşa. The result was a reopening of the hostilities and, after the failure of Bulgaria, the recapture of Adrianople (July 22, 1913). In the meantime Maḥmūd Shewket had been murdered (June 28) by adherents of the liberal opposition, but this did not bring about a change in the political course; his place was taken by Sa'īd Ḥalim Paşa, whose government signed the peace-treaties with Bulgaria (Sept. 29, 1913), Greece (Nov. 14) and Serbia (March 14, 1914). From this time on, the Committee of Union and Progress, which from the beginning of Muḥammad Reshād's reign had not ceased to work behind the scenes, became all powerful and its leaders Tal'at Bey and Enver Bey came more and more to the front. Afterwards, when at the beginning of the Great War, the Ottoman Government had decided to remain neutral, it was the unionist sympathies with Germany that brought about a gradual estrangement between Turkey and the Allies (the "Goeben" and "Breslau" incident), culminating in the entrance of Turkey into the war on the side of the Central Powers (the Turkish fleet in the Black Sea on October 29 and 30, 1914). Tal'at Paşa himself became grand vizier in February 1917. The Allied endeavour to force a way through the Dardanelles was definitely abandoned in January 1916 and in the meantime Turkish troops fought on the Egyptian front, in 'Irāk and on the Russian and Persian frontiers. Before the end of the war Muḥammad V died unexpectedly on July 2, 1918.

Bibliography: de la Jonquière, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, 1914, ii.; Aḥmad Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, New Haven 1930; besides many other publications on the war and on the general politics of Turkey.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD VI WAHĪD AL-DĪN, last Sultān of the Ottoman Empire, was born on January 14, 1861, as son of Sultān 'Abd al-Madjīd. He was called to the throne on July 3, 1918, after the death of his brother Muḥammad V Reṣhād, the former heir to the throne Yūsuf 'Izz al-Dīn, son of 'Abd al-'Azīz, having died in 1916. When on October 30, 1918, nearly four months after his accession, the armistice of Mudros was signed, he was the ruler of an empire that seemed to be at the mercy of its former enemies, whose military forces occupied the capital and other hitherto unconquered parts of Turkey. On the other hand, the power of the Committee of Union and Progress was broken, but, since in the beginning of 1919 there began in Anatolia an increasing opposition against the foreign occupation, joined with an aversion to obey the Constantinople government, Muḥammad VI seemed to have no other choice than to throw in his lot with the Allies and, together with his grand vizier Dāmād Ferīd Pasha, he collaborated with the Allies in the endeavours to suppress the nationalist forces (beginning of 1920); this anti-nationalist action was even sanctioned by a *fatwā* of the *Shaiḫh* al-Islām. As the nationalist movement grew ever stronger, the Sultān's authority could only be upheld in Constantinople by the support of the Allies. His government had to sign the Treaty of Sèvres (August 10, 1920) and the Tewfīk Pasha cabinet (since October 21, 1920) tried to summon the Parliament for its ratification. But in 1921 things had already gone so far that Tewfīk Pasha recognized the powerlessness of his government to represent Turkey. The final success of the nationalists against the Greeks (seizure of Smyrna, September 9, 1922) brought about the armistice of Mudania (October 11, 1922), to which the Sultān's government was not a party. It was still invited to represent Turkey in Lausanne, together with the Angora government. This was not accepted by the Great National Assembly, which, on November 1, 1922, declared the Ottoman sultānate abolished from March 16, 1920 (occupation of Constantinople); Tewfīk Pasha's cabinet resigned accordingly (November 4) and Muḥammad VI remained as *Khalīfa* in Constantinople, where, on November 10, he appeared at his last *selāmīk*. When, however, the National Assembly decided some days afterwards to try Wahīd al-Dīn on a charge of high treason, this last Ottoman Sultān left Constantinople as a fugitive on a British ship (November 17, 1922) and the very next day the Angora government declared him divested of the caliphate. Having gone first to Malta, the ex-sultān proceeded to Mecca as the guest of king Ḥusain. From here he launched a proclamation to the Islāmic world, in which he maintained that the separation of the caliphate from the sultānate was contrary to the *sharī'a* (text in *Oriente Moderno*, ii. 702—705). This appeal found hardly any response in the Islāmic world. The last Ottoman Sultān left Mecca again and went to live in San Remo, where he died on May 16, 1926. In 1924 he had even recognized king Ḥusain's claim to the caliphate.

Bibliography: Jäschke und Pritsch, *Die Türkei seit dem Weltkriege*, in *W. I.*, vol. x., 1927—1929, and vol. xii., Heft 1—2, 1930, where in the Introduction all available Turkish and Western sources are indicated.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD, MU'IZZ AL-DĪN B. SĀM, was the fourth of the Shansabānī princes of Ghūr to rule the empire of Ghaznī. His name was originally Shihāb al-Dīn, but he assumed that of Mu'izz al-Dīn. His elder brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn succeeded his cousin Saif al-Dīn in 1163 and made Muḥammad governor of Herāt, entrusting to him also the duty of extending the dominions of the house in India.

Muḥammad led his first expedition into India in 1175, expelled the Ismā'īlian heretics who ruled Multān, placed an orthodox governor in that province, and captured Učch. In 1178 he rashly led an army into Guḍjarāt, was defeated by the rādjā, Bhīma the Vāghela, and returned to Ghaznī with no more than the remnant of his army, but in the following year he took Peshāwar, and in 1181 Lāhor, taking prisoner Khusrāw Malik, the last of the Ghaznawids, and adding the Panḍjāb to his brother's dominions. In the winter of 1190—1191 he invaded the Cāwhān kingdom of Dīhli and captured Bhātinda, but the rādjā, Prithwī Rādj, marched against him and defeated him at Tarāwri, near Karnāl. He was wounded, but escaped, and in 1192 returned to India, defeated and slew Prithwī Rādj at Tarāwri, captured Hānsi, Sāmāna, Guhrām, and other fortresses, and plundered Adjmer. On returning to Ghaznī he left Kuṭb al-Dīn Aibeg [q. v.] in India as viceroy, and at the end of 1192 Aibeg took Dīhli and made it his capital. In 1197 Aibeg was beleaguered in Adjmer and Muḥammad sent a relieving force which enabled him to defeat Bhīma of Guḍjarāt and to plunder his capital, Anhilvāra.

Muḥammad was now employed with his brother in recovering Khurāsān. On the death of Takash Khān Khwārizmshāh [q. v.] in Marw, on July 3, 1200, Muḥammad Čurbak was sent to Marw, which he captured and occupied for Ghiyāth al-Dīn, and Ghiyāth al-Dīn and his brother besieged and took Nishāpūr. Muḥammad was then sent in command of an expedition to Raiy but the misbehaviour of his troops earned a rebuke which led to the only quarrel between the brothers.

On the death of Ghiyāth al-Dīn in 1202 Muḥammad succeeded to the great empire which he had helped his brother to build up, but Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh [q. v.] took Marw from Muḥammad Čurbak, recovered Nishāpūr, but failed to capture Herāt. Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad marched against him but suffered a crushing defeat near Andkhūi and fled to Tālakān. He was besieged by the army of Gūr Khān of Karā-Khitāi and purchased a safe retreat only by the surrender of the whole of his baggage and material of war. On his arrival before Ghaznī in this plight his slave İldigiz refused to admit him, and he passed on to Multān where the governor likewise refused him admittance, but he attacked and defeated him and appointed Nāsir al-Dīn Qubāča [q. v.] to the government of the province. He returned to Ghaznī and established himself there, sparing the life of İldigiz. By the treaty which he concluded with Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh he was permitted to retain Balkh and Herāt, but not Nishāpūr and Marw.

On Oct. 20, 1205, he marched from Ghaznī for India and, with the help of Kuṭb al-Dīn Aibeg, defeated the Khokars, but on returning towards Ghaznī was assassinated, on March 15, 1206, on the bank of the Indus, either by Ismā'īli heretics or by some Khokars. He was succeeded in Ghūr

by his nephew Maḥmūd, son of Ghiyāth al-Dīn, but the viceroys of the provinces, Aibeg in Dihli, Kūbācha in Multān, Tādī al-Dīn Yildiz in Kirmān, and İldigiz in Ghaznī, became independent.

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(T. W. HAIG)

MUHAMMAD, **TUGHLUQ**, the second king of the Tughluq dynasty of Dihli, was the eldest son of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq, its founder. During the short reign of the usurper, Nāṣir al-Dīn Khusraw, he was in some peril, but escaped and joined his father, who was marching on Dihli. He was known at first as Djawna Khān, but received the title of Ulugh Khān and was sent in 1321 to Warangal, to reduce to obedience the rādja, Pratāpa Rudradeva II. In this distant region he attempted to rebel, but his army refused to believe his story of his father's death at Dihli and to accept him as their king, and he was obliged to return in haste to the capital, where he either persuaded his father of his innocence or gained a pardon, for, though his accomplices suffered cruel deaths, he was again sent, in 1323, into Telingāna, and on this occasion compelled the rādja to surrender and sent him to Dihli. In the following year he acted as regent during his father's absence on an expedition into Bengal, but his conduct aroused suspicion, and his father rebuked him in letters sent from Bengal. He received the king, on his return, in a temporary kiosk of wood, so constructed that the dislodgement of a beam would bring the whole structure down, and by this device crushed the old man to death, and ascended the throne in February 1325. The delineation of a character so complex and contradictory as that of Muḥammad Tughluq is no easy task. He was one of the most extraordinary monarchs who ever sat upon a throne. To the most lavish generosity he united revolting and indiscriminate cruelty; to scrupulous observance of the ritual and ceremonial prescribed by the Islāmic law an utter disregard of that law in all public affairs; to a debasing and superstitious veneration for all whose descent or whose piety commanded respect a ferocity which when roused respected neither the blood of the Prophet nor personal sanctity. Some of his administrative and most of his military measures give evidence of abilities of the highest order; others are the acts of a madman.

The chronicle of his reign is largely a record of rebellions punished with gross barbarity. In the second year his cousin Gurshāsp rebelled in the Dakan and was flayed alive. In 1327 he rebuilt Devagīr, named it Dawlatābād, made it his capital, and two years later drove the whole population of Dihli thither. In 1328 Kishlū Khān rebelled in Multān and was defeated and slain, and in 1329 India was invaded by the Mughul, 'Alā' al-Dīn Tarmāshirīn, who, however, was driven from the country. In the same year the enhancement of the land-tax in the Gangetic Doāb drove the inhabitants into rebellion, and the measures taken to suppress the rising depopulated the country. At about the same time Muḥammad issued his famous fictitious currency, decreeing that his brass tokens should be accepted as equivalent to silver

tangas. No precautions were taken against counterfeiting, and when the experiment failed and the tokens were recalled the treasury was obliged to purchase mountains of brass at the price of silver.

In 1331 a rebellion in Bengal was crushed by Bahrām Khān, but in 1338 he died, and a second rebellion separated the province from the kingdom of Dihli, and in 1334 Saiyid Djalāl al-Dīn Aḥsan established his independence in Madura. Muḥammad marched to punish him, but a pestilence in his army compelled him to retreat, and on his return he established in the Dakan the pernicious system of farming out the revenue for extravagant sums, the result of which was to drive both the impoverished cultivator and the defaulting farmer into rebellion. Hūshang of Dawlatābād, believing a report of the king's death, rebelled, but was captured and pardoned, a rare instance of clemency, but a rebellion in the Panḍjāb was crushed with great severity.

An enormous army raised for the conquest of Persia melted away for want of funds to maintain it, and in 1337 a heavy calamity fell on northern India, a famine of unusual severity which lasted for seven years. The king's measures to combat the famine were, on the whole, well conceived and well executed. Grain was plentiful in Awadh, which proved that the famine was largely due to artificial causes, and he built a temporary city, Sarga-dwārī (*Swarga dwāra*, Sansk. "the Gate of Paradise"), on the western bank of the Ganges, transferred thither the citizens of Dihli, and with the assistance of 'Ain al-Mulk, governor of Awadh, fed them from the granaries of that province. In the following year he committed one of the greatest of his many follies in assembling an army of 100,000 horse for the invasion of Tibet and sending it into the Himālaya, where it perished.

In 1339 a rebellion in the Dakan was crushed and even the faithful 'Ain al-Mulk was goaded into rebellion, but, in consideration of his services, was imprisoned instead of being put to death. Almost immediately afterwards Shāhū the Afghān rebelled in Multān, but fled before the king's wrath into Afghānistān. The famine was now at its height, and the people were eating human flesh. Muḥammad set himself to the framing of regulations which should improve and extend agriculture and obviate future famines. By their means, says the contemporary historian, with conscious or unconscious irony, agriculture would have been so promoted that plenty would have reigned throughout the earth, had they been practicable. They included the extension of the system of farming the revenues, and bred confusion and rebellion, which reacted on the king until he regarded his subjects as his natural enemies and waged war against them with all the weapons of despotic power. The tale of executions is recorded, with sickening details, by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Rebellions in Sunām, Sāmāna, Kaithal, Guhrām, Kara, and the Dakan were all traceable to the king's revenue system, but he attributed the discontent in the Dakan to the disaffection of his officers and sent to that province a wretch who slew ninety officers in cold blood, and was himself slain in the rising which his barbarity provoked. Muḥammad marched into Guḍjarāt and personally undertook the collection of arrears due to the treasury, so alarming the officials in the Dakan that they seized the fort of Dawlatābād

and proclaimed an Afghān, Ismā'il Mukh, as their king. The king marched to Dawlatābād, captured the city, and besieged the rebels in the citadel, but was recalled to Guḍjarāt by a serious rebellion headed by a man named Taghī. He pursued the rebel in Guḍjarāt and Kāthiāwār for three years, drove him into Sind, and followed him thither, and on March 20, 1351, died within a few miles of Thatha, where the rebel had taken refuge. "The king", as a historian says, "was freed from his people, and they from their king".

His empire, at its greatest extent, included the whole of India except the small kingdoms of the Čolas and the Pāṇḍyas, in the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin and the principality of Gīrnār in Kāthiāwār. Before his death he lost Bengal, the Dakan, the Peninsula, and Sind, and left the remnant of his dominions seething with discontent.

Bibliography: Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī* (*Bibl. Ind.*), and later historians; *Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār fī Gharā'ib al-Amṣār*, by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. iii., chap. vi. See also *J. R. A. S.* for July, 1922.

(T. W. HAIG)

MUHAMMAD III, the sixth king of the Tughluḳ dynasty of Dihlī, was the son of Firūz, at whose death the son of Faṭḥ Khān, his eldest son, was raised to the throne on Sept. 20, 1388, as Ghīyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ II, but was slain on Feb. 19, 1389, and was succeeded by his cousin Abū Bakr, son of Zafar Khān, the second son of Firūz. Muḥammad, the third son, contested the succession and, after suffering more than one defeat, occupied Dihlī and ascended the throne on Aug. 31, 1390. Abū Bakr took refuge with Bahādur Nāhir in Mewāt but was pursued and defeated, and was imprisoned in Mirāth, where he shortly afterwards died. The old servants of Firūz, men of Eastern Hindūstān, who had been the principal factors in all the troubles of the kingdom, were put to the sword, after being tested by a shibboleth which distinguished them from the natives of Dihlī.

A rebellion in Guḍjarāt was suppressed in the same year by Zafar Khān, who in 1396 became independent in that province, and in 1392 Muḥammad crushed a serious rebellion in the Doāb, captured Itāwa, ravaged the districts of Kanawḍj and Dalman, and built near Ḍjalesar a fort, which he named Muḥammadābād. In the same year, he put to death his minister, Islām Khān, who was meditating rebellion, and appointed in his place Khwādja Ḍjahān. Another rebellion was crushed in the southern Doāb, and in August 1393, Muḥammad invaded and plundered Mewāt and returned to Ḍjalesar, where he fell sick. Bahādur Nāhir took advantage of his illness to plunder some villages in the neighbourhood of Dihlī and Muḥammad marched into Mewāt, defeated him, and put him to flight, but on his return to Muḥammadābād his disorder increased, and on Jan. 20, 1394, just as he had ordered his son Humāyūn Khān to march against the Khokars, who had captured Lāhor and were ravaging the Panḍjāb, he died.

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(T. W. HAIG)

MUHAMMAD I, the second king of the Bahmanī dynasty of the Dakan, was the

eldest son of Ḥasan, 'Alā' al-Dīn Bahman Shāh, usually, but incorrectly, styled Ḥasan Gangū. On succeeding his father, on Feb. 11, 1358, he carefully organized the government of the four provinces of the kingdom and the administration of the army. The pertinacity of the Hindū bankers and money-changers in melting down the gold coinage which he introduced led to a general massacre of the community and the measure involved him in hostilities with the Hindū states of Warangal and Viḍḍayanagar. He invaded the dominions of Kānhaīya of Warangal three times, put his son Venāyēk Deva to death, and compelled him to pay heavy indemnities and to surrender the town and district of Golkonda. After this success he grossly insulted Bukka I of Viḍḍayanagar by paying some dancing girls with a draft drawn by him on Bukka's treasury. Bukka invaded the Rāičūr Doāb, captured Mudgal, and massacred its garrison. Muḥammad marched against him, attacked him with great impetuosity, defeated him, and recovered Mudgal, where he rested during the rainy season. In 1367 he met Bukka at Kawthal, again defeated him, and carried out an indiscriminate massacre of his subjects. The Hindūs were cowed by the slaughter of 400,000 of their race, and Bukka was compelled to sue for peace. He honoured the draft and paid an indemnity, and received in return a guarantee that non-combatants should be spared in future wars, and the agreement, though sometimes violated, mitigated to some extent the horrors of the long period of intermittent warfare between the two states. On returning from Viḍḍayanagar he completed, in 1367, the great mosque at Gulbarga, and then turned against his cousin Bahrām Khān Māzandarānī, who had for some years been in rebellion at Dawlatābād, defeated his army, and drove its leaders into Guḍjarāt. He died in 1377 and was succeeded by his elder son, Mudjahid.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Kāsim Firīšta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* (Bombay 1832); *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, vol. iii. (*Bibl. Ind. Series of A. S. B.*); *Burhān-i Ma'āthir* (MSS.) and translation by Major J. S. King (*The History of the Bahmanī Dynasty*); *An Arabic History of Guḍjarāt*, edited by Sir E. Denison Ross (*Indian Text Series*); *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. iii., chap. xv.

(T. W. HAIG)

MUHAMMAD II, the fifth king of the Bahmanī dynasty of the Dakan, was the son of Maḥmūd Khān, the youngest son of 'Alā' al-Dīn Bahman Shāh, the founder of the dynasty, and was raised to the throne on May 20, 1378, after the assassination of his uncle, Dāwūd Shāh. Firīšta's statement that this king's name was Maḥmūd has misled all European historians, but is refuted by inscriptions, legends on coins, and other historians.

Muḥammad II was a man of peace, devoted to literature and poetry, and his reign was undisturbed by foreign wars. He invited Ḥāfiẓ to visit his court, and the great poet set out from Shīrāz in response to the invitation, but was so terrified by a storm in the Persian Gulf that he disembarked and returned to Shīrāz, whence he sent to Muḥammad his excuses in a well known ode.

Between 1387 and 1395 the Dakan was visited by a severe famine, and the king's measures of relief included the free importation of grain, the establishment of schools at which children were taught, fed, and lodged at the public expense,

and special allowances to readers of the Qur'an and the blind, but only those of his own faith profited by his benefactions. He died of a fever on April 20, 1397, and was succeeded by his elder son, Ghiyāth al-Din.

Bibliography: See art. MUHAMMAD I; also *J.A.S.B.*, vol. lxxiii., part i., 1904.

(T. W. HAIG)

MUHAMMAD III, LASHKARĪ, the thirteenth king of the Bahmanī dynasty of the Dakan, was the younger son of Humāyūn Shāh, and succeeded his elder brother, Nizām Shāh, on July 30, 1463, at the age of nine. His minister was the famous Maḥmūd Gāwān, Malik al-Tudjīdār, Khwādja Djahān. A campaign against Mālwa in 1467 was unsuccessful, but between 1469 and 1471 Maḥmūd Gāwān conquered the southern Konkan. In 1472 Malik Hasan Bahri, Nizām al-Mulk, a Brāhman who had been captured in Viḍjayanagar and educated as a Muslim, led a successful expedition into southern Uṛiṣa and was rewarded with the government of Telingāna. Faṭḥ Allāh 'Imād al-Mulk, another Brāhman with a similar history, was made governor of Barār, and Yūsuf 'Adil Khān, a Turk, was appointed to Dawlatābād. In the same year Muḥammad captured the fortresses of Bankapūr and Balgānw, and his conduct at the siege of the latter earned for him the title of Lashkari, "the Soldier". In 1474 the Dakan suffered severely from a famine which lasted for two years, and in 1476 a rebellion in Kondawir led the king into Telingāna. He relieved Malik Hasan, who had been besieged in Rādjamahendri, invaded Uṛiṣa and punished the rādjā, who had supported the rebels, and on his return, in 1478, captured Kondawir and assumed the title of Ghāzī.

He then set out to invade the eastern Karnātak, but first divided the great province of Telingāna into two governments, mortally offending Malik Hasan, the governor. The partition was part of a scheme, devised by Maḥmūd Gāwān, to be applied to all the provinces of the kingdom.

Muḥammad made Kondapalli, in the Karnātak, his headquarters, and returned thither after carrying out a daring raid to Kāndjeveram. From Kondapalli he issued an edict dividing the other three provinces of his kingdom, Barār, Dawlatābād, and Gulbarga each into two governments. The measure was intensely unpopular, but it was only the vindictive Malik Hasan that actively resented it. He regarded Maḥmūd Gāwān as the author of all the unpopular reforms, and by means of a forged letter persuaded the young king that his minister was in league with the foreign enemies of the state. Muḥammad, when under the influence of drink, summoned his faithful minister, and on April 5, 1481, without any inquiry into the circumstances of the case, caused his head to be struck off. Maḥmūd's innocence was established immediately after his death, and from the day of his unjust execution may be dated the collapse of the authority of the Bahmanī kings. Of the two parties in the state all the foreigners, led by Yūsuf 'Adil Khān, who established himself in Bidjāpūr, and the respectable portion of the Dakanis, led by Faṭḥ Allāh 'Imād al-Mulk of Barār, avoided intercourse with the king, who was thrown into the arms of the assassins, led by Malik Hasan. The *amirs* accompanied Muḥammad to Bidar and subsequently on an expedition to Balgānw, but encamped apart from the royal troops, and always saluted the king

from a distance, refusing to enter his presence. Muḥammad attempted to drown his grief and humiliation in drink, from the effects of which he died at Bidar on March 22, 1482, crying out in his last moments that Maḥmūd Gāwān was slaying him. He was succeeded by his son Maḥmūd, who was never a king but in name.

Bibliography: See art. MUHAMMAD I.

(T. W. HAIG)

MUHAMMAD B. 'ABBĀS [See KADJAR.]

MUHAMMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH, great-grandson of Hasan, the eldest son of 'Alī and Fātima, was one of the 'Alids who did not spend their time passively awaiting the fulfilment of their aspirations, but endeavoured to realise them by personal effort. He and his brother Ibrāhīm had, according to Wāqidi, been brought up as future rulers and Muḥammad was called al-Mahdī by his father. As early as the reign of the Umayyad caliph Hishām, the two sectarians al-Mughīra [q. v.] and Bayān [q. v.] who did not recognise Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Bākīr [q. v.] endeavoured to make propaganda for him. When signs of the imminent collapse of Umayyad rule became apparent after Walid's death, 'Abd Allāh's family by his command paid homage to Muḥammad with the exception of al-Bākīr's son Dja'far. Wider circles also recognised him as the legitimate heir, including the Mu'tazilis, who in those days had a distinctly ascetic character. Abū Dja'far, later the 'Abbāsīd caliph, was at this time attached to this school and it is several times recorded that he was among those who paid homage to Muḥammad. This is in itself by no means improbable and well explains his hostile attitude to him, although it remains remarkable that Muḥammad later nowhere, even in his polemical letters to him, refers to this important fact. The Umayyad governor Ibn Hubaira also thought of joining him when he was besieged in Wāsiṭ in 132 (750) but dropped the matter when he received no answer to his letter.

When finally the 'Abbāsīd Abū 'l-'Abbās in the same year won the caliphate and ousted the 'Alids, the two brothers disappeared and showed thereby that they would not recognise him. There now began for them a period full of adventure and danger, especially after Abū Dja'far became caliph in 136 (754). They went secretly from place to place to gain adherents; nowhere could they feel safe from the caliph but the people were on the whole favourably disposed to them and at least would not betray them. In this way they reached not only Basra and Kūfa but even went as far as al-Sind via 'Aden; as a rule however, they stayed in Arabia, most securely among the Djahāna, in whose territory lay the hill of Raḍwa, which so often appears in the history of the 'Alids. The caliph was very uneasy at the continued lack of success of his search for them; more and more angrily he demanded of his governors in Medina that they should be produced and he dismissed several in rapid succession, when they appeared, perhaps not without reason, ineffective and lukewarm in their efforts. He himself took very active steps but with as little result. On his pilgrimage in 140 (758) he had Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm's father thrown into prison because they would not betray their place of concealment, and on a later pilgrimage (144 = 762) the same fate met the sons and grandsons of Hasan, 'Abd Allāh's brother. They and 'Abd Allāh were taken to Kūfa, treated most

brutally and thrown into prison, where most of them died. The same thing happened to Ibrāhīm's father-in-law Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, a descendant of ʿUthmān, whose head the caliph sent to Khurāsān with a certificate on oath that it was the head of the ʿAlid Muḥammad in order to intimidate his followers there. Shortly before (Dec. 761), he finally found a governor after his own heart, Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān, who conducted the search with the necessary vigour. But he was soon able to save himself the trouble for in Radjab 145 (Nov. 762) Muḥammad appeared in Medina and began the revolution while his brother Ibrāhīm went to Baṣra to do the same. It is not clear whether they did this because in Muḥammad's opinion the time was ripe or whether they were forced by circumstances to hasten their plans. In any case, the enterprise was not sufficiently prepared, for although they had a large number of followers in Kūfa, Baṣra, Egypt, where however Muḥammad's son ʿAlī was arrested by the ʿAbbāsīd governor, in Khurāsān and even in Sind, to which another son ʿAbd Allāh al-Ashtar was sent, there was no question of any organisation, and, as so frequently, the enthusiasm for the ʿAlids was like a fire of straw which blazes up quickly but dies down as soon. In Medina where Riyāḥ was completely taken by surprise, Muḥammad in keeping with his character acted with great mildness; he opened the prison, forbade all bloodshed and was content with arresting Riyāḥ. The best elements in the town came over to him after the jurist Mālik b. Anas declared invalid his oath taken to the ʿAbbāsīds; Mecca also surrendered to the new ruler. The outbreak of the revolt was really a relief to Abū Djaʿfar for he had now, as he said, enticed the fox out of his hole. He hurriedly left Baghdad, with the building of which he was busy, and went to Kūfa, the point of danger. With keen instinct he saw that the weak point of the rebellion lay in Medina which must be attacked first, for in this remote spot there was a lack of materials of war and the roads thither could easily be barred. But he first of all offered a complete amnesty to Muḥammad, which however only led to a characteristic exchange of letters, in which one reproached the other with the weaknesses of his family. He then sent his relative ʿIsā b. Mūsā against him with 4,000 men, with instructions however to settle the matter peacefully if possible. His arrival had a sobering effect upon the Medinese, of whom a number seized the opportunity to get out of their difficult position. Muḥammad however remained undismayed. He rejected the well meant advice of several men to abandon Medina as an insult to the town but left his people free to stay with him or not. He trusted in Allāh "from whom victory comes and in whose hand the matter lies", and imitated all that the Prophet had done in his time in romantic fashion. For example he restored the ditch which the Prophet had dug round Medina when it was besieged by the Kuraish; he used Muḥammad's sword and his battle-cry was the same as that at the battle of Hunain; even the old single combat before the battle proper was revived. The result in these circumstances was easily foreseen. ʿIsā, after offering a free pardon in vain for a few days, laid a few doors over the ditch, entered the town and began a battle in which Muḥammad's supporters became less and less in numbers until their leader finally fell

(Monday, 14th Ramaḍān 145 = Dec. 6, 762). Muḥammad's head was cut off and sent to the caliph. For the further course of the rebellion see the article IBRAHĪM B. ʿABD ALLĀH.

Muḥammad is described as tall and strong with a very dark skin, on which account the caliph sardonically called him *al-Muḥammam*, the "Blackened". He was rightly called "the pure soul" (Ṭabarī, iii. 200) for he was an ideal character, gentle in spite of his personal bravery, but he lacked those qualities which are required of a pretender in times like his.

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(FR. BUHL)

MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH, a Ṭāhirid, governor of Baghdād. Born in 209 (824—825) Muḥammad in 237 (851) was summoned by the Caliph to Baghdād and appointed military governor in order to restore order in the chaos then prevailing. In spite of the great power of the Ṭāhirids, who ruled Khurāsān as independent sovereigns in practice, although they nominally recognised the suzerainty of the Caliph, his task was by no means a light one. After al-Mustaʿīn had ascended the throne (248 = 862), he confirmed Muḥammad in his office and also gave him the governorship of the ʿIrāq along with the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina. In the following year troubles broke out in Baghdād and Sāmarrā. The Arabs were defeated by the Byzantines and the rage of the people was turned against the Caliph. The vizier Uṭamīsh however finally succeeded in restoring order with the help of the two Turkish generals Waṣīf and Bogha the Younger. The ʿAlids also gave the government trouble on several occasions. A descendant of ʿAlī named Yaḥyā b. ʿOmar rebelled in Kūfa and drove out the governor of the town. After he had routed an army sent against him by Muḥammad, he was attacked by the ʿAbbāsīd general al-Ḥusain b. Ismāʿīl while another division took him in the rear and he finally fell in the battle (Radjab 250 = Aug. 864). Another ʿAlid, al-Ḥasan b. Zaid, had more success. Two prominent men in Ṭabaristān, who were dissatisfied with the rule of the Ṭāhirids, appealed to him in 250 and very soon he was acknowledged as lord of the whole of Ṭabaristān. The Ṭāhirid governors of al-Raiy and Qazwīn were driven out and replaced by ʿAlids; Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, governor of Khurāsān, a nephew of the governor of Baghdād, then sent an army against al-Raiy. The ʿAlid governor was defeated and captured and the town had to surrender, but again fell into the hand of the ʿAlids. When the former governor of Ṭabaristān, Sulaimān b. ʿAbd Allāh, invaded this province and conquered it completely, al-Ḥasan b. Zaid had to flee to Dailam where he was defeated by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir (351 = 865—866); after some years (257 = 870—871) however, he inflicted a defeat on the latter's troops in Djurdjān and in 259 (872—873) he again became lord of Khurāsān, where he founded an ʿAlid dynasty which lasted about sixty years. Arabia

also did not escape the 'Alid plots. A descendant of 'Alī named Ismā'il b. Yūsuf raised trouble there in 251 (865), plundered Mecca and Medina and killed so many pilgrims that he received the epithet of *al-Saffāk*, "the Bloodshedder". There was also continual trouble in the capital. In Muḥarram of the same year (= Feb. 865), al-Musta'in left Sāmarrā and went to Baghdād. Al-Mu'tazz [q. v.] was then taken by force from his prison in Sāmarrā and proclaimed Caliph; he then appointed his brother Abū Aḥmad, later co-regent with the Caliph al-Mu'tamid, commander-in-chief in the war against al-Musta'in and his governor. When all negotiations failed, the latter had to take to arms but was several times defeated. Fighting took place in and around Baghdād with varying success during almost the whole year, while anarchy in the provinces increased and when Muḥammad finally began negotiations with Abū Aḥmad, he was accused of treason, so that the Caliph had to protect him against the troops who were furious with him. But when Muḥammad's friends told him that al-Musta'in intended to sacrifice himself, he made peace with Abū Aḥmad. The Caliph had reluctantly to confirm the treaty and abdicate in favour of his rival al-Mu'tazz (Dhu 'l-Hijja 251 = Jan. 866) and the latter thereupon ascended the throne. Muḥammad died in Dhu 'l-Ka'da 253 (Nov. 867).

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MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH ḤASSAN AL-MAḤDĪ, the well known Somali Mahdī called by the British "the Mad Mullah". He was a Somali belonging to the Ogadēn Bah Geri tribe, section Rēr Ḥamar. He was born about 1860 A. D. and had been from his youth devoted to religious and mystic studies; in 1895 A. D. he performed the pilgrimage and during his stay in Mecca became acquainted with Saiyid Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ [cf. SOMALILAND] of whom he became an eager follower. After his return to Somaliland he first settled in the Dūlbahanta tribe's territory and began a vigorous propaganda on behalf of the Ṣāliḥiyya *ṭarīqa* and to call Somali Muslims to a more strict rule of life. As he was a learned, eloquent man and a skilful impromptu composer of poems (the ancient and best way to propagate one's ideas among the Somali Beduins), he was easily able to attain a great popularity among the Dūlbahanta in British Somaliland and his Ogadēn countrymen in Abyssinia. His influence brought him to the knowledge of the government of Berbera, and British officials had sometimes recourse to him to settle through his mediation disputes arising between Beduin groups. In March 1899 however, the Mullah suddenly changed his former attitude to an openly hostile one towards the British Government. In August 1899 he assembled his followers in Bura'o and declared himself to be the Mahdī and proclaimed the holy war against the infidels. A first expedition was sent against him by the Abyssinians to prevent a further exten-

sion of the rebellion in Ogadēn; but Grāzmāč Bānti, the leader of this force, retired to Harar after a violent pillaging razzia led by him against the Rēr 'Alī, an Ogadēn tribe. In 1901 Colonel Swayne drove back the Mullah as far as the boundaries of Italian Northern Somaliland and defeated him at Farḍiddīn on July 16, 1901. A second British expedition in 1902 won another victory in the fight at Ēragō on October 6, 1902. In 1903 it was decided to send against the Mullah a great expedition in three columns: a British one departing from Hōbya according to a British-Italian agreement concluded in the same year to that effect; another British column departing from Berbera; and a third, an Abyssinian force departing from Harar. The British forces were placed under the command of General Manning. But the first column fell into an ambush and was defeated by the Mullah at Gumburi on April 17, 1903; the second column suffered heavy losses in a fierce fight at Daratola on April 22, 1903; the Abyssinian column made only, as usual, a razzia against Ogadēn groups in the valley of the *Shabēlla*. In 1904 a fourth British expedition defeated the Mullah at Dīdbālī on January 9, 1904 and again, after the landing of a naval force on the shore of the Indian Ocean, at Ilig in Italian territory on April 21, 1904. In the meantime, Saiyid Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ on the invitation of the British and Italian Governments had directed a letter to the most influential Muslim learned men in Somaliland, which contained a declaration against the Mullah, who was said to have violated the rules of the Ṣāliḥiyya *ṭarīqa* and thus to have become worthy of the curses of the true followers of the Ṣāliḥiyya. The victories of the British, however, as they could not be followed up by a permanent occupation of the interior, had not been sufficient to subdue the rebellion. It was therefore attempted to conclude an Anglo-Italian agreement with the Mullah and this was carried through by offering to the Mullah the concession of the Italian portion of the Nūgāl valley with Ilig as his seat. The Mullah subscribed to these conditions in Ilig on March 5, 1905; but added to his signature the clause "*wa 'l-kunṣil ya'rifu ḥālī*" (and the Consul knows my condition), which was explained in Europe as meaning a close trust in the Consul, but otherwise in Somaliland, as he (the Mullah) was a Sūfī, and therefore by no means obliged to execute any arrangement he might have concluded with infidels on account of temporary political conditions. In January 1908 the Mullah actually began again to lead razzias against British and Italian subjects. No great expedition was however sent against him by the British, who even retired from the interior of their colony; a Camel Constabulary Corps was raised as a mobile force to be employed in raids and swift operations against the Mullah's parties. But after many successful and gallant raids the Camel Constabulary Corps was met by an overwhelming enemy force at Dulma-dōba on August 9, 1913 and the Commandant of the Corps, Sir Richard Corfield, was killed in the fight. In the meantime, the Italians had almost entirely occupied the interior of Southern Somaliland through a very successful policy, which avoided any considerable military action; in this way they brought about in Northern Somaliland the subjection of the two Sultāns (the Sultān of the Madjertēn and the Sultān of Hōbya) to the Italian

Government, and further they organised the Sultān's forces to employ them against the Mullah, thus assuring the defence of the northern frontier of their colony. There then began a series of raids led by Somali auxiliary bands, especially against the Mullah's followers in the northern valley of the Shabēlla and towards Nūgāl, where Djirriban and Gar'ad were occupied by the Sultān of Hobyā. These energetic actions which took place even during the Great European war, besides wearing down the Mullah's army, caused him to lose political control of a very large zone where the population concluded peaceful agreements with Italy and forced him to be continually ready to defend his territory from the south also. However, after the end of the Great War, the British Government decided to attack the Mullah from Berbera and to finally overthrow him. In January-March 1920 after violent bombardments of the Mullah's defences by the British airmen, a British force advanced to Talēh, the Mullah's last camp; he, rapidly pursued by the Camel Corps and Somali auxiliaries, fled to Ogadēn and then into the Karanlā tribe's territory, where he died on November 23, 1920.

The Mullah's career is a very typical one for the study of the Somali mind. He had begun his movement as an agent of the Ṣālihiya *ṭarīka*, then his increasing popularity tempted him to a more ambitious sphere and, accordingly, after placing his propaganda on a severely religious basis, he tried to become the leader of all the Somali by making the ties of the common faith prevail over the tribal bonds. This is really the only way to lead such a movement in Somaliland where Islām may be regarded as a tie of brotherhood among tribes otherwise deeply divided by their secular history of wars and revenge. Therefore Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Ḥassān said in a famous poem: "Have I not put my prayer-mat on this sea to join together the Muslims who were not brothers?" alluding also to his relations with the Ṣālihiya in Arabia. He desired for the same reason that his followers should call themselves "Darāwish", forgetting even the name of their original tribe. Therefore he affected to become angry when he was referred to in official correspondence as "Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, the Ogadēn Bah Geri" while he used to add to his signature only the *nisba*: al-Ḥāshimī (alluding to the origin of the Somali from 'Aqīl b. Abi Ṭālib [see the art. SOMALILAND]).

Further, instead of the tribal forces he raised special armed corps, often with a new name, like the Ḥagattu ("the scratchers") recruited among the Habar Gidir, the Dūgād recruited among the Mikāhīl ("Dūgād" means "shooter"), the Kaīyād recruited among the Dūlbahanta. But he did not pursue this policy to the end: the hostility of the greater part of the Isāk tribes, which was a strong appeal to the old rivalry between Isāk and Dārōd; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ's letter, which was undoubtedly a severe blow to him, since he had already provoked the hostility of the Qādiriya and so had to rely entirely on Ṣālihiya support; the necessity of getting booty for his soldiers who otherwise would have hardly remained with him; all these things and his very nature caused the religious prestige of the Mullah as the Mahdī of Somaliland to decline and he gradually became merely the chief of a tribe; a powerful chief indeed of a large tribe as the Darāwish were, formed from various elements and therefore very similar to the federations well known

in the Somali customary law. It was obvious that, when he began to regard himself in this light (that is regarding himself as a chief of a Somali tribe rather than "the brother born from the same father and the same mother of all the Muslims"), it was very difficult for him to restrain himself and his followers from exaggerating those tendencies so familiar to their own national character; and therefore they came back gradually to the ancient Somali custom of guerrilla warfare conducted in the traditional way, even to defying the tribes of the enemy in insulting or scornful poems or designating them with typical ironical nicknames or giving to every razzia a special name ("the razzia smashing the bones" was the name given to the fight at Dulmadōba; cf. the *Aiyām al-'Arab*).

It may therefore be concluded that the Mullah's attempt to avail himself of Islām to conquer the old rivalries between the tribes and combine the Somali to drive the Europeans out of the country, failed both on account of the strength of the European armies and the fierce resistance, often unconscious, opposed by the Somali on behalf of their ancient tribal organisation and customary law.

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(ENRICO CERULLI)

MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH [See IBN AL-'ABBĀR, IBN AL-KHAṬĪB, IBN MĀLIK.]

MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-MALIK, ABŪ DJA'FAR, called Ibn al-Zaiyāt, vizier to several 'Abbasids. Ibn al-Zaiyāt began his career as secretary in the chancellery in Baghdad and when the caliph al-Mu'taṣim noticed his ability and learning he appointed him his vizier (219—220 = 834—835). He also filled this office in the reign of al-Wāthiq; but as he treated the latter's brother Dja'far, the future caliph al-Mutawakkil, with a lack of respect he earned his hatred. After the death of al-Wāthiq in Dhū 'l-Hijja 232 (Aug. 847), Ibn al-Zaiyāt wished homage to be paid to his son Muḥammad; the latter, however, was thought to be too young by the Turkish general Waṣīf and in his stead Dja'far was proclaimed caliph under the name al-Mutawakkil. The vizier was at first allowed to remain in office but in Ṣafar of the following year (Sept. 847), he was arrested, deprived of his possessions and subjected to a cruel form of torture which he himself had invented. After enduring the most horrible cruelty he died in Rabī' I 233 (Nov. 847).

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-MALIK [See IBN ṬUFĀIL, IBN ZUHR.]

MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-RAḤĪM [See IBN AL-FURĀT.]

MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB [See WAHHĀBIYA.]

MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ 'ĀMIR [See AL-MANŠŪR B. ABĪ 'ĀMIR.]

MUḤAMMAD, a son of Abū Bakr and one of his wives, Asmā' of the tribe of Khath'am. He was born in the last year of Muḥammad's life so that his father could not have exercised any influence on him, while the memories of Abū Bakr's great friend which were kept alive in his family must have had all the more influence on the passionate nature of the boy, which receives important confirmation from the fact that Ibn Kūtaiba describes him as one of the "pious" (*nussāk*) among the Quraysh. When in the reign of 'Uthmān the bitterness at the preference of the Umayyads in combination with a reaction against the strong secularisation of Islām provoked a movement which grew in strength, he took part in it with great vigour and began along with 'Uthmān's ungrateful foster-son Muḥammad b. Abī Hudhaifa to stir up the people of Egypt against the Caliph. He later went with other revolutionaries to Medina where his equally ardent but much wiser half-sister 'Ā'isha in vain advised him to go with her to Mecca and leave others to carry through the crime; but he was one of those who broke into the Caliph's room where he ill-treated the helpless old man although it was Kinānā b. Bishr who dealt the death-blow. He was one of the few Quraysh who joined 'Alī and the latter apparently cherished a real affection for the young man, which his enemies of course interpreted as further evidence of his friendship with the murderers of 'Uthmān. Muḥammad took part in the battle of the Camel, at the conclusion of which the chivalrous 'Alī commissioned him to escort his half-sister to Baṣra. The sources give somewhat different accounts of the last phase of his life in Egypt. According to Wākidi in Balādhuri, Abū Mikhnaḥ (Ṭabari, i. 3392 *sq.*) and Ya'kūbī, 'Alī at once appointed him governor of Egypt after unwisely recalling Kais b. Sa'd; but as he soon discovered how foolish it was to appoint a youth inexperienced in war to this difficult post, he sent for his ablest follower al-Ashtar [q. v.] and gave him command in Egypt while he appeased Muḥammad's rightly injured feelings by a kind letter. The attempt to make good the mistake failed, however, for al-Ashtar was poisoned on the way in al-Ḳulzum at the instigation of Mu'āwiya. Al-Zuhri's account (Ṭabari, i. 3242) shows 'Alī in a somewhat more favourable light. After the recall of Kais he sent al-Ashtar as governor to Egypt and only after he was poisoned did he send Muḥammad. Finally there is a third story (Ibn al-Kalbī and Mas'ūdi) according to which al-Ashtar was sent to Egypt only after the death of Muḥammad, but this must be due to some misunderstanding of the first version. In any case, the choice of Muḥammad was an unfortunate one, for the inexperienced youth, who had no authority and was besides insufficiently supported by 'Alī, was not fit to meet experienced opponents like Mu'āwiya and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī, as anyone but 'Alī would have seen. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī came with an army and a battle was fought at al-Musannāt (the dam). When the actual murderer of 'Uthmān, Kinānā b. Bishr, had fallen after a brave resistance,

the Egyptians lost heart and Muḥammad, abandoned by all, was captured and killed while trying to escape (38 = 658).

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MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ BAKR [See IBN ḲATYIM AL-DJAWZĪYA, IBN SAṬYID AL-NĀS.]

MUḤAMMAD B. ABI 'L-ḲĀSİM [See IBN ABĪ DĪNĀR.]

MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ MUḤAMMAD [See IBN ZAFAR.]

MUḤAMMAD B. ABI 'L-SĀDJ ABŪ 'UBAID ALLĀH, son of Abū 'L-Sādj Diwdād, an Eastern Iranian (not Turkish) noble from Ushrūsana in Ma-warā' al-Nahr (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, G. M. S., p. 169). For his early career see the article SĀDJIDS. After his rupture with Khumārawaih he returned to Baghdād (276 = 889) and appears to have remained there (cf. Ṭabari, iii. 2122) until his appointment as governor of Ādharbāidjān in 279 (892). Though on his arrival he had entertained friendly relations with the Bagratid king of Armenia, Sembat (acc. 891), after seizing Marāgha in 280 (893) he made a first incursion into Armenia, but without success. At the same time he had strengthened his position at Baghdād by giving his daughter in marriage to al-Mu'taḍid's confidant, the general Badr al-Mu'taḍidī. Having been rejoined by his *khādim*, the general Waṣīf, who had defeated the Dulafid 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz in al-Dijbāl in 281 (894—895) but did not succeed in annexing his territory, he made a second expedition into Armenia in 282—283 (895—896) and captured Kars, Dwin and Waspurakan. Subsequently he came to terms with Sembat, but his son Diwdād remained as governor of Dwin until Muḥammad's death. In 284 (897—898) Muḥammad declared his independence, but finding himself unable to withstand al-Mu'taḍid made prompt submission, was pardoned, and in the following year officially recognized as governor of Armenia in addition to Ādharbāidjān. About the same time he appears to have adopted the title of al-Afshīn, which appears on his coinage, and which was evidently intended as a claim to descent from the old princely family of Ushrūsana (see the article AFSHĪN and Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, s. v. Pišina). In 287 (900) he made a further indirect attempt to extend his rule over the territories which were slipping from the grasp of the Ṭūlunids by encouraging Waṣīf to seize Malatya and to apply to the caliph for investiture with the government of Cilicia. Al-Mu'taḍid, however, learning that this was only a preliminary step towards the seizure of Diyār Muḍar by Waṣīf and al-Afshīn, put an end to their design by a swift and unexpected campaign against Waṣīf, who was himself captured. Al-Afshīn died a few months later (Rabī' 1, 288 = March 901) at Bardha'a.

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par J. St. Martin (Paris 1841), p. 132—133, 145—146, 153—159, 165—169, 173—178; M. F. Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens* (St. Petersburg 1874—1876), i. 187—189, 193—196; ii. 428; R. R. Vasmer, *O mon'etakh sadjidov* (Baku 1927), p. 4—8; J. Markwart, *Südarmerien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1927, p. 116*—117*.
(H. A. R. GIBB)

MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ ZAINAB [See **ABU 'L-KHAṬṬĀR**.]

MUḤAMMAD B. AGHLAB [See **AGHLABIDS**.]

MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD [See **IBN AL-'ALQAMĪ**, **IBN IYĀS**, **IBN RUSHD**.]

MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ, a grandson of Husain the son of 'Alī; his *kunya* was Abū Dja'far. On account of his learning he was given the honorific name of al-Bākīr (the investigator, who goes deeply into things). He was a recognised authority on Tradition and a number of pious utterances are also recorded of him; he had at the same time the characteristic fondness of his family for embroidered silk garments and colours. That he did not escape the usual fate of his family of being celebrated by a section of the Shī'is as an *imām* is shown by a poem of the 'Idjlī Abū Huraira; but he lived contentedly in Medina and apparently played no part in politics although he was treated, for example by 'Umar II, with respect. He was expressly disowned by extreme Shī'is like al-Mughīra and Bayān. When the party which had hitherto paid homage to his brother Zaid, abandoned the latter, they transferred his privileges to him, or rather, since he was dead, to his son Dja'far [cf. **DJA'FAR B. MUḤAMMAD**]. The reason of the breach is said to have been that Zaid would not insult the memory of the two first Caliphs as his followers demanded but this does not agree very well with the fact that Muḥammad in Ibn Sa'd's obviously much retouched account emphatically declares his fondness for Abū Bakr and 'Umar. The date of his death is variously given as 114, 117 or 118 A.H.

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(FR. BUHL)

MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ [See **AL-DJAWĀD AL-ISFAHĀNĪ**, **IBN AL-'ARABĪ**, **IBN 'AŠKAR**, **IBN BĀBU'YA**, **IBN AL-TIḤṬAKĀ**, **IBN WAḤSHĪYA**.]

MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ AL-RIDĀ, ninth *imām* of the Twelver Shī'a, was born in Ramaḍān 195 (June 811) in Medina. As, according to Abū 'l-Faraḍj al-Isfahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭalibiyin* (Teheran 1307), p. 195, 18, he was of negroid appearance, it may be true that his mother, a slave-woman, variously called Sabika, Durra and Khair-zurān, was a Nubian; to give her an honourable pedigree it was added "of the family of Maria the Copt". When al-Ma'mūn attached 'Alī al-Ridā to his court, he married the boy to one of his daughters, Umm al-Faḍl, who was taken to him in 215 (830). Al-Mu'tasim on his accession summoned him to Baghdād. He arrived there at the beginning of 220, but was dead already by Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da (Nov. 835). According to the Shī'is and in keeping with their scheme of martyrdom, he was poisoned at the instigation of al-Mu'tasim by Umm al-Faḍl who remained childless; but even the already mentioned *Maḳātil*, which record every murder

of an 'Alid, know nothing of this. This Muḥammad is, generally speaking, only occasionally mentioned outside the Shī'a, along with his father, e.g. in Ibn Wāḍih al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Houtsma (Leyden 1883), ii. 552 and in Tabarī, *Annales*, iii. 1029, 1102; according to al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (Paris 1861 sqq.), vii. 117, Muḥammad died in 219, according to vii. 171 not till the reign of al-Wāḥik, i.e. after 227. Even within the Shī'a, his role is quite a passive one. After his father's tragic end, those with Zaidi views who had hoped some day with him as Caliph to put into force their activist 'Alid political programme, went their own ways again, while of those who held Imāmī views, one group, as usual in such a case, became "standfast" Wāḳifiya and another chose Aḥmad, a brother of al-Ridā, as Imām; for Muḥammad was only seven at the time. For those who remained faithful to him, there arose in the *Shurūf al-Imāna* the question of the child Imām's knowledge. The case was repeated with the following three Imāms. But the authority to teach was in the hands of men whose activity extended through several imāmates; with Maḍjlisī (s. *Bibl.*), xii. 125 infra cf. Mirzā Muḥammad al-Asterābādī, *Manhaj al-Maḳāl* (Teheran 1306), p. 217; Abū 'Amr al-Kashshī, *Ma'rifat Akhbār al-Ridā* (Bombay 1317), p. 353 sq., 374 sq.; Tūsi, *Fihrist Kutub al-Shī'a* (*Bibl. Ind.*, No. 60), No. 124, 150, p. 289, note 1. The gradual development of the dogma in question, which is associated with the child Jesus teaching in Sūra xix. 30 sqq., is not quite clear, as regards its apportionment to the various Imāms. Heresiographers including al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-Shī'a* (*Bibl. Isl.*, No. 4), p. 74 sqq., quote the doctrines anonymously. Besides, there is the confusion of names (which has also entered European indices); for Muḥammad b. 'Alī was also the name of one of his grandchildren, who died before his father, the 10th Imām 'Alī al-Naḳī, but left issue; his adherents continued the imāmate further than the Twelvers through these children, while they deny the existence of the twelfth Imām Muḥammad al-Mahdī as son of his brother, the eleventh Imām Ḥasan al-'Askarī. Shī'a works avoid confusion by giving the ninth Imām the *kunya* Abū Dja'far al-Thānī; his official title is al-Taḳī, "the God-fearing"; a common epithet is al-Djāwād, "the liberal": he is said to have paid his father's debts. As *wakil* or *bāb*, he had, like al-Ridā before him, 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd al-'Amrī, called Sammān or Zaiyāt. Among the usual miracles of the Imāms, Abū Dja'far al-Ṣaffār (d. 290) in *Baṣā'ir al-Daradījal* (in Maḍjlisī, xii. 108) relates that the ninth Imām carried a worshipper at night from Syria to the holy sites of Kerbelā', Kūfa and Medina as well as to Mecca. The fact that his memory has been kept so green to the present day is due to the fact that he was buried beside the tomb of his grandfather, the seventh Imām, Musā al-Kāzīm [q.v.]; thus arose the double Meshhed al-Kāzīmāin.

Bibliography: A full account with exact references to the sources is given in Muḥammad Bākīr b. Muḥammad Taḳī al-Maḍjlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, xii. (Teheran 1302), p. 99—126; of earlier works we may specially mention al-Mufid [q.v.], *al-Irshād* (Teheran n.d. without pagination, arranged in the order of the Imāms).

(R. STROTHMANN)

MUḤAMMAD B. 'AMMĀR [See **IBN 'AMMĀR**.]

MUḤAMMAD B. ANUSHTEGĪN [See KHWA-RIZMŠĀH.]

MUḤAMMAD B. BAḲĪYA B. 'ALĪ [See IBN BAḲĪYA.]

MUḤAMMAD B. DĀWŪD [See IBN ĀDJURRŪM, AL-İSFAHĀNĪ.]

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-DJAZARĪ [See IBN AL-DJAZARĪ.]

MUḤAMMAD B. DUSHMANZIYĀR [See KĀ-KŌYIDS.]

MUḤAMMAD B. FARĀMARZ [See KHOSREW MOLLĀ.]

MUḤAMMAD B. ḤABĪB [See IBN ḤABĪB.]

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤANAFĪYA, a son of 'Alī and Khawla, a woman of the tribe of the Banū Ḥanifa, who had been brought a prisoner to Medina after the battle of 'Akrabā' [q. v.] and came into 'Alī's possession (cf. Saiyid's poem *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vii. 4: "she was a servant in the house"); he was born in 16 A. H. Although he did not, like Ḥasan and Ḥusain, have the blood of the Prophet in his veins, he became involved not only in the political turmoils but also in the schemes which the boundless fancies of the extreme Shī'īs built up around the family of 'Alī. He was not to blame for this, for he was of a retiring disposition and acted very cautiously. But when Ḥasan had sold his rights and Ḥusain had fallen at Kerbelā' in 680, many turned their eyes to him as the natural head of the family. This aroused the suspicion of 'Abd Allāh b. Zubair who, after the death of Ḥusain, appeared more and more openly as a pretender; the fact that MuḤammad had no sympathy with the efforts of the opposition in the Hīdjāz is evident from the interesting statement of Balādhūri that he definitely declared the accusations brought against the Caliph Yazīd I by the Medinese to be false. The matter only became serious when the adventurer Mukhtār [q. v.] after several vain efforts to get others to join him stirred up a movement on a large scale in the 'Irāq in 66 (685), as champion of MuḤammad's rights. Even now MuḤammad acted with great restraint and declined the significant title "al-Mahdī" with which they wished to greet him (cf. Ṭabarī, ii. 610 and Ibn Sa'd, v. 68, which has certainly been misinterpreted by Lammens). He obviously did not care for Mukhtār at all, and he had every reason to doubt the genuineness of his enthusiasm for him; but in view of the many dangers which surrounded him and probably also from a want of decision he did not wish to break with him openly. Therefore when some people came to him from Kūfa to clear up his attitude to Mukhtār, he only gave them a diplomatic answer which was non-committal (cf. the somewhat different versions: Ibn Sa'd, v. 72; Ya'qūbī, ii. 308; Ṭabarī, ii. 607 and thereon *Kāmil*, p. 598) but which they interpreted as a kind of approval, as it did not definitely disown him. As a result the revolutionary movement spread in extent and much blood was shed to avenge Ḥusain and other 'Alids. MuḤammad was against this also (cf. Ibn Sa'd, v. 72 sq., 77); but when Ibn Zubair's attitude became more and more hostile and he finally imprisoned MuḤammad and several relatives, including 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, at Mecca near the Zemzem well, he saw nothing else for it but to appeal for help to Mukhtār. This was what the latter wanted and he sent a

body of cavalry at once to Mecca and released MuḤammad and the other prisoners in the nick of time but by the latter's express orders avoided conflict with Ibn Zubair's troops, as the town was not to be desecrated by bloodshed. MuḤammad then sought shelter with his family at Minā (cf. *Kāmil*, p. 554, 597; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, viii. 33; Kumait, ed. Horowitz, i. 78) and later went to Ṭā'if. He made no further use of Mukhtār and was therefore not compromised when the revolution failed and his champion fell in 67 (686—687). In spite of the threats of Ibn Zubair and the demands couched in more friendly language of 'Abd al-Malik and although a safe place of residence was granted him neither in Hīdjāz nor in Syria, he defined his attitude by paying homage to neither of the two pretenders and adhered to the principle that he would only recognize a ruler around whom the Muslim community were united. He therefore appeared in the noteworthy pilgrimage of the year 688 along with the Zubairids, Umayyads and Khāridjīs, as an independent head of a party, although only under an armed neutrality. Only when, after the fall of Ibn Zubair (73 = 692), the unanimity of the *vox populi* which he had demanded, became a reality, did he finally recognise the Marwānīd as the legitimate ruler and visited him in 78 (697—698) at Damascus. He returned however to Medina, where he died in 81 (700—701). His strict passivity in the political field is always attributed to purely religious motives in the traditions; not human force but Allāh's help alone should assist 'Alī's family to their rights; but there is no doubt that a further reason was his lack of enterprise and self-confidence, a trait common to a number of 'Alids. That, like his whole family, he at the same time liked the good things of this world is evident from the heavy demands which he sent to 'Abd al-Malik for the payment of his debts and annual pensions for his children, relatives and clients; there is also evidence that he had the family fondness for fine clothes and cosmetics. It is all the more remarkable then that the more fanciful and extravagant school of Shī'īs seized upon him at once after his death and spread the belief that he was not dead but lived in a kind of fairy kingdom on the hill of Radwā west of Medina, whence he would return as the victorious leader of an army (cf. *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vii. 4 sq., 9 sq.; viii. 32). This was the idea of *raḍī'a* which 'Abd Allāh b. Sabā [q. v.] had associated with 'Alī (cf. Friedländer, in *Z.A.*, xxiii. 309 sqq.) and which was now transferred to him; and in fact it was now easier to bring him into the forefront than it had been while he maintained an attitude of stubborn passive resistance in his lifetime.

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Fr. Buhl, *Det danske Videnskabernes Selskab*, Oversigter 1910, p. 355 sq.; H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du Calife Omayyade Mo'awia*, p. 166, 169 sq. (FR. BUHL)

MUHAMMAD B. HĀNĪ [See IBN HĀNĪ.]

MUHAMMAD B. AL-HASAN [See IBN DURĀID, IBN HAMDŪN, AL-SHĀIRĀNĪ.]

MUHAMMAD B. AL-HUDHAIL [See ABU 'L-HUDHAIL.]

MUHAMMAD B. HUSAIN, an Ottoman dignitary and historian, who at the request of the first Wālī of Baghdad, Derwīsh Mehmed Pasha (Thuraiyā, *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, ii. 33), translated into Turkish the history of 'Alī b. Shihāb Hamadhānī, written in 10 *bāb* in Persian; he added two *bāb* to it and gave it the title *Tuhfat al-Ma'mūn*. The work only exists in manuscript.

Bibliography: Brusālī Mehmed Tāhir, *'Othmanī Mue'llifleri*, iii. 142; cf. also Hādjđđī Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, Būlāk 1274, i. 404, where Muṣṭafā Shā'bān is named as the Turkish translator.

The **MUHAMMAD KHALIFA** (محمد خلیفہ کنہکار), who was a dignitary of the court and flourished under three sultāns (Murād IV, 1032—1049 = 1623—1640, Ibrāhīm, 1049—1058 = 1640—1648, and Mehmed IV, 1058—1099 = 1648—1687), was not identical with him. He wrote a chronicle of his time entitled *Ta'rikh-i Ghilmānī* which covered the years 1060—1075 = 1650—1665. The work which consists of 3 *bābs* and a *khātima* (of which the second *bāb* contains two and the third 13 *faṣl*) was published by Aḥmad Rafīk as supplement 11 to *T.O.E.M.*, parts 78—83, Istanbul 1340 (1924).

A certain Muhammad Khalifa b. Husain is perhaps the same person; he also was a dignitary of the court of the same three sultāns and wrote a history of his time which covered the years 1043—1070 (1633—1659). The only known manuscript is in Vienna.

Bibliography: Aḥmad Rafīk, biographical introduction to the *Ta'rikh-i Ghilmānī*; Flügel, *Katalog*, ii. 271; Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 209, No. 179 (text wrongly 170) and 180.

(TH. MENZEL)

MUHAMMAD B. AL-HUSAIN [See ABU 'L-HASAN, ABU SA'D, IBN MUQLA, AL-SHARIF AL-RĀDĪ.]

MUHAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM [See ABU 'L-HASAN.]

MUHAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM 'ĀDIL SHĀH (1035—1070 = 1626—1660) succeeded to the throne of Bidjāpūr after the death of his father. In the year 1044 (1634), the armies of the emperor Shāh Djahān invaded the Dakan and laid waste the country of Bidjāpūr. After the subjugation of Dawlatābād and other forts, Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh agreed to pay a considerable tribute to the emperor of Delhi. He was the last king of Bidjāpūr who struck coins in his own name. In the latter part of his reign, his vassal Siwādjī, son of Sāhū Bhuslā, by stratagem and treachery obtained great power, and the foundation of the Bidjāpūr monarchy became weakened. He died in 1070 (1660) and was buried in Bidjāpūr where his tomb is called "Gul Gumbaz" (circular dome).

Bibliography: Fuzūnī Astarābādī, *Futūḥāt 'Ādil Shāhī*, fol. 314b; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, viii. 189. (M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUHAMMAD B. ILYĀS [See ABU 'ALĪ.]

MUHAMMAD B. 'ISĀ [See 'ISĀWĪYA.]

MUHAMMAD B. ISHĀK [See IBN ISHĀK, AL-NADĪM.]

MUHAMMAD B. AL-KĀSĪM [See ABU 'L-'AINĀ, AL-ANBĀRĪ.]

MUHAMMAD B. KĀSĪM, a cousin of Walid I (86—96 = 705—715) and son-in-law of al-Ḥadjđđādj b. Yūsuf, was the governor of Baṣra; in 92 (711), he was sent to conquer Sind. Having defeated and killed the Rādjā of the place called Dāhir, he took possession of that country in 93 (712) and finally penetrated as far as Multān about 500 miles from the sea and even reached the foot of the Himālayas. Various accounts are given of the death of this general. The common story is that Muhammad b. Kāsim was falsely accused by the two daughters of the Rādjā of Dāhir, whom he had sent to the harem of Sulaimān (96—99 = 715—717), the brother and successor of Walid, of having violated their chastity, and that he was therefore sewn up alive in a raw cow-hide, by order of the enraged caliph. Others say that Muhammad b. Kāsim, with other members of his family, was tortured and put to death by Šālīḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, governor of 'Irāk, in revenge for the murder of his brother by Ḥadjđđādj.

Bibliography: Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Bulḍān*, p. 435—441; *Ta'rikh Firishṭa*, ed. Bombay 1832, ii. 605, 608; Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad Harawī, *Ṭabaqāt Akbari*, Lucknow 1875, p. 633, 634; A. W. Hughes, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, 1875, p. 24, 25; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, ii. 351, xxii. 395; *Camb. Hist. of India*, vol. iii., chap. 1. (M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUHAMMAD B. MAHMUD ABU SHUDJĀ' GHĪYĀTH AL-DUNYĀ WA 'L-DĪN, a Saldjūq Sultān 547—554 (1153—1159), born 522 (1128), like his brother Malikshāh was educated with the atābeg Buzaba, who set them up as claimants to the throne against their uncle Mas'ūd. When Buzaba in 542 (1147—1148) was taken prisoner in a fierce battle and executed, Mas'ūd adopted his nephew and married Muhammad to his daughter. He probably intended him to succeed him and not Malikshāh, as Ibn al-Athīr and others say, because after his death (547 = 1152) the latter was actually raised to the throne. Muhammad was away at the time but within three months he was recognised as sultān by the powerful Khaṣṣbeg, after he had come to Hamadhān, because Malikshāh proved quite incompetent. The new sultān showed his gratitude by treacherously putting Khaṣṣbeg to death and sent his head to the emīrs of Marāgha and Ādharbāidjān in the hope that he would win them over. But he was disappointed for, although they hated Khaṣṣbeg, their horror at the cruel deed made them prefer to pay homage to Muhammad's uncle Sulaimān, who had escaped from years of imprisonment on Mas'ūd's death. Muhammad therefore fled to Iṣfahān, but because Sulaimān was an inveterate drunkard, he could not hold out in Hamadhān and when he had gone away Muhammad returned and was henceforth recognised as sultān by the emīrs. In the meanwhile Sulaimān succeeded in escaping to Lihf and entered into relations with the Caliph al-Muṭtafi li-Amr Allāh. The latter was endeavouring not without success to make himself independent of the Saldjūqs and let Sulaimān come to Baghdād (550 = 1155) to use

him against Muḥammad. He was also able to win Malikshāh over and to collect an army, which was however scattered in the following year by Muḥammad with the help of Mawdūd, lord of al-Mawṣil, and Sulaimān was again made prisoner. Muḥammad now thought himself strong enough to attack the Caliph himself and to besiege him in Baghdad. 'Imād al-Dīn, who was in the town, gives a full account of the siege (*Rec. Hist. Crois.*, ii. 246 sqq.). Muḥammad hurriedly raised the siege when news reached him that Ildigiz had occupied Hamadhān with Malikshāh and Arslān (552 = 1157). By the time the sultān arrived there they had retired, but he was at war with them till his death in 554 (1159).

Bibliography: see the article SELDJUKS.
(M. TH. HOUTSMA)

MUHAMMAD B. MALIKSHAH ABU SHUDIA'
GHIYATH AL-DUNYA WA 'L-DIN QASIM AMIR AL-
MU'MININA, a Saldjuk sultān (498—511 =
1105—1118), was born on the 18th Sha'ban 474
(Jan. 20, 1082) of a slave, who was also the
mother of Sandjar, and was given the Turkish
name of Tapar. After his father's death, he stayed
at first with Turkan Khatun but then joined his
brother Barkiyaruk who granted him the town of
Gandja. Arrived there, he also seized Arrān and
allowed himself to be seduced by Mu'ayyad al-Mulk
b. Nizam al-Mulk into dropping his brother's name
out of the khatba. The two brothers fought one
another with varying success in the following years
until finally in 497 (1104) Barkiyaruk withdrew from
the western provinces of the empire to Isfahan and
left Muḥammad to enforce recognition as sultān from
the governors in these lands. When Barkiyaruk died
soon after, at the end of 1104, Muḥammad turned
first to Baghdad because he was sure of the homage
of the Caliph, who had already received him and
his brother a few years before in ceremonial audience
(cf. the account in Ibn Khallikan, Bulak 1299, ii.
444, had the emir Ayar, who had at first had the
khatba read for Malikshah b. Barkiyaruk, treacher-
ously put to death and sent the king of the Arabs
Ṣadaqa back to his capital al-Hilla with orders to
restore peace in Basra and among the Arab tribes
of the neighbourhood. He then hurried to Isfahan,
where the Batiniya had achieved great successes in
the troubled reign of Barkiyaruk and had established
themselves in several hill-fortresses in the neigh-
bourhood. One of their leaders, Ibn Attash, had by
a ruse secured possession of the fortress of Diz-Kuh
or Shah-Diz built by Malikshah. The Sultān regarded
it as his first duty to subdue and root out if possible
these unbelievers; he sent his troops to besiege the
fortress and, when it was taken, razed it to
the ground and had the captured Batiniya executed
in cruel fashion (500 = 1107; cf. the text of the
report sent by him to the Caliph's vizier in Ibn
al-Kalanisi, ed. Amedroz, p. 152 ff.). Nor did he
hesitate to have his own vizier, Sa'd al-Mulk Abu
'l-Mahasin al-Ati, executed at the gate of Isfahan;
he was suspected, according to Anushtarwan wrongly,
(cf. *Rec. Hist. Crois.*, ii. 91) of having had dealings
with the Batiniya.

While Muḥammad was still in Isfahan, the emir Ḍawali Saḳawu, who ruled between Fars and Khuzistān, made his submission to him; the sultān had frequently tried in vain to bring him to obedience through the emir Mawdūd. The sultān was so pleased that he granted him the town of al-Mawṣil where Djekermish, who had only paid homage to him under compulsion, was in command. The latter

was not inclined to submit to the arrangement, but was taken prisoner in an encounter with Ḍawali. The latter however was not yet lord of al-Mawṣil, for the followers of Djekermish now supported his son Zangī and appealed for help to Aksonkor al-Bursuki, the governor of Baghdad, to Ṣadaqa and to Kildj Arslān, the Saldjuk of al-Rūm. The last-named alone answered the appeal and came with his troops to al-Mawṣil where he had homage paid to himself as sultān, but soon afterwards, after an unsuccessful encounter, he was drowned in the Khābūr on his retreat. Ḍawali now had little difficulty in taking the town and going on to his further task, the war against the Crusaders. It would take us too far here to sketch the course of this war, and the reader may therefore be referred to Weil, *Gesch. der Chal.*, iii. 191 sqq. During his absence he again fell into disgrace with the Caliph, who had in the meanwhile returned to Baghdad and sent his troops to attack Ṣadaqa, with whom he was also dissatisfied. Ṣadaqa fell in battle in 501 (beg. of 1101). The sultān sent Mawdūd to al-Mawṣil and granted him the same dignity as he had previously given Ḍawali. The latter after some time made his peace with the sultān and was appointed as atābeg to Fars, where he fought the unruly elements in the population with great energy (cf. Ibn al-Athir, ed. Tornberg, x. 361 sqq.). The Batiniya however gave Muḥammad no peace, so long as they were able to hold their strong mountain citadel of Alamūt; Abū Naṣr Aḥmad, a son of Nizam al-Mulk, who after Sa'd al-Mulk acted as the sultān's vizier, was therefore given orders to take this fortress and when he did not succeed, he was dismissed in 504 (1109—10). In the meanwhile the sultān was being urged more and more from different sides to prosecute the war with the Crusaders seriously, and he succeeded in persuading the various governors of the western provinces to combine and attack the Christians under the leadership of Mawdūd accompanied by the young prince Mas'ūd. After Mawdūd's assassination (507 = 1113) Aksonkor al-Bursuki took command and after him Bursuk assumed the supreme command but on account of the strife among the Turkish emirs, the valour of the Crusaders and the complicated situation in Syria, decisive successes could not be attained. For the course of the campaign we again refer the reader to Weil, *op. cit.*, p. 194 sqq. and the historians of the Crusaders. In the last years of his life, the sultān sent the emir Anushtegin Shīrgir against the Batiniya in Alamūt, but he died on the 24th Dhu 'l-Hidjja 511 (Apr. 18, 1118) before the fortress was taken. He was only 36 years old and this is why Weil suggests that the Batiniya had a hand in his death, but there is nothing to support this hypothesis in the oriental chronicles. On the contrary, individuals in his immediate entourage, notably the Great Hādijb 'Alī Bār, seem to have been not quite innocent, because they, apparently to avert suspicion from themselves, accused the sultāna Guhaz Khatun and the famous poet al-Tughra'i of having caused the sultān's illness by magic arts. The former was blinded and strangled on the day Muḥammad died. The reason given by Matthias of Edessa for this (*Docum. Arm.*, i. 120) is wrong. The sultān deserves credit for having, with the assistance of his brother Sandjar who ruled in Khurāsān and the adjoining lands, restored the fortunes of the Saldjuk kingdom, which had declined since the death of Malikshah

and for having vigorously fought infidels and sectarians in his zeal for Sunnī Islām and the 'Abbāsīd caliphate. He was, as *Rec. Hist. Crois.*, ii. 118 has it, the perfect man of the Saldjūks and their strong he-camel.

Bibliography: given in the article SELDJUKS. (M. TH. HOUTSMA)

MUḤAMMAD, ABŪ AḤMAD, DJALĀL AL-DAWLA WA-DJAMĀL AL-MILLA, ABŪ AḤMAD MUḤAMMAD, second son of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna, was born about 387 (997). He was married to a daughter of Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Abu 'l-Hārith Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, the Farīghūnī ruler of Djūz-djānān. After the death of Abū Naṣr Muḥammad in 401 (1010—1011), Sultān Maḥmūd assigned to his son Muḥammad the government of the province of Djūz-djānān. In 417 (1026), at the instance of Sultān Maḥmūd, the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Qādir bi 'llāh conferred on him the titles of Djālāl al-Dawla wa-Djamāl al-Milla. Towards the close of his life, Sultān Maḥmūd divided his empire between his sons, giving Ghazna, Khurāsān and India to Muḥammad and Raiy, Djbāl and Isfahān to Mas'ūd, and took solemn vows from both to respect this division. When Maḥmūd died in Rabi' II, 421 (April 1030), Muḥammad ascended the throne at Ghazna, but Mas'ūd, disregarding his vows, marched from Isfahān to take possession of Ghazna. In the meantime, the nobles at Ghazna deposed Muḥammad on 3rd Shawwāl 421 (October 2, 1030) and read the *khutba* in the name of Mas'ūd. Muḥammad was then deprived of his sight by orders of Mas'ūd and imprisoned in a fort. His reign had lasted only 6 months.

In 431 Sultān Mas'ūd suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Saldjūks, and resolved to settle in India. In the beginning of 432 (September 1040), leaving Ghazna in the hands of his son Mawdūd and his wazīr, he marched to India with all his treasures, but on 13th Rabi' II, 432 (December 24, 1040) his slaves deposed him and raised Muḥammad to the throne. Shortly after this, Mas'ūd was put to death. Hearing this, Mawdūd advanced with a large army to avenge the death of his father, defeated Muḥammad near Dūnpūr on 3rd Sha'bān 432 (April 1041), and put him to death. The second reign of Muḥammad lasted only 4 months.

Muḥammad was obedient to his father and was a man of amiable temperament. He resembled his father in appearance.

Bibliography: Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Hayy b. al-Dahhāk al-Gardīzī, *Kitāb Zain al-Akhbār*, ed. M. Nazim, in *Browne Mem. Series*, i.; al-'Utbi, *Kitāb al-Yamīnī* (ed. Lahore), p. 294—295; numerous scattered notices in *Ta'rikh-i Mas'ūdī* by Abū 'l-Faḍl Baihaḳī; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), ix. 281—283, 331—334 and *Ta'rikh-i Farīshṭa* (ed. Bombay, 1832), p. 60, 68—69. (MUHAMMAD NAZIM)

MUḤAMMAD B. MARWĀN, an Umayyad governor. In 65 (684—685) he was sent by his father, the caliph Marwān I, to Mesopotamia, and in the battle of Dair al-Djāthālīk in 72 (691) in which his brother, the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, defeated Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubair, he commanded the advanced guard of the Syrian army. In the following year 'Abd al-Malik gave him the governorship of Mesopotamia and Armenia which carried with it the command in the war with the Byzantines. On account of climatic conditions the Arab expeditions always took place in summer. In 73 (692), the

emperor Justinian II was defeated at Sebaste or Sebastopolis in Cilicia. In 75 (694) Muḥammad again took the field against the Byzantines and was successful against them at Mar'ash, and in the following year he invaded Armenia. Along with his nephew 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Malik he was sent to al-Ḥadjjdjād in the year 82 (701), to support him against the rebel 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, and in the negotiations with the 'Irākīs before the battle at Dair al-Djamādjim the caliph was represented by Muḥammad and 'Abd Allāh. In the same year, Muḥammad led an expedition against Armenia, and again in 84 (703) and 85 (704). After the accession of al-Walid (Shawwāl 86 = Oct. 705) Muḥammad fell gradually into the background while Maslama, the caliph's brother, was the actual commander; but the former retained his governorship for some time until in 91 (709—710) he was replaced by Maslama here also. Muḥammad died in 101 (719—720).

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, v. 176; Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 324 sq., 336, 350; Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 188, 200, 205, 332; Tabarī, ii. 592, 804—808, 853, 863, 1073—1075, 1096, 1850; iii. 51; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Paris, v. 244 sqq.; vi. 47; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, iv. 264—267, 294 sq., 303, 317—320, 338, 377 sq., 382, 385, 399, 411, 439; v. 52, 328; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i. 406 sq., 455, 468 sq., 472; Brooks, *The Arabs in Asia Minor (641—750)*, in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xviii. 182 sqq.; Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Römern*, in *N.G.W. Göttingen*, 1901, p. 432 sqq. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD [See ABŪ 'ALĪ, ABŪ 'L-WAFĀ', AL-QHAZĀLĪ, IBN 'ĀSIM, IBN BAṬṬŪTA, IBN DJAHIR, IBN AL-HABBĀRĪYA, IBN NUBĀTA, IMĀD AL-DIN.]

MUḤAMMAD B. MUKARRAM [See IBN MAN-ZŪR.]

MUḤAMMAD B. MŪSĀ B. SHĀKIR [See MŪSĀ BANŪ.]

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-MUSTANĪR [See KUT-RUB.]

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-MUẒAFFAR [See MUẒAFFARIDS.]

MUḤAMMAD B. 'OMAR [See IBN AL-KUTĪYA.]

MUḤAMMAD B. OTHMĀN [See ABŪ ZAYNAN.]

MUḤAMMAD B. RĀ'IK [See IBN RĀ'IK.]

MUḤAMMAD B. RAZĪN [See ABŪ 'L-SHĪS.]

MUḤAMMAD B. SA'D [See IBN MARDANĪSH, IBN SA'D.]

MUḤAMMAD B. SĀLIM [See IBN WAṢIL.]

MUḤAMMAD B. SA'UD [See GHŌRĪ DYNASTY.]

MUḤAMMAD B. SA'UD (properly Su'ūd) b. MUḤAMMAD of the Mukrin clan of 'Anaza, the founder of the Wahhābī dynasty of the Āl-Sa'ūd in Najd [see the article IBN SA'UD], succeeded his father as amir of Dar'īya in 1137 (1724) or 1140 (1727). His association with the reformer Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb [cf. WAHHĀBĪYA] began in 1157 (1744). Thereafter until his death (end of Rabi' I, 1179 = Sept. 1765) the history of his reign consists of an unceasing and on the whole indecisive struggle against the neighbouring settlements and tribes and his former suzerains, the Banū Khālid of al-Ḥasā. He took little active part in these operations, and his personality is overshadowed by the figures of the Reformer himself and of his own son 'Abd al-'Aziz. Nevertheless his talents as a diplomatist more than

once saved the Wahhābī state from being crushed by a coalition of its enemies, notably after the disastrous defeat by the forces of Naḍjirān at Ḥa'ir in 1764.

Bibliography: The only full source is the *Kitāb al-Ghawawāt* (vol. ii. of *Rawḍat al-Afkār*) of Ḥusain b. Ghannām (d. 1225 H.), MS. British Museum Add. 23,345, fol. 3a—39b [the Bombay lithograph (1332 H.) is very inaccurate] summarized by H. St. J. Philby, *Arabia*, London 1930, p. 12—22. — See also A. Musil, *Northern Negd*, New York 1928, p. 258—259, and Amin al-Raiḥānī, *Ta'rikh Naḍj al-Haḍith*, Bairūt 1928, p. 50—53, and for general works the *Bibliography* to the article IBN SA'UD. (H. A. R. GIBB)

MUHAMMAD B. SİRİN [See IBN SİRİN.]

MUHAMMAD B. TĀHIR, governor of *Khurāsān*. After the death of his father, Muḥammad received the governorship of *Khurāsān* (Radjab 248 = Sept. 862). In 250 (864—5) the 'Alid al-Ḥasan b. Zaid rebelled, which led to a long and serious struggle [see MUHAMMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH]. When 'Abd Allāh al-Sidjī rebelled against Ya'qūb b. al-Laiṭh al-Ṣaffār and appealed for help to Muḥammad, who appointed him governor of al-Ṭabasain and *Kūhistān*, Ya'qūb found a welcome pretext to invade *Khurāsān*. Muḥammad sent an embassy to him; but as Ya'qūb had already found a following among discontented *Khurāsānians*, all negotiations were in vain. In Shawwāl 259 (Aug. 873), or according to another statement in 258, he entered Nisābūr without striking a blow, put an end to the Ṭahirid dynasty and took Muḥammad prisoner. But when he rebelled against the Caliph al-Mu'tamid, he was defeated in Radjab 262 (April 876) by the latter's brother al-Muwaffāq and Muḥammad, whom he had with him in chains, escaped. The Caliph restored the latter to his former office in *Khurāsān*; the exiled Ṭahirid however never found an opportunity to exercise his functions. He was further appointed — probably not till 270 (853—4) — by the vizier Ṣā'id b. Makhlad as his deputy as military governor of Baghdad. He held this office until the accession of al-Mu'taḍid (279 = 892). He died in 296 (908—9).

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

MUHAMMAD B. TĀHIR [See IBN AL-KAISARĀN.]

MUHAMMAD B. TAKASH [See *Khawārizmshāh*.]

MUHAMMAD B. TUGHDIJ B. DJUFF (or Djaff) B. YALTAKIN B. FURĀN B. FURĀ B. KHAḲĀN, Abū Bakr, known as AL-IKSHID, from the title granted to him by the Caliph al-Rāḍī in 327 (939), was the founder of the Egyptian dynasty of the Ikshidids [q. v.].

He was born in 268 (882) at Baghdad and must have spent his youth in Syria, as his father, who joined the service of the Ṭulūnids at about the same date, was appointed governor of Damascus and Ṭabariya c. 276, a post which he held for some fifteen years, and he himself acted for a time

as his father's deputy for Ṭabariya. In consequence of the overthrow of the Ṭulūnid dynasty in 292 (904), he was imprisoned at Baghdad. He was released in 294 (907), attached to the wazir al-'Abbās b. al-Ḥasan, and being implicated in his murder, had to fly when the conspiracy of Ibn al-Mu'tazz [q. v.] failed in 296 (908). He escaped to Syria and found himself reduced to a humble station. Next year he passed on to Egypt, where Takin, its governor, took him into favour, so that he kept him with himself, both in Egypt and in Syria in which he was transferred thither to act as governor at intervals (302—307 and 309—311), and promoted him to appointments of importance.

At this period Muḥammad came into contact with the powerful Mādairī family, and also attended Mu'nīs [q. v.] when he was brought to Egypt by the Fātimid invasions. He had already attracted some attention at Baghdad by an exploit in 306. In 316 (928), through influence at the capital, he became governor of Ramla, quitting Takin abruptly. In 319 he obtained a transfer to Damascus, where he became powerful, and in consequence of his defeat of Bushrā in 321 extended his rule over the whole of Syria. In the same year (March 933) Takin died, and Muḥammad b. Tughdj succeeded in obtaining the appointment as governor of Egypt in his place, but only nominally and for one month (Sept. 933). Two years later, by means of a large army and fleet, he entered Fustāt and took possession of the country, overcoming the resistance of al-Mādairī (Muḥammad b. 'Alī), who by appointment from Baghdad was then in control of Egypt, the governor being under his direction (*taḥta tadbirihi*). Superior to al-Mādairī, however, was al-Faḍl b. Dja'far b. al-Furāt [for whom see the article IBN AL-FURĀT], the inspecting minister (*wazir kashf*) of Egypt and Syria, who had been specially granted full executive powers. Muḥammad b. Tughdj had acted with the authorization of al-Faḍl and later (324) obtained the confirmation of al-Rāḍī to the addition of Egypt to the province of Syria already held by him. Probably at the same time he was granted the suzerainty over al-Yaman and the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, for in his letter of the following year to the Emperor Romanus he boasts of these places as part of his kingdom. Until the death of al-Faḍl in 327 (March 939), he seems to have been subject, at least in theory, to some control by him.

In 324 a decisive victory by the troops of Muḥammad b. Tughdj near Alexandria (battle of Ablūḳ, March 31, 936) crushed the third Fātimid invasion of Egypt and led to overtures from the Fātimid Caliph al-Kā'im, which in the end came to nothing. Muḥammad did indeed decide three years later to recognize the Fātimid, and had given the order that al-Kā'im should be proclaimed in Egypt, out of indignation at the 'Abbāsid government at Baghdad, but was induced to reconsider his decision.

Only a month after he had received his title al-Ikshid from al-Rāḍī (Ramaḍān 327 = June—July 939), he found himself threatened from Raḳqa by Ibn Rā'ik [q. v.] and learnt that his provinces had been granted to this rival. Baḍjkam [q. v.], as *amir al-umara'* at Baghdad, gave no answer to his appeal but that the question must be decided by the sword; the powerless Caliph could say nothing. Ibn Rā'ik rapidly possessed himself of Syria, driving back the forces sent to oppose him,

and had soon captured Ramla (Oct. 939). Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj himself confronted him with an army at Faramā, and with no fighting beyond some skirmishing entered into negotiations, ending in an agreement to cede Syria from Ṭabariya to the north on condition that Ramla and the rest were restored to him. Ibn Rā'īk soon broke this treaty and again advanced. This time Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj encountered him at al-ʿArīsh and routed him (15th Ramaḍān 324 = June 24, 940), but as he followed him into Syria, met with a reverse in his turn, one of his detachments being surprised and badly defeated at Ladjdjūn (18th August). Peace was then renewed on the same terms as before, and Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj undertook to pay an annual subsidy of 140,000 dinārs. He was back in Egypt in October.

The death of Badjkam in 329 (April 941) drew Ibn Rā'īk back to Baghdād, and Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj was soon relieved of him completely, for he was murdered a year later by the Ḥamdānids. Muḥammad lost no time in recovering Syria, marching thither himself (June 942) and remaining in the country about six months before coming back to Egypt. It must have been at about this period that he succeeded in dispersing some minor encroachments on Syria from the direction of Raḳḳa that are alluded to without details, those of ʿAdl (al-Badjkamī) and Badr al-Kharshani. He had to meet more serious attacks from the Ḥamdānids. One of them, al-Ḥusain b. Saʿīd, took Ḥalab from him in 332 (March 944), and in May he set out to recover it. The Caliph al-Muttaḳī, moreover, insecure under the protection of the Ḥamdānids from Tūzūn, the *amīr al-umaraʾ*, had appealed to him for help. His enemy retired at his approach and having regained the town he proceeded to Raḳḳa, where he met the Caliph (Sept. 7, 944). At this time he had thoughts of becoming *amīr al-umaraʾ* himself. He urged al-Muttaḳī to come with him to Syria and Egypt, and even offered to go with him to Baghdād. He begged him not to trust himself to Tūzūn, but could not dissuade him. After receiving flattering marks of honour he departed. Before he reached Fuṣṭāṭ on his return the Ḥamdānid Saif al-Dawla [q. v.] had retaken Ḥalab (Oct. 944). The Egyptian army sent to meet this new aggression was severely defeated at Rastan near Ḥimṣ, and Saif al-Dawla advanced to Damascus and entered it (April–May 945). Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj, coming from Egypt with his army, obliged him to retreat, pursued him, brought him to battle at Kinnasrīn (May–June 945), and defeated him. Again Muḥammad made easy terms when victorious. Saif al-Dawla retained Syria north of Damascus and was also given a subsidy. The treaty was concluded in Rabīʿ I, 334 (Oct.–Nov. 945), and Muḥammad then went back to Damascus, remaining there until he died a few months later (21st Dhū l-Ḥijja 334 = June 24, 946), just after the arrival of a Byzantine envoy concerning an exchange of prisoners for which he had opened negotiations.

Next to nothing is recorded of the internal events of Egypt during his reign; the country was doubtless quiet. Its revenue, said to have amounted to two million dinārs annually, was no longer accounted for to Baghdād, and no regular payments were made from it to the central treasury. But he sent large occasional gifts to the Caliphs, so that al-Rāḳī considered him an exemplary vassal.

He left seven million dinārs at his death besides considerable other property. No constructional works of much importance are credited to him. At Fuṣṭāṭ he rebuilt the shipyard on the mainland, and on its site on the island of Rawḍa made a garden called al-Mukhtār; he enlarged the government house in which he resided, a Ṭūlūnid building that was situated near the still existing tomb of al-Ḳāḍī Bakkār, and added a *maidān*; he also made another garden known later as al-Kāfūrī, afterwards the site of the western Fāṭimid palace of Cairo. His armies at times seem to have been large. At the battle of Ablūḳ the Egyptians are said to have had 15,000 horsemen, at that of Kinnasrīn 50,000 men. Such numbers would have been reached by means of levies for particular emergencies, which he is known to have raised more than once. On one occasion his personal retainers (*ghulāms*), on whom he more especially depended, numbered 500. The constantly repeated and universally accepted figures of 400,000 for his army and 8,000 for his bodyguard can be dismissed as ridiculous, notwithstanding that they rest on the early authority of al-Tanūkhī (d. 384), and with them the accompanying myth as to his habit of concealing his sleeping places when on campaign.

The most renowned of his followers was Kāfūr [q. v.]. Another of his *ghulāms*, Fātik, rose to some eminence. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Kalā was his secretary both at Damascus and in Egypt. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Mādarāʾī was his wazīr for a few months (328–329), Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḳāṭil, previously secretary to Ibn Rā'īk, was his wazīr at his death. His four brothers were all younger than himself; al-Ḥasan was in command at the battle of Ablūḳ, and represented him in Egypt during all his absences, al-Ḥusain was in command at Ladjdjūn and killed there, ʿUbaid Allāh acted for him in Syria, ʿAlī disappears early.

Notable Egyptian authors who flourished during his reign were the historian Ibn al-Dāya (d. 334), al-Kindī (d. 350), and ʿAbd Allāh al-Farghānī (d. 362), who came to Egypt in 329 and was in his confidence at Raḳḳa in 333. Al-Masʿūdī moreover visited Egypt in 330. Al-Mutanabbī, just rising to fame, recited once in his presence in Syria and addressed a verse or two to him and to his brother ʿUbaid Allāh (d. 333 at Ramla).

Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj was strong physically, but subject to occasional fits of melancholia. His character is illustrated by a number of incidents that have every appearance of being authentic. He was strict, but in no way vindictive or cruel. He often brought his officers to account, and then after punishing them by arrest or fine would restore them to favour. Hardly any executions are heard of in his reign. He would not allow torture and the maltreatment of accused persons, so common in his time. His tact and sagacity were conspicuous. He was decent in his life and liked by his men and the people. On the other hand, he was certainly oppressive and unfair in some of his money exactions, and though at times not ungenerous was inclined to be mean and miserly in minor matters. The two great faults attributed to him, even to his face in his lifetime, parsimony and timidity, are not altogether without foundation. As to the latter, his own defence in a particular instance looks valid.

His career was closely parallel to that of Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn [q. v.], even as regards several fortuitous

occurrences. It leaves no doubt of his capacity, and if admitting of occasional overcaution, will not allow of anything like cowardice. He did not make the same mark as his predecessor, but was a milder and perhaps a better ruler.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'id, *al-Mughrib* (ed. Tallqvist, Leyden 1899) contains the text of the principal authorities, a list including subsidiary authorities, and a full biography in German carefully worked out from both sources. By far the most important authority is the long and detailed biography of Muhammad b. Tughdj which forms part of Ibn Sa'id's work, and appears to consist of the life composed by Ibn Zūlāk between 350 and 355, reproduced almost but not quite *verbatim*. The other principal authority is the *Kitāb al-Wulāt* of al-Kindi, ed. Guest, Little, if anything, can be added from books published after *al-Mughrib*.

(R. GUEST)

MUHAMMAD B. TUGHLUK [See MUHAMMAD TUGHLUK.]

MUHAMMAD B. TUMART [See IBN TUMART.]

MUHAMMAD B. 'UBAID ALLĀH [See ABU 'L-MA'ĀLĪ.]

MUHAMMAD B. AL-WALĪD [See IBN ABĪ RANDAKĀ.]

MUHAMMAD B. YAHYĀ [See IBN BĀDJĪA.]

MUHAMMAD B. YĀKŪT, ABŪ BAKR, a chief of police in Baghdād. In 318 (930) Muhammad, whose father was chief chamberlain to the Caliph al-Muqtadir was appointed chief of police. The maintenance of order in the capital at this time was much neglected and the praetorians conducted a regular reign of terror. In a fracas between infantry and cavalry Muhammad intervened on behalf of the latter; their opponents were cut down, some driven from the city and only a small contingent of negroes, who at once surrendered, remained unscathed (Muḥarram 318 = Feb. 930). Some months later these mutinied and demanded more pay; but they were driven out of the town by Muhammad and then routed by the chief emīr Mu'nīs [q.v.] near Wāsiṭ. The confusion was increased by the breach between Mu'nīs and Muhammad. At the instigation of Mu'nīs, Muhammad was dismissed in Djumādā II 319 (June—July 931). Mu'nīs was nevertheless not satisfied but demanded that his hated rival should be banished. The Caliph at first refused to grant his request; but when Mu'nīs threatened him with force, he had to yield, whereupon Muhammad went to Sidjistān (Radjab 319 = July 931). Soon afterwards the Caliph quarrelled with Mu'nīs and recalled Muhammad. In Muḥarram 320 (Jan. 932) the latter returned to Baghdād; the Caliph then sent him with an army to al-Ma'shūk in the region of Takrīt. But when Mu'nīs advanced from Mošul, the Caliph's troops under Muhammad and Sa'id b. Ḥamdān retired to Baghdād without striking a blow. After the victory of Mu'nīs and the murder of al-Muqtadir in Shawwāl of the same year (Oct. 932) the latter's son 'Abd al-Wāhid fled with Muhammad and his other supporters to al-Mada'in and then to Wāsiṭ where a number of his generals abandoned him. When the forces of the new Caliph al-Kāhir approached under the command of Yalbak, 'Abd al-Wāhid and Muhammad fled to Tustar. Muhammad was not popular on account of his arrogance and selfishness, so that one after the other laid down his arms and finally 'Abd

al-Wāhid surrendered. Muhammad entered into negotiations with Yalbak and the Caliph pardoned him. He then returned to Baghdād where he gained a great influence over al-Kāhir. On the accession of al-Rāḍi in Djumādā I, 322 (April 934), Muhammad became the real ruler in a short time; the Caliph appointed him chief chamberlain and also made him his commander-in-chief while the vizier Ibn Mukla played a more subordinate part. When al-Muqtadir's cousin Hārūn b. Ghārib, whom al-Kāhir had appointed governor of Māh al-Kūfa, al-Dinawar and Māsabadhān rebelled, Muhammad was sent with an army against him. In the resulting battle, Muhammad suffered a defeat (Djumādā II 322 = May 934); soon afterwards however, Hārūn fell from his horse and was killed by one of Muhammad's slaves. With the death of their commander the resistance of Hārūn's followers collapsed; Muhammad was nevertheless unable long to retain his position of power. On the advice of Ibn Mukla who feared his ever increasing power, al-Rāḍi had him arrested along with his brother al-Muza'far and the secretary Abū Ishāk al-Karāriti on the 5th Djumādā I, 323 (April 12, 935). Muhammad died in prison in the same year.

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MUHAMMAD B. YAZĪD [See IBN MĀDJĀ, AL-MUBARRAD.]

MUHAMMAD B. YŪSUF [See ABŪ HAIYĀN.]

MUHAMMAD 'ABD AL-KARĪM 'ALAWĪ, better known as 'Abd al-Karīm Munshī, a Persian historian of the middle of the sixteenth century. His best known work is the *Tārīkh-i Ahmad* or *Ahmadshāhi* composed for 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hādjdī Muhammad Rawshan-Khān, a history of the founder of the Durrāni dynasty in Afghanistan, Ahmad Shāh. After 'Abd al-Karīm had finished a history of Shudjā' al-Mulk Durrāni and the conquest of Khurāsān in 1235 (1820), he decided to write a complete history of the Durrānis and began his *Tārīkh-i Ahmad*. The work is based on the *Tārīkh-i Husainshāhi* of Imām al-Dīn Husaini (Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, iii. 904b) and is really only a paraphrase of it. It begins with the story of Ahmad Shāh which he continued to the year 1212. Then follows a description of the Pandjāb and the roads between Kābul, Harāt, Pashāwar and Kandahār and a chapter on Turkistān under Narbūta Bey. The work concludes with the accession of Shudjā' al-Mulk. In addition to this book, 'Abd al-Karīm in 1263 (1847) wrote the *Muḥārabāt-i Kābul wa-Kandahār*, which describes the war with the English down to General Pollock's expedition (Sept.—Oct. 1842). It again is not original but based on the poem *Akbar-nāma* of Kāsim Djan. According to Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (London 1894, p. 5), he also wrote a history of the Sikh war entitled *Tārīkh-i Pandjāb Tukhsatan li 'l-Aḥbāb*, but there is no mention of a manuscript or lithograph of any such work in any of the European catalogues. It is possible that there is some confusion with the Pandjāb section of the *Tārīkh-i Ahmad*. In the *Catalogue of the Persian printed Books in the British Museum* (London 1922, p. 19), E. Edwards ascribes to the author a dictionary of English and Persian homonyms

entitled *A Dictionary of Anglo-Persian homogeneous words being a... Collection of... Words having nearly the same Sound and the same Meaning*, Bombay 1889; it is however unfortunately not possible to be certain that the author of the book is the same 'Abd al-Karīm Munshī.

Bibliography: O. Mann, *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Ahmed Šāh Durrānī*, in *Z. D.M.G.*, lii. (1898), p. 106 sq. The Turkistān-chapter is translated in Ch. Schefer, *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale par Mir Abdoul Kerim Boukhary*, Paris 1876, p. 280 sq. The *Ta'rīkh-i Ahmad* appeared in lith. in India 1266. A manuscript of the *Wākī'āt-i Durrānī* in E. Browne, *A suppl. Handlist of the Muhammadan MSS. in the Libraries of the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, 1922, No. 228. An Urdu transl. of it lith. Cawnpore 1292 (1875). *Muḥārabāt* lith. in Lucknow 1848 and Cawnpore 1267 (1851). A manuscript in W. Ivanow, *Concise descriptive Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Curzon Collection of the A.S.B.*, Calcutta 1926, No. 22. (E. BERTHELS)

MUḤAMMAD 'ABDUH, a Muslim theologian, founder of the Egyptian modernist school.

Muḥammad 'Abduh belonged to an Egyptian peasant family and was born in 1849 in Lower Egypt. He spent his childhood in the little village of Maḥallat Naṣr in the mudiriya of Buḥaira. When Muḥammad 'Abduh had learned the Qur'ān by heart, he was sent in 1862 to the theological school of Tanṭā but he left this after a year and a half discouraged and was only induced to resume his studies through the influence of a grand uncle who aroused in him an interest in mysticism. In 1865 he returned to Tanṭā but the next year proceeded to Cairo to the Azhar mosque. There at this moment the first movements of a new spirit were becoming apparent in the beginning of a return to the classics and an awakening interest in natural science and history, which agreed with mysticism in a lower estimation of the old traditional studies. In this milieu Muḥammad 'Abduh at once devoted himself entirely to mysticism, practised asceticism and retired from the world. It was again his grand uncle who persuaded him to give this up. About the same time, 1872, Muḥammad 'Abduh came into contact with Saiyid Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [q. v.] who had just arrived in Egypt and was destined to exercise a profound influence upon him. It was he who revealed traditional learning to Muḥammad 'Abduh in a new light, called his attention to European works accessible in translations and attracted his interest finally to Egyptian and Muslim problems of the day. Muḥammad 'Abduh soon became his most ardent disciple and in his very first work of a mystic nature (*Risālat al-Warīdāt*, 1290 = 1874) enthusiastically described Saiyid Djamāl al-Dīn as his spiritual guide. The influence of Saiyid Djamāl al-Dīn is still more marked on the matter of Muḥammad 'Abduh's second work, notes on dogmatics entitled *Hāshiya 'alā Sharḥ al-Dawānī li 'L-Aḳā'id al-'Aqūdiyya* [1292 = 1876]. The influence of Saiyid Djamāl al-Dīn and the development of affairs in Egypt towards the end of the reign of the Khedive Ismā'il caused Muḥammad 'Abduh in 1876 to take to journalism, which he practised henceforth. After concluding his studies at the Azhar mosque and acquiring the certificate of an

'ālim (scholar), he first of all gave private tuition; in 1879 he was appointed as teacher in the Dār al-'Ulūm, which had been founded a few years before to modernise instruction in religious learning. In the same year, shortly after the accession of the Khedive Tawfīk, Muḥammad 'Abduh was dismissed for reasons that have not been clearly explained and sent to his native village, while Saiyid Djamāl al-Dīn was banished from Egypt; but a liberal ministry very soon recalled Muḥammad 'Abduh (1880) and appointed him chief editor of the official gazette *al-Waḳā'id al-Miṣriya*, which not only contained official announcements but also endeavoured to influence public opinion; under Muḥammad 'Abduh's control it became the mouth-piece of the liberal party. In spite of a common ultimate goal: the liberation of the Muslim peoples and a renaissance of Islām by its own strength, there was an essential difference between Muḥammad 'Abduh's programme and that of Saiyid Djamāl al-Dīn; the latter was a revolutionary who aimed at a complete upheaval; Muḥammad 'Abduh, on the other hand, held that only gradual reform could be successful, thought that no political revolution could take the place of a gradual transformation of mentality and regarded a reform of education, especially moral and religious, as the first preliminary to progress. His interest gradually became concentrated on Islām and its position in the modern world. 'Arābī Pāshā's rebellion put an end to Muḥammad 'Abduh's activity on these lines. His part in this movement has not yet been sufficiently elucidated; although it is certain that he neither shared the optimism of military circles nor approved their use of force, he put himself on the side of the nationalist opponents of absolutism and endeavoured to exert a moderating influence on its leaders. After the suppression of the rebellion he was condemned to banishment from Egypt at the end of 1882. He first went to Bairūt and then to Paris where in the beginning of 1884 he met Saiyid Djamāl al-Dīn. The two founded a society called *al-'Urwa al-wuthqā* and published a paper with the same name, which had to cease publication after eight months but exercised a very profound influence on the development of nationalism in the Muslim east. In Tunis Muḥammad 'Abduh continued propaganda for the society, but then cut himself off from it and settled in Bairūt at the beginning of 1885. The 'Urwa expressed the views of Saiyid Djamāl al-Dīn entirely. In Bairūt he taught at a theological school and engaged in Muslim and Arabic studies. In this period he produced his translation from the Persian of the *Risālat al-Radd 'alā 'L-Dahriyyin*, the only considerable work of Saiyid Djamāl al-Dīn (1302 = 1886), and two valuable philological treatises (*Sharḥ Nahḍ al-Balāgha* [1302 = 1885] and *Sharḥ Maḳāmāt Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadḥānī* [1306 = 1889]). When in 1889 he was allowed to return, he at once went to Cairo. His wish to resume teaching again was not at once granted; instead he entered the judiciary and was immediately appointed a judge on the Tribunaux Indigènes, two years later Conseiller at the Cour d'Appel; in 1899 he attained the highest clerical post in Egypt, that of state mufti, an office he held till his death. One result of his work in the courts was the publication of his verdicts in *Taḳrīr fī Iṣlāḥ al-Maḳākim al-Shar'iya* (1318 = 1900) which gave the stimulus to important reforms in the admini-

stration of the *shari'a*, and the foundation of the College for Qādis goes back primarily to his efforts. In the same year, 1899, he became a member of the Conseil Législatif, which marked the first stage in the representation of the Egyptian people. Finally he was allowed to resume his interest in education; in 1894 he became a member of the governing body of the Azhar, which had been constituted at his suggestion, and in this capacity not only acquired great renown by his reforms in the university but himself took an active part in the teaching. In addition to this many-sided activity in the fifteen years after his return he found time to publish a number of works, including his most important: the *Risālat al-Tawhīd* (1315 = 1897), his principal theological work based on his lectures in Bairūt; the publication of a work on logic (*Sharḥ Kitāb al-Baṣā'ir al-Nāṣiriya, Taṣnīf al-Kāfi Zain al-Dīn* [1316 = 1898]); a defence of Islām against Christianity in the field of knowledge and civilization entitled *al-Islām wa 'l-Naṣrāniya ma'a 'l-'Ilm wa 'l-Madaniya* (1320 = 1902; first published in *al-Manār*). Muḥammad 'Abduh was not able to finish his commentary on the Qur'ān, on which he laid great importance and of which he had published portions in *al-Manār*; it was revised by his disciple and friend Shaikh Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā and published first of all in *al-Manār*. Of Muḥammad 'Abduh's numerous articles by which, along with his lectures, he most influenced public opinion, two (of 1900) were published in a French translation entitled *L'Europe et l'Islām* by Muḥammad Tal'at Harb Bey (1905). The advanced ideas put forward by Muḥammad 'Abduh provoked the most vigorous hostility in orthodox and conservative circles which manifested itself not only in serious refutations but also in attacks on and intrigues against him, as we see from a whole literature of lampoons. But his teaching met with remarkable support among all seriously minded Muslims. The principal organ of his views was the monthly *al-Manār*, which had appeared since 1897 under the editorship of Sheikh Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, who has also produced an extensive literary monument to his master (but his views and the tendencies of his periodical must not be identified offhand with those of Muḥammad 'Abduh). Muḥammad 'Abduh died in 1905; but his teaching has retained its influence steadily to the present day.

Muḥammad 'Abduh's programme according to his own statement was: 1. the reform of the Muslim religion by bringing it back to its original condition, 2. the renovation of the Arabic language, 3. the recognition of the rights of the people in relation to the government. His political activity was dominated by the idea of patriotism, which he was the first to champion enthusiastically in Egypt. As an opponent equally of the political control by Europe and of Oriental despotism in Muslim lands he favoured an inner assimilation of western civilization, without abandoning the fundamental Muslim ideas and a synthesis of the two factors. From this programme, which assures Muḥammad 'Abduh an important place among the founders of modern Egypt, must be distinguished his effort to carry it through in the field of theology. Muḥammad 'Abduh is in the first place a theologian; his life was devoted to the attempt to establish and maintain Islām, at least as a religion, against the onslaught of the

west, while he abandoned without a struggle those aspects of Muslim-Oriental life in which religion was of less moment. However great a stimulus he may have received from progressive western thought, the actual foundations of his teaching came primarily from the school of Ibn Taimiya and Ibn Ka'ayim al-Djawiya, who favoured reform on conservative lines, and from al-Ghazzālī's ethical conception of religion. Deeply convinced of the superiority of true Islām, unaffected by the vicissitudes of time, Muḥammad 'Abduh wished to get rid of the abuses which falsified the Muslim religion and made it out of keeping with the times, and to adapt Islām to every real advance by going back to its true principles. Muḥammad 'Abduh was thus brought to attack the *madhāhib* and *taqlīd* [q. v.], to demand freedom for *idjtihād* [q. v.] and a new *idjma'* [q. v.], in keeping with modern conditions, based on the Qur'ān and the true sunna, for the establishment of which he laid down strict criteria; he was also brought to reject the hairsplitting of the *fuḥahā'*, the worship of saints and all *bid'as*, and to the endeavour to create a more ethical and deeper religion instead of a mechanical formalism. The antiquated system of Fiqh, against which Muḥammad 'Abduh claimed full freedom, was to be replaced by new laws capable of development, in which consideration for the common good (*maṣlaḥa*) and the times should, in keeping with the true spirit of Islām, have if necessary preference to the literal text (*naṣṣ*) of revelation, just as in any conflict between reason and tradition in settling what is laid down by religion, the verdict of reason should be followed. Alongside of the belief in the sublimity of revelation there was in Muḥammad 'Abduh the conviction that knowledge and religion, properly understood, could not come into conflict at all, so that reason need not recognise a logical impossibility as a religious truth; religion was given to man as a thread to guide him against the aberrations of reason; reason must therefore, after it has tested the proofs of the truth of religion, which it is qualified to do, accept its dogmas; Muḥammad 'Abduh's object was a cooperation between religion and science. In dogmatics he adopts essentially the most rational conception that could still be reconciled with orthodoxy. At the same time he interiorises the conception of revelation (to him it is intuitive knowledge caused by God and provided with the consciousness of this origin, but this kind of religious experience is limited to the prophets) and deflects that of religion (to him it is an intuitive feeling for the paths to happiness in this and the next world, which cannot be clearly grasped by the reason). The task of prophecy for him is the moral education of the masses. Religious teaching and commandments are therefore intended for the masses and not for the élite. Muḥammad 'Abduh regards the Qur'ān as created and endeavours to weaken the rigidly opposed point of view of orthodoxy. The saints he does take into his system but is sceptical regarding belief in miracles. In spite of the denial of causality and laws of nature by orthodoxy, he finds a basis for explaining nature by causal laws but by quite scholastically formal reasoning. As regards the duties of religion, Muḥammad 'Abduh adheres to the four main duties: ritual prayer, the almstax, fasting and pilgrimage; only he shifts them, as usual in mysticism, from the sphere of worship to that of religion and morals. On the old question of free will Muḥammad 'Abduh

decides for indeterminism; he thereby opens the way to build up a moral system for society, which, excluding all fatalism, preaches vigorous activity by every one and, following the ethics of the mystics, mutual support. His view of the substance of Muslim teaching Muḥammad 'Abduh defends not only against traditional orthodoxy but against Christianity also by a kind of philosophy of history of religion; the sending of prophets was a gradual process of education of step by step; the last and highest stage, that of absolute religion, is the sending of Muḥammad; if the Muslim peoples of the present do not correspond to the Muslim ideal, this is only the result of the fact that they have lost the old purity of the teaching; an improvement is possible by return to it. This primitive Islām of Muḥammad 'Abduh is however not the historical Islām but a very much idealised one. The superiority of Islām over Christianity in substance lies, according to Muḥammad 'Abduh, in its rationalism and its closeness to reality and its avoidance of unattainable ideals of life.

In this theology, the religious content consists of humility before God, reverence for the Prophet, enthusiasm for the Qur'ān. The basis of this Islām is the recognition of a not too retrogressive system of dogmatics, its object is the observance of an ethical system which is favourable to progress, and both are influenced by a strongly marked rationalism, which is genuinely old Muslim but for Muḥammad 'Abduh is no indifferent inheritance but the main weapon of defence of Islām and actually takes the place of a deepening of religion so that his theology has the character of an apologetic compromise.

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(J. SCHACHT)

MUḤAMMAD AḤMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH, the Mahdī of the Sūdān, was born about 1258 (1843) on the island of Darār in Dongola among the Argū islands north of el-'Orde. A member of the Kuntiz family of the Nubian Arab Berābera, in later life when Mahdī to prove his kinship and mystical relationship with 'Alī and the Prophet, he traced his genealogy on his father's side to Ḥasan and on the mother's to Ḥasan and 'Abbās. He was the second son of a ship's carpenter and had an older sister and three brothers. Mystic tendencies early revealed themselves in him; after the usual early education he therefore in 1277 (1861) entered the order of the Sammāniya with Shaikh Muḥammad Sharif; after a seven years' noviciate Muḥammad Sharif appointed him a shaikh of the order. After a short stay in Khartūm where he married, he went to the island of Abbā (in the White Nile, north of Kosti), built a *djāmi'* there and a *khatwa* and collected pupils around him.

His master Muḥammad Sharif, with whom he maintained a constant connection, settled near him in 1288 (1872), which seems to have been unwelcome to Muḥammad. Shortly after this event there awoke in Muḥammad the consciousness that he was the *Mahdī al-muntaḡar*, under the influence of the traditional ideas of the Mahdī, which brought about a breach between him and his master. He now joined the enemy of his former leader, the Shaikh al-Kurashī, and in 1297 (1880) became his successor. In his wanderings (*siyāḥa*) from Dongola to Sennār, from the Blue Nile to Kordufān, he convinced himself of the discontent of the people, who were oppressed by the Egyptian government; the turbulent, mixed population of the Sūdān, the religious fanaticism, the dissension between Turks and Arabs, the old opposition of the Shī'a to the Turkish ruling official classes, all formed a fruitful soil for his claims to be the Mahdī; the movement begun by Muḥammad Aḥmad which, as his letters and proclamations show, was based on a religious experience in which he earnestly believed, became from the first mixed up with political and social ideas, which in the east cannot be separated from religion, and in which finally deception and cunning played an evil part. According to the traditional formula, Muḥammad Aḥmad felt himself called "to purify the world from wantonness and corruption". For this purpose he summoned the people to fight in the first place against "the infidel Turks". He had previously bound a number of chiefs in Kordufān and Dārūr to him by *ba'i'a* (oaths of fealty, after the model of the Prophet; for the text see Dietrich, in *Islām*, 1925, p. 39) and had been cleverly able to attach men of action like the unscrupulous 'Abd Allāh al-Ta'ayishī, later his Khalifa, to him; at the same time he practised a shameless nepotism. He further incited the people by numerous pamphlets and edicts, which contained his visions of the Prophet, who had appointed him Mahdī, of al-Khidr, Gabriel, the *aḥqāb*, summons "to purify religion", to "emigrate", to swear fealty, to imitate the Mahdī, to the *djihād* etc. The hill of Gadir in Dār Nūba became the centre of this secret propaganda; in Sha'bān 1298 (July 1881) he made his first public appearance as Mahdī. Negotiations begun by the government in Khartūm with Muḥammad Aḥmad proved fruitless. Two companies sent against him under Abu 'l-Sa'ūd were destroyed; this secured further victories for him. The Egyptian government was moreover prevented by the rebellion of 'Arābī Pāshā from taking vigorous action. The expeditions of the governor of Fashōda, Rashid Pāshā, Yūsuf Pāshā al-Shallālī (at Gadir, May 1882) and of Hicks Pāshā (at Shaikān or Kashgil), all ended unsuccessfully. The Mahdiyya thus spread unhindered from Kordufān via Baḥr al-Ghazāl to the eastern Sūdān; there in Sawākin, 'Othmān Digna, a former slave dealer, soon to be the ablest Mahdist general, entered Muḥammad Aḥmad's service. Attempts by the Mahdī to extend his power to the west and with this object to conclude alliances with Muḥammad al-Sanūsī in Djaghbūb and with Morocco came to nothing. At the height of his power the campaign of 1301 (1884) took him to Khartūm, which after a heroic defence by Gordon fell into the Mahdī's hands on Jan. 30, 1885. Gordon was killed. Muḥammad Aḥmad did not however long survive his victory; he died, probably of typhus, on 9th Ramaḍān 1302 (June 22, 1885) at Omdurmān near Khartūm,

where a *ḡubba* was erected to him by his successor, the *Khalifa* 'Abd Allāh; it was henceforth the Mahdist capital until Kitchener put an end to 'Abd Allāh's rule and to the Mahdiyya in 1898.

The organisation of the Mahdiyya under Muḥammad Aḥmad, which was primarily to follow the *sunna* of the Prophet, was early developed; it was quite military in character, for the *djihad* was considered more important than the *ḥadj*. He had four *khalifas* beside him, of whom al-Ta'ayishi was the most intimate and undoubtedly had the most pernicious influence on him. Particular attention was devoted to the distribution of booty and to the administration of the treasury (*bait al-māl*).

Muḥammad Aḥmad's teaching shows some of the features of the extreme popular *Ṣūfism* and some of those of an idealised primitive Islām. His asceticism was hostile to progress; the contempt for learning in the Mahdiyya and the order to burn all books on *sunna* and *tafsir* alienated the educated classes from him. The only things that had validity in addition to the *Qur'ān* were the proclamations of the Mahdī, the *Ratib* (a collection of *dhikr* exercises) and the *Maḡlīs*, a work that contained Muḥammad Aḥmad's own *sunna* as a substitute for the previous one but remained incomplete. In the abolition of the four *madhabs* we see the *ikhṭilāf* tendencies frequent among the *Ṣūfis*. Wahhābī influences are very probable in a number of regulations, for example in the prohibition of adornment, music, extravagance at weddings, tobacco and wine; particularly however in the zeal against the worship of saints and sorcery; as a matter of fact Muḥammad Aḥmad himself became an object of worship among his followers even before his death.

The only really new thing in Muḥammad Aḥmad is the addition to the *shahāda*: "...wa-anna Muḥammadan Aḥmadan 'bna 'Abdi 'llāhi huwa Mahdiyyu 'llāhi wa-khalīfatu rasūlihi. Where the traditions of the Mahdī did not suit him, he did not hesitate to alter them. He laid down the following 6 *arkān* instead of the *arkān* of the *sunna*: 1. *ṣalāt*, on the congregational performance of which the greatest stress was laid; 2. *djihad*, in express opposition to the *sunni* practice and in place of the *ḥadj*; 3. obedience to God's commandments; 4. the extended *shahāda*; 5. recitation of the *Qur'ān* and 6. of the *Ratib*.

A few extremist ideas, like that of equality between rich and poor, come partly from the revolutionary character of the old *Shi'a*, partly from the political and social conditions of the time; the social ideas were however not his central ones but only incidentally used cunningly to attract the masses. In practice the Mahdiyya had an exceedingly unifying and equalising effect: slaves and slave-dealers fought under one banner, the humblest often rose in a short time to the highest offices.

Muḥammad Aḥmad's eschatology centres round the world domination of the Mahdī. The conquest of the *Sūdān* was to be followed by that of Egypt, Mecca, Syria and Constantinople.

The formation of legends around Muḥammad Aḥmad's personality began very early, sometimes deliberately encouraged by him and his immediate followers and sometimes actually believed by them. Under pressure from him his court chronicler Ismā'il 'Abd al-Ḳādir composed a highly coloured *sira* entitled *Kitāb al-Mustaḥdī ilā Sirat al-Imām*

al-Mahdī. It covered the years 1298 to 1302 A. H. but was burned in the time of the *Khalifa* 'Abd Allāh. The Egyptian writer *Shuḡair* (see below) claims to have had in his hands a copy that was said to have survived.

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MUḤAMMAD 'ALĪ PASHA (in European sources often Mehemed Ali or Mehemet Ali) was the well-known powerful viceroy of Egypt during the years 1805—1849 (which period comprises the entire reign of Sultān Maḥmūd II q. v.); and the founder of the khedivial, later royal dynasty of Egypt. Seen in the light of history his life-work fully entitles him to the epithet of "the Founder of Modern Egypt".

Muḥammad 'Alī was born in 1769, possibly of Albanian extraction, in the town of *Kawāla* [q. v.] in Macedonia; he was engaged in the tobacco trade until he joined, as *biṣ bashi* in a corps of Albanian troops, the Turkish army that landed in Egypt in 1799 and was beaten by Bonaparte at Abū Ḳīr (July 25). In 1800 he was one of the two chiefs of the Albanian troops in Turkish service who were left behind in Egypt; this secured him an influential military position when, after the final departure of the French in 1801, Turkey began to try to recover her authority over Egypt. At the end of 1801 he fought as a general against the Mamlūks, but in the troubled years that followed he was alternatively on the side of the Mamlūk Beys (headed by al-Bardisi) and of the Turkish governors sent from Constantinople. He intrigued against *Khuraw Pasha* [q. v.], who had to leave Egypt in May 1803, and was, already in the same year, appointed titular governor of *Djidda*. Under the following governorship of *Khurshīd Pasha*, Muḥammad 'Alī succeeded in winning the favour of the inhabitants of Cairo and their spiritual leaders, and used them with success in his intrigues against *Khurshīd*, whose Turkish troops — composed of *delis* — were a scourge to the population, while his own Albanians were ordered to behave well. The result was that *Khurshīd* had to withdraw in August 1803, leaving the citadel of Cairo to Muḥammad 'Alī. The Turkish government, though sending several emissaries and trying to remove the Albanian troops, failed to keep Egyptian affairs under control and ended by recognizing Muḥammad 'Alī's self-assumed

position (November 2, 1805); he was solemnly installed in April 1806.

The internal and external difficulties of the Sublime Porte did not allow her to interfere any further for the moment and the new governor had soon occasion to show himself a loyal vassal when the English — then at war with Turkey [cf. SELİM III] — landed in Alexandria in March 1807. At that time Muḥammad 'Alī had already undertaken the struggle against the Mamlūk Beys al-Bardisi and al-Alfī, the latter of whom was strongly supported by the English. He came back hastily from Upper Egypt, fortified Cairo, and gained a victory over the English army at Rashīd (Rosetta) in April. Soon after the departure of the British fleet in September the viceroy began the execution of his far-reaching administrative and economic measures, which were to restore Egypt's economic strength and consequently to assure for himself a more powerful position than any Turkish governor had had for the last two centuries [cf. MAMLŪKS]. In the meantime the Beys (whose two leaders had died in 1807) continued their opposition (no doubt increased by the viceroy's land policy), which was finally broken by the massacre of about 300 Mamlūks in the citadel of Cairo on March 1, 1811, on the occasion of a festival. The persecution of the Mamlūks was at the same time extended to the other parts of the country. Muḥammad 'Alī now could send, without danger to his own position, his Albanian troops in the campaign against the Wāḥḥābīs in Arabia, to comply with a request of the Porte. The Wāḥḥābī war began in September 1811 and was conducted, until 1816, by Muḥammad 'Alī's son Ṭusun; after the latter's death the command was taken over by his elder brother Ibrāhīm Pasha [q.v.]. Muḥammad 'Alī himself took part in an expedition to Yaman, but had to return before the end of the war, because his position as governor seemed to be in danger.

The military successes of the Egyptian troops against the Wāḥḥābī power immensely increased Muḥammad 'Alī's authority all over Arabia and in a larger sense in the entire Near East; European policy began to look for the first time on Egypt as a factor of political importance. This importance was further increased by the expeditions to the south that followed immediately on the Arabian campaign: Egyptian power was established for the first time in the Sūdān [q.v.], where Muḥammad 'Alī's third son Ismā'īl found his death in 1822, the year in which the town of Khartūm [q.v.] was founded. At this time Egyptian power was also extended in the direction of the Red Sea, which made an end to the hitherto continuous plague of the incursions of nomadic Arabs into the Nile valley; the ports of Sawākin and Massawa (Maṣwā') came under the Egyptian sphere of influence, although the direct authority of the Porte was maintained.

A new phase in the development of Muḥammad 'Alī's power began by his participation in the military repression of the Greek revolt by the Turks. Only through Egyptian aid was the submission of the whole of Greece with the exception of Nauplia obtained; first by the conquest of Crete by Ibrāhīm Pasha (1823) and then by the Egyptian army that landed in 1825 in Morea. When in 1827 England, Russia and France intervened in the Greek question, the combined Turkish-Egyptian fleet was destroyed

in the bay of Navarino (October 20, 1827); in the following year the Egyptian troops evacuated the peninsula, after a convention had been concluded between Muḥammad 'Alī and the British admiral Codrington (August 6, 1828). Crete remained under Egyptian administration until 1841.

Muḥammad 'Alī's power was now such that he could conclude international agreements without the sultān's cognizance; at the same time the two Mediterranean naval powers, France and England, were endeavouring to win him over as an independent political factor. In 1829 France had almost induced Muḥammad 'Alī to undertake the conquest of the Barbaresque states of Algiers and Tunis; the viceroy, however, was more inclined to seek territorial expansion in the east, the more so as the four governorships of Syria had been promised him by the Porte as reward for his participation in the Greek war, a promise that had never been fulfilled. At the end of 1831 there arose difficulties between Muḥammad 'Alī and the Porte on account of the governorship of 'Akkā, which he claimed for himself. The conflict soon brought about the sending of an Egyptian army under Ibrāhīm Pasha into Syria. On May 27, 1832 'Akkā was taken. In the following month the army that was sent by the sultān was repeatedly defeated and finally beaten near Konya (December 21, 1832). The Egyptian army, continuing in the direction of Constantinople, reached Kutahia. Here at last an armistice was concluded between the Porte and Ibrāhīm as representative of his father, thanks again to the intervention of the European powers, of whom Russia had already sent military aid to Constantinople. Muḥammad 'Alī was granted the governorship of Syria and Adana by the definite peace of April 6, 1833.

During the following six years the viceroy's power was at its height. While Ibrāhīm administered Syria, severely but on the whole to the prosperity of the country, Muḥammad 'Alī continued his administrative programme in Egypt and inaugurated a pan-Arabian policy, the aim of which was to be the union of all Arabic-speaking peoples under his leadership. In Arabia his influence was still considerable since the Wāḥḥābī war; he now tried to extend Egyptian influence as far as the 'Irāk. This policy, while at the same time constituting a threat to the ambitions of the European powers in the Near East, was to bring him again into conflict with the sultān, who, having succeeded at last in subduing two independent vassals in other parts of his empire, was waiting for an opportunity to crush his most powerful vassal in Egypt. The latter, in 1838, had even made known his intention of declaring himself independent of the Turkish government.

Not long after the outbreak of hostilities the Turkish army under Ḥāfiẓ Pasha was completely defeated at Naṣīb in North Syria (June 24, 1839), while the Turkish fleet under the Kapudan Pasha Aḥmad sailed to Alexandria and went over to Muḥammad 'Alī's side. In this desperate situation the authority of the Porte was saved by the intervention of the five European powers, in defence of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The Egyptian question had thus produced an international political crisis, which was aggravated by the opposition of France, which had long been the best intentioned towards Muḥammad 'Alī among the European governments. By the convention of

London (July 5, 1840) England, Russia, Austria and Prussia agreed with the Porte upon the terms to be imposed upon Muḥammad 'Alī. When the latter did not accept, there followed military demonstrations against the coastal towns in Syria ('Akkā taken on November 4, 1840). Soon afterwards a British fleet appeared in Alexandria, where Admiral Napier on November 27 concluded an agreement with Muḥammad 'Alī. The viceroy consented to the return of the Turkish fleet and renounced his governorship of Syria, Adana and Crete, while on the other hand he was to keep the hereditary governorship of Egypt as a part of the Turkish Empire. These terms were confirmed by an imperial *firḡān* of February 13, 1841, completed by another of May 23, in which the mutual relations of sultān and viceroy were definitely regulated. The chief points were the right of succession according to seniority in Muḥammad 'Alī's family, the payment of a tribute and the permission to maintain an Egyptian army of 18,000 men, the higher officers of which were to be appointed by the sultān.

Muḥammad 'Alī's last years were passed in peace. In 1846 he visited Constantinople and Ḳawāla; in 1848 he lost his son Ibrāhīm to whom so many of his military successes were due. On August 2, 1849 he himself died in Alexandria, to be succeeded by Ṭusun's son 'Abbās Pasha [q. v.]. He was buried in the new mosque which he had had erected in the citadel of Cairo.

Still more amazing than the career of this once obscure Turkish officer are the enormous changes brought about by his work in the condition and the international position of Egypt; they have made him a hero in the history of the Near East. His reign is an era by itself in Egyptian history. Muḥammad 'Alī's latest biographer says: "He began by seeking only to raise money. He ended by seeking, however mistakenly, to develop and civilise the country" (Dodwell, p. 220). His work indeed did not at all mean a break with the government traditions prevailing in the Turkish Empire, but the political aim that Muḥammad 'Alī had set himself, seconded by his persevering energy and the continuous supervision of his autocratic individuality, led at last to a result which, in similar conditions, would otherwise have been difficult to attain, as is shown by the state of things prevailing at the same time in other provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

As the measures taken by Muḥammad 'Alī in the field of administration, land policy and the industrial and commercial mobilisation of the country have been briefly sketched in the art. **KHEDĪW**, it is unnecessary to enter here into the same details. It is sufficient to point to the fact that all these measures had as their first object to make the pasha himself the sole proprietor and administrator of the riches of Egypt. He certainly listened to the advice of European and other councillors and valued European institutions as examples to follow to a certain extent. But he followed oriental methods and made as good as no use of Europeans as officials in the home administration.

This was not the case in Muḥammad 'Alī's newly created army. The pasha himself had not been entirely able to keep his mercenary troops under control (mutiny in Cairo in 1816). So he decided to form a new army, moved by the

same motives that had led Sultān Selim III to create new regular troops (*nizām-i djedid*). From 1819 this enterprise was confided to and brought to a successful end by the French captain Sève, who, after having embraced Islām, served Muḥammad 'Alī as Sulaimān Pasha. A first attempt to use negro slaves from the Sūdān as soldiers having failed, the *fallāḡs* of Egypt itself were recruited; the officers were mainly taken from among the young Mamlūks, besides whom there were not a few Europeans. With this army were won the military successes in Morea and Syria. The recruitment met with exceedingly strong opposition among the people of Egypt and later in Syria, and the methods used to get the required number were sometimes cruel, but the pasha's energy prevailed. At length this military organisation proved to be a means of education for the people and prepared the growth of national feeling among the generations to come. As has been said already, the final Imperial *firḡān* of 1841 limited the Egyptian army to 18,000 men in time of peace.

Muḥammad 'Alī's attempts to create an Egyptian fleet go back as far as 1815. At first he had ships built in France and Italy and in Bombay, but soon Alexandria itself got its yards. After the destruction of the Egyptian fleet at Navarino ship-building began again and quite a number of French and Italian officers were employed in the Egyptian navy after 1831. The Egyptian fleet, however, did not long survive its founder.

On the whole, Muḥammad 'Alī's rule wore a Turkish character. Most of the responsible posts in the administration and in the army were held by Turks and by descendants of the Mamlūks. Thus the Ottoman ruling system, with some modifications applied after the European model, was imposed on Egypt most completely at the time when the country itself was politically loosened from the empire. It may be called an exception that the Armenian Boghos Bey, who was for a long time Muḥammad 'Alī's minister of finance and of foreign affairs, came to this exalted position, although the use of Christians (Armenians and Copts) in more subordinate offices had always been a government practice in Turkey as well as in Egypt. The viceroy himself is said never to have spoken well any language other than Turkish.

Muḥammad 'Alī was not a great builder of magnificent architectural monuments. He erected a mosque after the Turkish fashion in the citadel of Cairo, but he never built costly palaces for himself. Most of his works were of public utility, such as the improvement and the enlargement of the irrigation system in the Delta, including the Nile Barrage below Cairo. This last work was undertaken in 1847, but failed.

The judgments on Muḥammad 'Alī's personality were very divergent evnn during his life-time. Most of his admirers were found amongst the French; in view of the on the whole friendly attitude of the French government this is of course not strange. British opinion was less favourable, but all those who came into contact with the viceroy were impressed by his personal charm. Now that his era belongs to the past, the impression remains of a great man in many respects, possessed of considerable personal courage and trustworthy and loyal in a high degree. His methods were sometimes cruel and in the begin-

ning of his career he often had recourse to intrigues, but in the circumstances it is hard to understand how it could have been otherwise. As years passed by and the prosperity of the country increased, his methods of government grew more lenient, so that, at the end of his reign, he had become decidedly popular with his subjects. An equestrian statue of Muḥammad 'Alī now commands the chief square of Alexandria and one of the largest thoroughfares in Cairo is called after him.

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MUHAMMAD 'ALĪ B. MUẒAFFAR AL-DĪN. [See KADJAR.]

MUHAMMAD BAIRAM (MUHAMMAD B. MUṢTAFĀ B. MUHAMMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. HUSAIN B. AḤMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. HUSAIN B. BAIRĀM), a Tunisian patriot and man of letters, born in Tunis in Muḥarram 1256 (March 5—April 3, 1840) and died on Wednesday, 25th Rabi' II, 1307 (Dec. 18, 1889) in Egypt, at Ḥulwān, and was buried in Cairo near the tomb of the Imām al-Shāfi'.
Belonging to the family of the Bairams whose

ancestor Bairam, at the head of a body of soldiers, took part in the capture of Tunis by Sinān Pāshā on 25th Djumādā 981 (Sept. 24, 1573) and of which several members had held the office of grand mufti of Tunis, Muhammad Bairam studied at the Djamī' al-Zaitūna and had as teachers al-Ṭāhir b. 'Āshūr, al-Shādhilī b. Ṣāliḥ, Aḥmad Bairam, Muṣṭafā Bairam, the Shāikh al-Islām Muḥammad b. Mu'āwiya and others. At the age of 17, he compiled a *kunnāsh* in which he recorded the ordinances, decrees and administrative regulations which the emir Muḥammad Pāshā ordered the authorities to enforce.

On the death of his paternal uncle Bairam IV, he was given charge of the Madrasat al-'Unukiya on 9th Djumādā I, 1278 (Nov. 10, 1861) and on the 9th of the following month (Dec. 13) of that of the Djamī' al-Zaitūna. Soon after this, troubles provoked by the despotic régime began to disturb Tunisia and resulted in the closing of the representative assemblies in which Bairam was interested. He published in the *Rā'id*, the official gazette, the two first political articles that ever appeared in Tunisia and in them he condemned the tyranny of the authorities, preached the love of liberty and begged the government to be liberal and to grant its subjects representative assemblies.

On Ṣafar 17, 1291 (April 6, 1874) he was appointed to administer the *awḡāf*, which he hastened to reorganise. The hard work ruined his health and forced him to take a journey in Europe to recuperate; this caused him to begin his *Ṣafwat al-'Itibār*. He left in Shawwāl 1292 (Oct. 31—Nov. 28, 1875) and visited Paris. In the same year the Ṣādiḳi College was founded; Bairam shared in the preparation of the regulation and programme of studies, modelled on those of European institutions, and was one of the first to enrol his son so as to encourage his compatriots to take advantage of such innovations.

On 1st Djumādā II, 1292 (May 7, 1875) he was put in charge of the government printing works which he at once reorganised, and securing eminent assistants like Muḥammad al-Ṣanūsī of Tunis and Ḥamza Faṭḥ Allāh of Cairo he produced the *Rā'id* regularly. It was at this time also that he reorganised the Maktabat al-Ṣādiḳiyya alongside of the Djamī' al-Zaitūna.

In 1293 (1876) he assisted Turkey in the war with Serbia and Montenegro by sending money, horses and camels, political considerations preventing the despatch of help in men.

In the summer of 1295 (1878) he went a second time to Paris, visited the Exhibition and was received with great consideration by President MacMahon. He took the opportunity to visit London and England and, on his way back, Algiers. He took a very prominent part in the reorganisation or rather the creation of the Ṣādiḳi Hospital which was opened on Ṣafar 18, 1296 (Feb. 1879). At the same time he was one of the two arbitrators appointed by the Tunisian government in the case of Henshīr Saiyidī Ṭhābit and the French government. In the middle of the same year, he was appointed by the vizier to go to Paris, to receive medical attention, it was said, but in reality to ask Gambetta to remove the French consul, who was interfering in the domestic affairs of the country and even managing them. The consul thwarted the plans of Bairam and the vizier. On his return he told the vizier that France intended to annex Tunisia. Tired of the vexatious pestering

of the vizier Muṣṭafā b. Ismā'il he obtained, after many attempts, permission to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and left Tunis, never to return, on Shawwāl 16, 1296 (Oct. 4, 1879). He went via Malta, Alexandria and Cairo, where he was received by the Khedive Tewfīḳ Pāshā, and thence to the Ḥijāz, visiting Mecca and Medina. He then went via Yambu' and the Suez Canal to Bairūt, where he was much honoured by the people and by Midḥat Pāshā, the governor of Syria, and on to Constantinople. He wrote a *ḥaṣida* in honour of Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamid. The Tunisian government at the instigation of the French consul, who feared the establishment of closer relations between Turkey and Tunisia, demanded his return but the Sublime Porte diplomatically did not receive the request.

It was in Constantinople that he began to prepare the *Ṣafwa* for publication and finished the first two volumes. The penetration of France into Tunisia was a rude shock to Bairam, who in collaboration with the former vizier of Tunisia, Khair al-Din, was appointed by the Sublime Porte to prepare a report on the situation created by France. Despairing of returning to his native town he went to Leghorn and was joined by his family; he then went to Geneva, where he left his son to finish his education, and to Vienna and Bucharest and then settled in Constantinople. The Sulṭān, wishing to send some horses as a present to the Emperor Frederick III of Germany, Bairam was appointed to write the letter conveying the gift. During the eighteen months which he spent in the Turkish capital, Bairam drew a pension of £ T 25 per month. It was during this stay that he prepared the third volume of the *Ṣafwa*.

His health being undermined by an illness which grew worse daily and being unable to meet his expenses and fearing the machinations of his detractors, who saw in him a man to be removed, he left Constantinople on 1st Muḥarram 1302 (Oct. 21, 1884) to go to Egypt, where his letters of recommendation secured him the esteem of the Khedive Tewfīḳ Pāshā, who gave him a pension.

On the 25th Rabi' of the same year (Jan. 13, 1883) he produced *al-'Ilām*, a political and scientific journal.

Two years later, he went to London to attend the Jubilee celebrations of Queen Victoria, had medical attention in Paris and returned to Egypt via Berlin and Vienna. He then completed a work which he had begun in Constantinople entitled *Taḍjīrid al-Sinān li 'l-Radd 'ala 'l-Khaṭīb Rinān* (Renan), in which he refuted the arguments which Renan had advanced at a conference in the Sorbonne on March 29, 1883 on *Islamisme et la Science* (Paris 1883), in which he alleged that religion was an obstacle to the diffusion of science among Muslims. He also published a *Risāla* in which he declared that it was permitted to purchase bonds or shares in a Muslim government loan so that Muslim money should not leave the country, and that this had no character of usury. He wrote a report on the compulsory use of the Arabic language in the teaching even of modern sciences. He finished the fourth volume of the *Ṣafwa* and had begun the fifth which death prevented him from finishing.

On 12th Djumādā I, 1306 (Jan. 14, 1889) Bairam was appointed a judge in the Tribunal de 1^{er} Instance in Cairo. Going to Ḥulwān for a change of air, he took pleurisy and died after 25 days' illness.

He had a vast knowledge of Ḥadīth, law, history, ancient and modern, and historical and political geography.

In addition to the works already mentioned and numerous *risālas* which it would take too long to enumerate, we may mention the following: 1. *Tuḥfat al-Khawāṣṣ fī Ḥill Ṣaid Bunduḡ al-Raṣāṣ*, printed at Cairo in 1303 in which he claims that the law regards as permitted the flesh of game killed with fire-arms; 2. a treatise on prosody; 3. a *risāla* in which he says that it is permissible for men to let their hair hang down and float in the air, contrary to the opinion of several *faḥīhs*; 4. *al-Taḥkīk fī Maṣ'alat al-Raḥīk*, a study in which he shows what slavery among Muslims is according to the law, points out the motives of slavery and the rules regulating it, and concludes by saying that slaves who are sold at the present day are free men and that Muslim governments which forbid the sale of slaves are acting in accordance with the law; 5. *Ṣafwat al-Ittibār bi-Mustawḍa' al-Amṣār*, published in 6 vols. in Cairo in 1302—1303, 1303, 1304, 1311, the sixth volume being devoted to the biography of Muḥammad Bairam and edited by his son of the same name; it is perhaps the best treatise yet written in Arabic on political geography.

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(MOH. BENCHENEB)

MUḤAMMAD BAKĀ', son of Shaikh Ghulām Muḥammad, born in 1037 (1627), was first taught by his father and then by Shaikh 'Abd Allāh, called Miyān Ḥaḍrat, and Shaikh Nūr al-Ḥaḡḡ b. 'Abd al-Ḥaḡḡ Dihlawī. After a few years he himself began teaching in his native country. He first became a *murīd* or disciple of his father, and after the latter's death attached himself to the famous saint, Muḥammad Maṣūm Sarhindī. He was persuaded by Iftikhār Khān, Mir Khānsāmān, to come to the court of Awrangzēb and accepted the duties of *Bakhshi* (pay master) and *Wākī'ah-nigār* (writer of the official diary), but by special favour he enjoyed much leisure, which he devoted to literary work. He died in 1094 (1683) at Sahāranpūr. He is the author of 1. *Mir'āt Dīhān Numā* (a general history compiled under Awrangzēb), 2. *Riyāḍ al-Awliyā'* (life of saints), 3. *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'* (biographies of the poets).

Bibliography: Bakhtāwar Khān, *Mir'āt al-'Ālam*, fol. 478b; Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, viii. 145—165; Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS. Br. Mus.*, iii. 890a; Ethé, *Cat. of Persian MSS. India Office*, p. 49. (M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUḤAMMAD BAKHTIYĀR KHALDĪ was an inhabitant of Ghūr [q. v.]. He was of a very mean appearance and amongst other deformities of his person it is said that when he stood upright the end of his fingers extended considerably below his knees. When he reached the age of manhood he went to Ghazna [q. v.] and offered himself as a volunteer to the officers of Muḥammad Ghōrī, but they refused to enrol him. He, therefore, repaired to Dihli and was appointed by Kuṭb al-Dīn Aibeg [q. v.] to command an army destined for the conquest of Bihār about 596 (1199). Here he was very successful. He was next ordered to invade Bengal. In 600—601 (1203—1204) he proceeded

to Nadyā, the capital of Bengal, and captured it without any bloodshed. His last attempt was directed towards the invasion of Bhūṭān and Tibet, but he met with reverses which compelled him to retreat. He succeeded in reaching Dēvikōt in Bengal where he died, but his body was carried to Bihār and buried there in 602 (1206).

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Bākī Nihāwandī, *Ma'āthir Rahīmī*, part i., p. 292—294; Stewart, *History of Bengal*, London 1813, p. 38—50; Wheeler, *History of India*, iv., part i., London 1886, p. 46; and Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, London 1894, p. 261.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUḤAMMAD BEY ABŪ DHĀHAB. [See 'ALĪ BEY.]

MUḤAMMAD BEY 'OTHMĀN AL-DJALĀL was born in Egypt in 1829, the son of a judge in the Court of Appeal, named Yūsuf al-Ḥasanī. When a boy he learned English, French and Turkish at the school of languages (*Madrasat al-Asun*) and when only 16 was given an appointment in the government translation bureau. His patron, the engineer Clot Bey, had him appointed to the Conseil de Médecine. In 1863 he entered the War Ministry and five years later the Ministry of the Interior. In 1879 the Khedive Tewfiḡ Pasha appointed him to his civil cabinet and several times took him to accompany him on journeys. After the death of the Khedive he was appointed a judge in Cairo. In 1895 he was pensioned and he devoted himself to literary work till his death at the end of 1898.

In collaboration with Clot Bey, he published a sketch of the history of Muḥammad 'Alī and an elementary grammar of the Arabic and French languages and also a description in rhyme of his journey with the Khedive Tewfiḡ. He then devoted himself to the translation of poetry: first of the fables of La Fontaine, the novel *Paulet Virginie*, and of Racine's tragedies *Alexandre le Grand*, *Esther* and *Iphigénie*. All these he translated into classical Arabic. But his real importance lies in his endeavour to translate Molière's comedies into the modern Arabic vernacular of Egypt, freely adapting them to Arabic conditions:

a. *Tartuffe* under the title *Shaikh Matlūf*, which Vollers edited under the title *Is sēh Matlūf* (cf. *Z. D. M. G.*, xlv. 71 sqq. and thereon Socin, *ibid.*, xlv. 131 sqq.); b. *Madrasat al-Aẓwāj* (*L'École des Maris*), transcribed and translated by M. Sobernheim, Berlin 1896; c. *al-Nisā' al-'ālimāt* (*Les Femmes Savantes*), transcribed and translated by Fr. Kern, Berlin 1898; d. *Madrasat al-Nisā' (L'École des Femmes)*; e. *Riwāyat al-Thuḡalā'* (*Les Pêcheurs*), 1897. His collections of popular poems were also lithographed: *Ḥiml Zadjal*.

The Egyptians were not much attracted by these comedies translated into the vernacular. The language did not appear cultured enough to the Egyptian public. They were hardly ever produced and the rich vocabulary which the comedies contain has not been noticed or utilised by students of modern Arabic.

Bibliography: On metre and language see Socin, Sobernheim and Kern, *loc. cit.*; and see also Brockelmann *G. A. L.*, ii. 176 sq.; and the poet's autobiography in *al-Khiṭā' al-djādida* of 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, xvii. 62; *al-Adab al-'Arabīya fī 'l-Kārn al-tāsi'* *ashr*, ii. 91 sq.; J. E. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bibliographie arabe*, ii., col. 1306. (M. SOBERNHEIM)

MUHAMMAD ÇELEBİ. [See GHĀZĀLĪ.]

MUHAMMAD DAMAD PAŞHA, grand-vizier, also called ÖKÜZ MUHAMMAD PAŞHA, was the son of a farrier of Constantinople and was educated (rather unusual at that time for a boy from Constantinople) in the imperial palace for a military career. He left the palace as *silihdār*, but we do not know his career until he was appointed, in 1016 (1607—1608), governor of Egypt. Here he was successful in the energetic suppression of a Mamlūk revolt and when he returned in 1610 to the capital with two years' tribute, he was appointed Kapudan Paşa, being at the same time married to sultān Aḥmad's seven years' old daughter Gawhar Khān (married afterwards to Rādjāb Paşa and Siyāwush Paşa; cf. *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, i. 147), which assured him the qualification *damad*. As Kapudan Paşa he was made responsible for a defeat inflicted in 1613 on a part of his fleet, off the island of Chios, by a small Spanish-Sicilian fleet; this blow prevented the landing of Turkish ships in Syria on an expedition against the Druses. Damad Muḥammad was dismissed from the post of Kapudan, became, however, second vizier and, after Naṣūḥ Paşa's execution (October 17, 1614) he was appointed grand-vizier. In this office he commanded in 1615 as *ser-āsker* in a new campaign against Persia, the peace negotiations having ended unsuccessfully a short time before. Nothing was undertaken, however, that year, partly owing to astrological calculations. The grand-vizier remained that winter in Aleppo. The next year the Persians were attacked in Armenia, where they had made some progress; Eriwan was beleaguered and capitulated beginning of July 1616 after a 25 days' siege. The Turkish army was obliged, however, to withdraw with heavy losses occasioned by the rude climate and the insufficient food supplies. Damad Muḥammad was dismissed in January 1617 to be succeeded by Khalil Paşa [q. v.]; in the Venetian *Relazioni* Khalil Paşa and Muḥammad Paşa are described as the only members of the Imperial Diwān that really count. The next year, after the accession of 'Othmān II, he became Khalil's *kā'im-makām* during that year's Persian campaign and, after Khalil's disgrace, was appointed a second time grand-vizier (January 18, 1619). This dignity he held only a year, in which peace was concluded with Persia; the reason of his dismissal was a dispute with the Kapudan Güzelde 'Alī Paşa [q. v.], a favourite of the sultān (January 1620). Damad Muḥammad went as governor to Aleppo after having been deprived of all his wealth by the extortions of his successor. He died soon after his arrival in Aleppo and was buried in the *tekke* of Shaikh Abū Bakr, where he had a *türbe* made for himself.

Bibliography: The principal Turkish sources are Na'imā I, Peṭewī and Hādīdjī Khalifa (*Fedh-leke and Tuḥfat al-Kibār*). Further von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 442, 468, 475 sqq.; 507 sqq. where some contemporaneous western sources are indicated; 'Othmān Zāde, *Hādīkat al-Wuzarā'*, p. 61; *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 147.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MIRZĀ MUHAMMAD DJĀFAR KARADJĀ-DĀGHĪ, Munshī of the Qādjār prince Djalāl al-Dīn Mirzā and translator into Persian of the famous comedies of the Ādharbāidjānī playwright Mirzā Faṭḥ 'Alī Aḥundzāde. After they had been published

(1859) Mirzā Faṭḥ 'Alī sent a copy of his plays to the above-mentioned Qādjār prince in the hope that he would take notice of it. But the book lay unheeded for years in the prince's library until Muḥammad Djāfar opened it by chance. The munshī, delighted with the plays, at once decided to translate them into Persian. As no one would help him, he was forced to print the translation at his own expense, which brought him into considerable financial difficulties. The translation appeared in lithograph in Teherān in 1874 under the title *Tamthilāt*. When the work was finished, Muḥammad Djāfar corresponded with the author and found out that they were related. The Persian translation is of the greatest importance for the history of Persian theatre as it gave the stimulus to the composition of original works. The influence of Aḥundzāde on the work of Malkum-Khān and even on more recent dramatists, such as Maḥmūdī, is quite apparent. From the artistic point of view however, Muḥammad Djāfar's translations cannot be called successful as their language is very clumsy and filled with countless Ādharbāidjānisms. It is remarkable that European orientalists first became acquainted with Aḥundzāde's works in their Persian dress and published a considerable number of these translations (see *Bibl.*) as textbooks for the study of spoken Persian, although, in view of their linguistic defects, the translations cannot by any means be regarded as models of the living Persian language.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *Grundriss*, ii. 316; W. H. D. Haggard and G. Le Strange, *The Vizir of Lankuran*, London 1882. Reviews of this book by A. Chodzko, *Bulletin de l'Athénée Oriental*, Paris 1883 and Barbier de Meynard, *Revue critique*, Paris, March 19, 1883; Barbier de Meynard and S. Guyard, *Trois comédies traduites du dialecte turc azéri en persan*, Paris 1885; A. Wahrmond, *Monsieur Jourdan, der pariser Botaniker in Qarabāg. Neupersisches Lustspiel von Muh. Gæf. Qarāga daḡi*, Vienna 1889. Review by V. Zhukovski, *Zap.*, v. (1890), 129—132; A. Rogers, *Three Persian Plays*, London 1890. An edition of the *Ḥākīm-i Nābātāt*, without author's name, London 1893; A. Krimski, *Perški t'eatr zwiidki win uḥawō i jak rozwiwawōs*, Kiev 1925, p. 83—86 (Ukrainian); E. Berthels, *Očerk istorii persidskoj literaturī*, Leningrad 1928, p. 130 (Russian).

(E. BERTHEL'S)

MUHAMMAD ES'AD. [See GHĀLIB DEDE.]

MUHAMMAD ES'AD. [See ES'AD EFENDI.]

MUHAMMAD GHAWTH GAWĀLIYĀRĪ,

an Indian saint. He was a descendant of the famous saint Shaikh Farid al-Dīn 'Attār [q. v.], his full name being Abū 'l-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad b. Khaṭīr al-Dīn b. Laṭīf b. Mu'īn al-Dīn Kaṭṭāl b. Khaṭīr al-Dīn b. Bāyazīd b. Farid al-Dīn 'Attār. Some say that his great-grandfather Mu'īn al-Dīn Kaṭṭāl came to India and died at Djawnpūr. One of his brothers, Shaikh Bahlūl, who was attached to the service of Humāyūn, fell in battle and lies buried at the gate of the fort in Bayāna. According to his own statement, Muḥammad Ghawth was born in 906 (1500). He was a pupil of Shaikh Zuhūr al-Dīn Hādīdjī Hudūr, and belonged to the Shaṭṭāriya sect of Sūfis. He and his eight brothers were disciples of Shaikh Hādīdjī Hamīd, khalifa of Shāh Kāḍan, the disciple and khalifa of Shaikh 'Abd Allāh Shaṭṭārī. After leading a solitary life

for more than thirteen years in the mountains of Cūnār, he came to Guḍjarāt, where he became acquainted with the popular saint and scholar Shaikh Wadji al-Din Guḍjarāti. He went to Āgra in 966 (1558) and was treated with high regard by Akbar. Subsequently he returned to Gawāliyar, where he died in 970 (1562). Humāyūn is also said to have been a faithful follower of Muḥammad Ghawth.

He was the author of several Sūfi works, the most popular of which is *Djawāhir-i Khamsa*, in Arabic, which he completed in 956 (1549), and which he subsequently rendered into Persian with additional improvements. His other works are *Kalid-i Makhāsīn*, *Bahr al-Hayāt*, and *Mī'rādī Nāma*. It is related that his ecstatic sayings in the *Mī'rādī Nāma* were condemned by the 'ulamā' of Guḍjarāt, who passed orders for his execution, but that he was saved by the timely intervention of the above-mentioned Shaikh Wadji al-Din.

Bibliography: Bankipore Lib., *Cat.*, vol. xvi., Nrs. 1383—1384; *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, p. 236; *Khazinat al-Asfiya*, p. 969; *Tadhkirat-i Ulamā-i Hind*, p. 206; see also Ḥājjī Khalifa, ii. 643; Ethé, *India Office Lib. Cat.*, Nrs. 1875—1876; Loth, *Arab. Cat.*, Nrs. 671—672.

(ABDUL MUQTADIR)

MUHAMMAD GURDJĪ PASHA. Two Turkish grand-viziers are known under this name.

1. The one who is also called KHĀDIM MUHAMMAD PASHA began his political career after having been a eunuch in the imperial palace; in 1604 he became *wālī* in Egypt, where he was able to establish some order; after that he was twice *kā'im-makām* of the grand-vizierate in the capital, in 1611 and in 1615; in the meantime he had held governorships in Erzerūm, Bosnia and Belgrad. He was called to the grand-vizierate in the days of Sulṭān Muṣṭafā I's second reign, when the Janissaries and the Sipāhis were dictating their will at Constantinople (September 1622). Khādim Muḥammad owed his nomination to the Sipāhis — who had obtained the dismissal of Mīr Ḥusain Pasha, the leader of the Janissaries — but also to the confidence of the *wālīde* and to his well-earned reputation of a wise and experienced politician. He succeeded indeed in the abolition of abuses in the army administration by convoking a large council of dignitaries, where the reinforcement of the *kanūn* was decided. When, however, in several parts of the empire, there arose opposition against the Janissary regime, especially the action of Abāza Pasha [q.v.] in Erzerūm, the grand-vizier was unable to oppose the Janissaries in Constantinople. Their leader Mīr Ḥusain was intriguing again, while at the same time the soldateska was crying for revenge for Sulṭān 'Othmān II; as a result of these riots the former grand-vizier Dāwūd Pasha was killed in January 1623. On February 5 of the same year the rebellious Janissaries, declaring that a eunuch could not be their grand-vizier, obtained his dismissal in favour of Mīr Ḥusain. Gurdjī Muḥammad went into exile, but after the enthronement of Murād IV he came back to the capital as vizier and acted for the third time as *kā'im-makām* in May 1624 when the then grand-vizier went on an expedition against Abāza. He died on March 26 and was buried in a *türbe* in Eiyūb. His age is not given in the sources. In the opinion of the English resident Roe, Gurdjī Muḥammad was one of the few per-

sonalities that were able to lead the affairs of the empire.

Bibliography: The historians Na'imā, Pečewi, Ḥasan Bey Zāde, Ḥājjī Khalifa (*Fedh-leke*); Tuḡhī, *Waḳ'at-i Sulṭān 'Othmān Khān* (used by von Hammer, not printed but existing in a French translation; cf. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 157); 'Othmān Zāde Tā'ib, *Ḥādīkat al-Wusarā*, p. 71; *Sidjill-i 'othmāni*, iv. 151; von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iv.; Jorga, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, iii.

2. One of the grand-viziers of the first period of Muḥammad IV's reign, when the state affairs were really governed by the *wālīde* Kösem [q.v.] and the *kızlar aghas* Suleimān. This Gurdjī Muḥammad had already a long career as governor of Syria and other provinces behind him when, at the age of 94 years, he was called to the highest dignity in the beginning of November 1651 as successor of Siyāwush Pasha, who had shown too much independence towards the court. During his grand-vizierate he is said to have shown fully his lack of capacity, taking the alarming revolts in Asia Minor of Abāza Pasha, Ipshir Pasha and Kaṭırdjī Oḡlu with the greatest equanimity. He was especially anxious to remove from the capital all possible rivals to the grand-vizierate, amongst them Muḥammad Köprülü, which brought him, as Na'imā says, the nickname of *habb al-salāṭin* "the pill of the sulṭāns". On June 19, 1652 he was deposed again by the court party. After having been exiled he lived some time at Eiyūb and died in 1664, at the age of 110 years, in Temesvár.

Bibliography: The histories of Na'imā and Pečewi, further Wedjīhī (not published and used by von Hammer; cf. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 208); also the *Siyāhat-nāme* of Ewliyā; 'Othmān Zāde Tā'ib, *Ḥādīkat al-Wusarā*, p. 95 sqq.; von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, v.; Jorga, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, iii., iv.; Aḥmad Rafīk, *Qāḍīnlar Saltanatı*, Constantinople 1914—1924. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD HASAN KHAN, a Persian man of letters, who died on 19th Shawwāl 1313 (April 3, 1896). His honorific titles were *Sanī' al-Dawla* and later *I'timād al-Saltāna*.

Through his mother he was related to the Kādījars [q.v.] and through his father he claimed descent from the Mongol rulers. His father, Ḥājjī 'Alī Khān of Marāgha, was a faithful servant of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh (in 1852 he discovered the conspiracy of Sulaimān Khān) and the son from his youth upwards was in the service of the court.

Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān was one of the first students at the Dār al-Funūn founded in 1268 (1851) and spent 12 years there. Later he went with his father when he was appointed governor of 'Arabistān. In 1280 (1863) he was appointed second secretary to the Paris Legation and spent three and a half years there. On his return to Ṭeherān he was appointed interpreter to the Shāh and in this capacity accompanied him on his travels. In 1288 (1871) he was appointed head of the dragomanate (*dār al-tarjūma*) and of the press bureau (*dār al-ṭibā'a*) as well as director of the official *Rūnāma-yi dawlati*. In 1290 he was appointed superintendent of the palaces and assistant to the minister of justice and henceforth continually rose in rank.

E. G. Browne criticises severely the work of

Muhammad Ḥasan Khān and accuses him of having put his name to books alleged to have been written for him by indigent scholars. On the other hand, Joukovsky speaks with much respect of his works and shows that he inspired a great many literary undertakings (e.g. the printing of the Qur'ān with an inter-linear Persian translation, concordance and index; the foundation of a press for printing in Roman characters; the establishment of the Mushiriya school; encouragement of the daily press etc.) although after the appearance at Bombay of a satirical work by Shaikh Ḥashimī Shīrāzī the censorship was established on the suggestion of Muhammad Ḥasan Khān.

The fact is that the number of works — often very useful — bearing the name of Muhammad Ḥasan Khān, is very large. Without the help of "secretaries" some of these books could not have been undertaken. To Muhammad Ḥasan Khān is in any case due the honour of having suggested them. His principal works deal with the history and geography of Persia and are often in the form of almanacs. They are: *Mir'āt al-Buldān*, i., two editions (1293, 1294, a dictionary of geography: letters ا — و); ii., 1295 (history of the years i.—xv. of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn and calendar); iii. (years xvi.—xxxii. of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn and calendar); iv., 1296 (geography: letters ث — ج and history of 1296). In the geographical portions we find quotations from Yāqūt and European travellers along with notes specially prepared by the local authorities (an extract from the *Mir'āt al-Buldān*: *Tārīkh-i Bābul wa-Ninawā* was published at Bombay in 1311); *Tārīkh-i muntazam-i Nāṣiri*, 3 parts, 1298—1300 (history from the time of the Hijra; vol. iii.: history of the Qādjar 1194—1300); *Maṭla' al-Shams*, 3 vols., 1301—1303 (description of the journey to Khurāsān with important archaeological data; ii. 165—213 contains the autobiography of Shāh Tahmāsp, and ii. 469—500 a list of books in the library of the sanctuary of Mashhad); *Kitāb Ḥidā'ija al-Sa'ada fi Ḥadīdja al-Shahāda*, Tīhrān 1304, Tabriz 1310 (history of the martyrs of Karbalā); *Khairātun ḥisānun* [cf. Sūra lx. 70], 3 vols., 1304—1307 (biographies of famous women of the Islām); *Kitāb Durar al-Tijān fi Tārīkh Bani Ashkān*, 1308—1310, 3 vols. (history of the Arsacids); *Kitāb al-Ma'āthir wa'l-Aṭhār*, 1309 (historical almanac for the 40th anniversary of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh); *Kitāb al-Tadwin fi Ahwāl Djabal-i Sharwīn*, 1311 (history and geography of Sawād-kūh in Māzandarān).

In the field of literature Muhammad Ḥasan Khān was only a translator (Swiss Family Robinson, romances of Jules Verne, discovery of America, *Tārīkh-i Inkishāf-i Yangi Dunyā*, Tīhrān 1288, Memoirs on the Indian Mutiny of 1857). He also wrote a number of text-books on geography and on the French language.

Bibliography: V. A. Joukovsky (Žukowski), obituary of Muhammad Ḥasan Khān in *Z. V. O.*, x., 1896, p. 187—191; Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 453—456; Edwards, *Catalogue of Persian Books of the Brit. Mus.*, p. 479—480.

(V. MINORSKY)

MUHAMMAD ḤUSAIN TABRIZI, a famous Persian calligrapher, pupil of the celebrated Mir Saiyid Aḥmad Maṣḥḥadī and teacher of the

no less famous Mir 'Imād. His remarkable command of the art of calligraphy, so popular in Persia, brought him the title of honour *Mihīn Ustād* (greatest master). His father Mirzā Shukrullāh was *Mustawfī al-Mamālik* to the Ṣafawid Tahmāsp I (1521—1576), the master himself, according to the Oriental sources, was vizier to Shāh Ismā'īl II (1576—1578) but lost the favour of the sovereign and was forced to fly to India where he remained to his death. Rieu says he died about 950 (1543), but this does not agree with other biographical details and is indeed improbable. That he spent the remainder of his life in India is evident from the fact that most of the manuscripts known to have been written by him were finished in India. The inscriptions on the masjids and khānqāhs of Tabriz are said to have been his masterpieces but unfortunately they have been almost entirely destroyed by earthquakes. After completing these inscriptions he made the obligatory pilgrimage to Mecca and on his return devoted himself exclusively to copying the masterpieces of Persian poetry. A *Diwān* of the Persian poet Amīr Shāhī from his pen is in the Cambridge University Library.

Bibliography: Cl. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'orient musulman*, Paris 1908, p. 237; E. Browne, *A Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, 1899, No. 265, p. 353; Mirzā Ḥabīb, *Khafī u-Khaffāfān*, Constantinople 1306; *Tārīkh-i 'Alamārāy-i 'Abbāsi*, Teheran 1314, p. 126; Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum*..., p. 782a, 783a, 785a. (E. BERTHELS)

MUHAMMAD ISMĀ'IL B. 'ABD AL-GHĀNĪ AL-SHAHĪD MAWLĀNĀ was born on the 28th Shawwāl 1196 (1781), of a Dihlī family that traces its origin to the Caliph 'Umar. He was a nephew of the famous Mawlānā Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 1239 = 1823). Having lost his father early, he was brought up by his uncle Mawlānā 'Abd al-Qādir (d. 1242 = 1826). In childhood he was inattentive to his studies and fond of swimming in the Djamna, but thanks to a retentive memory and a keen intellect he later on became a learned man.

Being shocked at the *shirk* or idolatrous tendencies, then prevailing among Indian Muslims, he zealously preached the doctrines of Islām. Impressed by the religious sanctity of Saiyid Aḥmad al-Mudjaddid, he became his disciple and his constant companion. In 1236 (1820) they went to Mecca and then to Constantinople, where they were received with marked consideration. Six years later, on their return to Dihlī, they gained many followers. In 1243 (1827) they with many disciples went to Peshāwar and declared a religious war against the Sikhs. But owing to some innovations upon the usages of the Afghāns, their power declined and during a retreat they perished in a skirmish with the Sikhs in 1247 (1831).

He is the author of the following works:

1. *Risāla Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, a treatise on the principles of Muhammadan law according to the Ḥanafī school;
2. *Manzab-i Imāmat*, a Persian treatise on the Imāmat;
3. *Taḳwīyat al-Imān*, an Urdu treatise on theology (printed 1293, translated into English by Mir Shāhāmāt 'Alī, cf. *J. R. A. S.*, xiii. 316);
4. *Shirāt al-Mustaḥḥim*, a treatise in Persian on the doctrines of Islām.

Bibliography: Şiddik Hasan, *Ithāf al-Nubalā'*, p. 416; Saiyid Aḥmad Khān, *Athār al-Sanādīd*, ii. 97; and ʔ. R. A. S., xiii. 310.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUHAMMAD KĀZIM B. MUHAMMAD AMİN was a *munshi*² or secretary to Awrangzēb. He was entrusted with the compilation, from official records, of the history of the emperor's reign and was ordered to submit it to him for correction. He accompanied the emperor on his journey to Adjmir where he fell ill and was consequently sent back to Dihli and died there shortly after his return in 1092 (1681).

The history which he composed is known as *Ālamgir Nāma*; it begins with the departure of Awrangzēb from Awrangābād in 1068 (1657) and is brought down to 1078 (1667). It has been printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1865–1868.

Bibliography: Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, ii. 210; Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vii. 174–180; N. Lees, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., iii. 464; and Rieu, *Cat. of the Persian MSS. Br. Mus.*, ii. 267^a.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUHAMMAD KHALĪFA. [See MUHAMMAD B. HUSAIN.]

MUHAMMAD KHĀN BANGASH, Nawwāb styled Ghādanfar Djang, was a Rohila chief of the tribe of Bangash. The city of Farrukhābād was founded by him in the name of his patron the emperor Farrukhsiyar. When Muhammad Shāh became emperor of Dihli, he appointed him governor of Mālwa in 1143 (1730), but as he could not stop the repeated attacks of the Mahrattas he was removed in 1145 (1732) and appointed governor of Ilāhābād. Muhammad Khān intended to reduce the Bundēlas of whom Rādjā Chātursāl was chief. He captured several places but as he did not know the roads, Chātursāl with the help of Peshwa Bādji Rāo, surrounded him suddenly with an army. The Nawwāb took refuge in the fortress of Djaigarh; whereupon his son, Kāsim Djang, having collected an army of Afghāns marched to Djaigarh and escorted his father in safety to Ilāhābād. The imperial ministers then removed him from the governorship. He died in 1156 (1743).

Bibliography: *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, ii. 771–774; *Tārīkh-i Farrukhābād* (Asiatic Society's copy), fol. 9, 13, 18, 20, 26 and 46–48; and *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xii. 64–65.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUHAMMAD KÖPRÜLÜ. [See KÖPRÜLÜ.]

MUHAMMAD LALA PASHA. [See MUHAMMAD PASHA LALA.]

MUHAMMAD LĀLEZĀRĪ, SHAIKH, author of a work on tulips, *Mizān al-Ashār* "Balance of Flowers". This treatise on the cultivation of tulips was composed in the reign of Sultan Aḥmad III (1115–1143 = 1703–1730), who had given the author the title *Shūkūfepervverān* on the suggestion of the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha between 1718 and 1730.

Bibliography: H. Fr. von Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus Asien*, Halle and Berlin 1815, ii. 1 sqq., reprinted as: *Vom Tulpen- und Narcissen-Bau in der Türkei aus dem Türkischen des Scheich Muhammad Lalezari*, Halle and Berlin 1815; Pertsch, *Katalog der türk. Hss. Berlin*, p. 305, N^o. 232.

(TH. MENZEL)

MUHAMMAD LĀLEZĀRĪ, TĀHIR, the name of a Qādi who died in 1204 (1789) in Constantinople, who wrote a series of theological treatises and commentaries, which are still only accessible in ms.: *Mizān al-Muḥim fi Ma'rifat al-Kisās al-mustakim*; *Daf' I'tirād Rāghib fi Ḥaḳḳ al-Fuṣūṣ*; commentary on the *Qaṣide-i nūniye*, and the commentaries in a collected volume in the 'Ashir Efendi-Library in Constantinople (*Defter-i Kutübhkhāne-i 'Ashir Efendi*, Constantinople 1306, p. 188, N^o. 124 [3rd Waḳf-foundation]) containing: *Djāwāhir al-zāhire* (on Ghazālī); *Yāḳūt al-ḥamrā* (on Birgawī); *Zumrudat al-khadrā* (on 'Abd al-Qādir al-Gilānī); *al-Durrat al-zuhra* (on *Ḥizb al-Bahr*) and *Kawkab al-dirri* (on Ibn Maṣhish). The name Lālezārī comes from Lālezār, a quarter of Constantinople near the Fātiḥ Mosque.

Bibliography: Brusali Mehmed Tāhir, *Oṭhmānī Mū'ellifleri*, i. 349, to which may be added Thuriyā, *Sidjill-i oṭhmāni*, iii. 243; Tāhir Lālezār-zāde, who in 1201 (1786–1787) was Mollā of Eiyüb.

(TH. MENZEL)

MUHAMMAD MUHSIN AL-ĤĀDJIDJ, son of Ḥādjidj Faḳd Allāh, son of Āghā Faḳd Allāh, a rich merchant of Irān who came to India in the early part of the xviiith century, was born at Hügli in 1143 (1730). For a time the Āghā resided at Murshidābād and carried on there an extensive mercantile business, but finding the rising port of Hügli a more convenient centre, he finally settled there with his son Ḥādjī Faḳd Allāh.

Already settled at Hügli was one Āghā Muṭahhar, who, coming originally from Persia like Āghā Faḳd Allāh, had won his way at the court of Awrangzēb [q. v.]. That monarch had conferred upon him extensive *djāgirs* in Djisūr and other places in Bengal, and Āghā Muṭahhar, eager to take possession, finally himself set out from Dihli for the Eastern province. So well did he manage his newly acquired lands that he soon became one of the wealthiest men in the province. He selected Hügli as his headquarters. Āghā Muṭahhar for many years remained childless and it was only in very old age that a daughter was born to him. Round this only child, named Mānū Djān Khānam, all his affections centred, and dying when she was only seven years old he left her all his property. The widow of Āghā Muṭahhar was displeased with the conduct of her husband and subsequently married Ḥādjidj Faḳd Allāh, the son of Āghā Faḳd Allāh, her late husband's friend. The fruit of this marriage was Ḥādjidj Muhammad Muhsin. He was eight years younger than his half-sister, Mānū Djān Khānam. Muhammad Muhsin was first brought up at Hügli, afterwards he completed his education in Murshidābād. After finishing his studies at Murshidābād, he returned to his sister's house at Hügli. Later, he started on a long journey and for twenty-seven years he continued his travels in India, Arabia, Persia and Central Asia. It was not until he had reached his sixtieth year that he finally decided to terminate his travels and return home. Making his way slowly across Northern India he came at last to Lucknow. Thence he came to Murshidābād in 1216 (1801), with the intention of settling there. But during his long absence his sister, Mānū Djān Khānam, had married her cousin, Šalāḥ al-Dīn Muhammad Khān, nephew of Āghā Muṭahhar; her husband died in the prime of life and she was anxiously waiting for the

arrival of her step-brother. At last at the solicitation of his sister, Muḥammad Muḥsin came to Hūglī, and when she died at the age of eighty-one in 1218 (1803), she left a will bequeathing to Muḥammad Muḥsin the whole of her property.

It was thus not until Ḥādjī Muḥammad Muḥsin had reached the age of seventy-three that he became possessed of the great wealth which greatly helped his co-religionists in Bengal in the pursuit of education. He had never married and the death of his half-sister left him without near relatives. He was anxious that his great wealth should be put to good use after his death and consequently on the April 26, 1806 (1221 A. H.) he signed a Deed of Trust, setting apart the whole of his income for charitable purposes in perpetuity.

Ḥādjī Muḥammad Muḥsin lived for six years after making this noble disposition of his property. For his own personal use he had reserved only so much property as would bring him in about one hundred rupees a month. In 1227 (1812) he died at the age of about eighty-two and was buried in the garden adjoining the *Imāmbārā* which he had so splendidly endowed.

Bibliography: F. B. Bradley-Bert, *Twelve Men of Bengal*, Calcutta 1910, p. 35–59; Mahendra Chandra Mitra, *Life of Haji Mohammed Mohsin*, Calcutta 1880, p. 1–29; O'Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers, Hooghly*, Calcutta 1912, p. 292–294; D. G. Crawford, *Hooghly Medical Gazetteer*, Calcutta 1903, p. 243; *Bengal Past and Present (Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society)*, ii. 63 sqq., Calcutta 1908. (M. Hidayet Hosain)

MUHAMMAD MURTAḌĀ B. MUHAMMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-RAZZĀQ ABU 'L-FAIḌ AL-ḤUSAINĪ AL-ZABĪDĪ AL-ḤANAFĪ, an Arabic scholar, born in 1145 (1732) in Bilgrām in Ḳannūdj in N. W. India, settled, after travelling for many years in pursuit of knowledge, in Cairo on 9th Ṣafar 1167 (Dec. 7, 1753). There he succeeded in reviving an interest in the study of Tradition by giving lectures to specially invited companies. In Upper Egypt also he was always a welcome guest with the Arab *Shaiḫ* Humām and in the Egyptian country towns, and his fame spread to the Sūdān and even to India. From the year 1191 (1777) he drew a pension from the government. He died in Ṣaḥbān 1205 (April 1791) in Cairo of the plague.

His principal works are two great commentaries. He wrote the *Taḏj al-'Arūs* on Firūzābādī's *Ḳāmūs*, finishing it in 1181 (1767) after 14 years' work; although in the preface he quotes over a hundred sources used by him, he takes most of the additions to the *Ḳāmūs* bodily from the *Lisān al-'Arab* of Ibn Manẓūr. It was printed incompletely in 5 vols. in Cairo 1286–1287 and in 10 vols. in Cairo 1307. He wrote a commentary, also very extensive, on Ḡhazzālī's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, entitled *Ithāf al-Sada al-muttaḳin*, in which, in addition to explaining words he devotes special attention to establishing traditions quoted by al-Ḡhazzālī; it was printed at Fās in 1301–1304 in 13 vols., at Cairo in 1311 in 10 vols. He also composed a number of smaller works on lexicography and Tradition and also on the genealogy of the 'Alids: 1. *Nashwat al-Irtiyāḥ fī Bayān Ḥaḳīḳ al-Maisir wa 'L-Ḳidāḥ*, ed. by Landberg, *Primeurs arabes*, i. 40–55; 2. *al-Ḳawl al-mabṭūṭ fī Taḥḳīḳ Lafẓ*

al-Tābūt, Cairo, *Fihrist*², i. 96; 3. *Taḥḳīḳ al-Was'īl li-Marīfat al-Mukātabat wa 'L-Ras'ūl*, Mōsul, Dāwūd, *Makḥṭūṭāt*, p. 140, 1; 4. *al-Amālī al-Shaiḫḥūniya*, lectures on traditions, which he gave in the Djāmi' *Shaiḫhū*, Berlin, Ahlwardt, N^o. 10253; 5. *Risāla fī Aḥādīth Yawm al-'Ashūrā*, Cairo, *Fihrist*, vi. 209; 6. *Tuḥfat al-Ḳamālī fī Madḥ *Shaiḫ* al-'Arab Ismā'īl* in the form of a *maḳāma*, Cairo, *Fihrist*, iii. 47; 7. *Idāḥ al-Madārik fī 'L-Isfāḥ 'ani 'L-'Awāṭik*, finished on 4th Rabi' II 1194 (April 10, 1780), *ibid.*, v. 51; 8. *Djadhwat al-Iktibās fī Nasab Bani 'L-'Abbās*, finished on 26th Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 1182 (May 2, 1769), *ibid.*, p. 150; 9. *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāḳ ilā Kutūb al-Afāḳ*, history of the Arabic script and of famous calligraphers, finished on 12th Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 1184 (March 30, 1771), *ibid.*, p. 163; 10. *al-Rawḍ al-miṭar fī Nasab al-Sada 'Al Djāfar al-Ṭayyar*, *ibid.*, p. 205; 11. *Muzil Nikāb al-Khaḳā' 'an Kunā Sādātina Bani 'L-Wafā'*, finished on 16th Ramaḍān 1187 (Nov. 21, 1774), *ibid.*, p. 343; 12. *Nisbat al-Saiyid Muḥammad Efendi Ibn Ḥawwā' bint Ahmad*, *ibid.*, p. 346, b, 8.

Bibliography: al-Djābartī, *Adjāib al-Aṭṭār*, Cairo 1927, ii. 196–210, followed by 'Alī Pāshā Mubārak, *al-Khiṭāṭ al-Tawfīḳiyya al-djādida*, Bulāḳ 1306, iii. 94–96; Mu'min al-Shablandjī, *Nūr al-Aṣṣār fī Manāḳib 'Al Bait al-Mukḥṭār*, Bulāḳ 1290, p. 273 sqq.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

MUHAMMAD PASHA. [See MUHAMMAD DAMAD PASHA, MUHAMMAD GURDJĪ PASHA, ḲARAMĀNĪ MEḤMED PASHA, ṢOḲOLLĪ.]

MUHAMMAD PASHA, BALṬADJĪ, grand vizier, was born about 1660 in the town of 'Oṭmāndjīk, and, after an education in the imperial palace, entered the corps of the *balṭadjīs*. On account of his beautiful voice he acted for some time as *müeddhin*; later on he became a scribe and rose rapidly in this career. In 1703, at Aḥmad III's accession, he became *mir-āḳhor* and was made Ḳapudan Pasha in November 1704. In December of the same year he obtained the grand vizierate as successor of Ḳalaylī Aḥmad Pasha, against whom, although he had been at one time his fellow *balṭadjī*, he had used all his power of intrigue, for which he was especially notorious, according to the historiographer Rāshid. On May 3, 1706 he was dismissed — on account of his lack of capacity, as Rāshid says — and sailed to Lemnos, but his friends obtained for him the nomination to the governorship of Erzerūm. In January 1709 he became governor of Aleppo and from here he was called, in August 1710, a second time to the grand vizierate, after Köprülü Nu'mān Pasha had proved unable to restore stability in the way that had been expected from him. At that time the first great conflict with Russia was drawing near; Charles XII of Sweden, after the battle of Poltawa, remained in Turkey. The beginning of Balṭadjī Muḥammad's second grand vizierate was therefore filled with preparations for the war with Russia, which had been decided upon at a great state council in November 1710, and approved of by a *fatwā* of the *Shaiḫ* al-Islām. The grand vizier was made commander of this memorable campaign, which quickly was ended by the battle near Falcīu (Falksen, Turk. Falci) on the Pruth (July 21–22, 1711). Peter the Great's army was left in a desperate position, but his generals succeeded in concluding a truce with the

grand vizier, by the terms of which the Russian army was allowed to withdraw, while Azof was restored to the Turks. The general feeling in the Ottoman historical tradition is that Baltadji Muhammad had been bribed; his enemies at any case intrigued against him in Constantinople so that, even before his return to the capital, he was informed of his dismissal at Adrianople (Nov. 1711). The conclusion of the armistice of the Pruth was also much against the wishes of Charles XII who, on his remonstrances to the grand vizier, is said to have got the insinuating reply that, in case Peter had been taken prisoner, there would have been nobody to govern his country and that, in general, it was not good that sovereigns should leave their country (Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII et de Pierre I*). Baltadji was exiled to Lesbos and then to Lemnos, where he died in 1712, aged over fifty.

The bad reputation which this grand vizier has in Turkish history, and which is also given him by von Hammer, does not seem to be confirmed by western sources (Jorga, iv. 308).

Bibliography: The chief Turkish authority is Rāshid's *Tārīkh*; the campaign against Russia has been described in a *Tārīkh-i Moskov*, contained in the work of Hasan of Crete and in a Munich manuscript (Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 307, 310); Dilāwer-Zāde, *Dhail to the Hadīkat al-Wuzarā'*, p. 7 sqq.; *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 208 sqq.; von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 111 sqq., 148 sqq.; Jorga, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, iv. where other western sources are indicated; Ahmed Refik, *Mamālik-i 'othmāniyede Demir Bāsh Sharh*, Constantinople 1910; Ahmad Mukhtār, *Rus me-nāb'ine göre Baltadji Mehmed Pashanın Prut sefari*, T.O.E.M., vol. 8, p. 160 sqq., 238 sqq. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD PASHA, ELMAS, grand vizier, was born about 1660 in a village near Sinub as son of a ship's captain. After having been attached to the service of the pasha of Tripolis, he was educated in the *khāssa* of the palace and became in 1687 *silāh'dār*; soon afterwards he became *nishāndji* and obtained the rank of vizier. In Ahmad II's reign he was pasha in Bosnia, but did not yet play a prominent part, though he is said to have been one of that sultan's favourites. After Mustafā II's accession he was appointed *kā'im-makām* of the imperial stirrup and, when a revolt of the Janissaries had cost the grand vizier Sürmeli 'Alī Pasha's life, he was appointed in his stead (April 1695). He accompanied the new sultan during the campaigns against Austria of the years 1695, 1696 and 1697. On September 11, 1697 the Turkish army was attacked by the Austrians under prince Eugène, while it was passing the Theiss near Zenta in order to march on Szegedin. The sultan had already reached the left bank, but the grand vizier, together with a number of high military chiefs, was killed that day in the battle, which meant a heavy loss for the Turkish troops. Elmas Muhammad had been against this military enterprise, but the other members of the council had persuaded the sultan to the contrary. He is said to owe the surname *Elmas* "diamond" to his accomplishments and handsome physique.

Bibliography: The *Tārīkh* of Rāshid is the chief Turkish source, further 'Othmān Zade Tā'ib, *Hadīkat al-Wuzarā'*, p. 122 sqq.; *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, i. 395; von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vi.,

Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, v.; Jorga, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, iv.; Ahmad Rafik, *Feleket Seneleri*, Constantinople 1332.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD PASHA KARAMANĪ. [See KARAMANĪ MEHMED PASHA.]

MUHAMMAD PASHA, LALA, grand vizier under Ahmad I. He was a Bosnian by origin and a relation of Muhammad Sokolli Pasha. The year of his birth is not given. After having had his education in the palace, he was *mir-akhor* and became in 1595 *agha* of the Janissaries. Two years later he took part in the Austrian wars as beylerbey of Rüm-ili and was commander of Esztergom (Gran; Turkish: *Usturghon*) when this town capitulated to the Austrian army in September 1595. During the following years Lala Muhammad was several times *ser-asker* in Hungary and when, in July 1604, the grand vizier Yawuz 'Alī had died in Belgrad, on his way to the Hungarian theatre of war, the sultan sent the imperial seal to Lala Muhammad. Although peace negotiations were continually being resumed, the new grand vizier took in that year Waitzen (Turk. *Wād*) but besieged in vain Esztergom. During next year's campaign Esztergom was taken by Lala Muhammad (Sept. 29, 1605) and in November he crowned the Hungarian Bocskay as king of Hungary (without the regions occupied directly by the Turks) and Transylvania. In that same year the Turkish eastern army under Cighale Pasha was beaten by the Persians, while the troops sent to subdue the revolt in Anatolia were routed at Bulawadin. After his return it was decided that the grand vizier should remain next year in the capital and lead the war on the two fronts and, if possible, bring to a successful end the long-drawn peace negotiations with Austria. The young sultan, however, changed his mind in keeping with the wishes of the Kapudan Pasha Derwish, who was intriguing against Lala Muhammad. Accordingly the latter was ordered to take command of the army against Persia. He had already put up his tent in Üsküdar, when overcome by sorrow because of the frustration of his plans, he was seized with an apoplexy and died three days afterwards (May 23, 1606). He was buried near the *türbe* of Sokolli Pasha.

Bibliography: The *tārīkhs* of Peçewi — who, as scribe, had served Lala Muhammad on several occasions (cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 192) —, Na'imā and Hasan Beyzāde; 'Othmān Zade Tā'ib, *Hadīkat al-Wuzarā'*, p. 52 sqq.; *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 140; von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD PASHA, RUM, vizier and, according to some sources, grand vizier under Sultan Muhammad II. As his surname indicates he was a Greek renegade. After having had an education in the palace he was destined for a military career and became at one time *beylerbey*. The dates of his birth and of his military advancements are not recorded. He had taken part in the final campaign of Muhammad II against Karamān in 1466 and was charged by the sultan with the transfer of parts of the population of the conquered regions to Constantinople, instead of the grand vizier Mahmūd Pasha [q. v.] who executed these measures in too lenient a way, as the sources say. On the way back to Constantinople Mahmūd was dispossessed of his dignity in favour of Rüm Muhammad. The latter remained grand-vizier until

1470, during which time Muḥammad II went on his campaigns in Albania [cf. SKANDER BEG] and Negroponte. Rūm Muḥammad Pasha does not seem to have taken part in these expeditions, but, as a critical perusal of the sources has shown, he was especially charged with the problem of the repopulation of Constantinople; his commissionership for the transfer of the Ḳaramānian population had been connected with the same problem.

As the measures taken to make the new capital again inhabited must have been unpopular in Muslim circles — the Greeks and other Christian elements were granted as favourable conditions as the Muḥammadans to settle in the town — the historical tradition of the early Ottoman chronicles is rather against Muḥammad Pasha. They ascribe to him the reestablishment of the house-rent in Constantinople called *mukāṭaʿa*, which was considered as an injustice to the new Muslim settlers. The *mukāṭaʿa* is said to have been instituted by the sultān, then abolished and again instituted by this grand-vizier. But, as F. C. Giese has shown by an analysis of the text of 'Ashīk-Pasha-Zāde and Tursun Bey (cf. *Isl.*, xix., 1931, p. 268 sqq.), these measures were part of the policy of the sultān himself and were probably only executed by the temporary grand vizier, who, being a Greek, must have had special qualifications for the difficult task. This last circumstance, however, makes him the more suspect in the eyes of the historiographers and for this reason we may perhaps assume that his reported cruelty towards the population of the Ḳaramānian towns has been exaggerated by the sources, in order to add glory to his predecessor Maḥmūd Pasha, whose memory has survived as that of a national hero. It is not even beyond question that Rūm Muḥammad was ever really grand vizier (*Sidjill-i 'othmānī*). The *Ḥadīkat al-Wuzarā'* of 'Othmān-Zāde (p. 10) ascribes Maḥmūd Pasha's fall to Rūm Muḥammad's intrigues, but makes Ishāk Pasha his immediate successor in the grand-vizierate. So do other historians.

He was dismissed in 875 (1470) and was afterwards (according to the *Sidjill-i 'othmānī* in 879 [1075]) appointed *wālī* of Ḳonya with the mission to pacify the newly conquered territory. He was defeated, however, by the tribe of the Warsak in the Cilician passes; soon afterwards he died, probably killed by order of the sultān (according to 'Ashīk-Pasha-Zāde, ed. Giese, p. 133). The chronological order of these events is not certain.

Rūm Muḥammad Pasha was buried in a mosque which he had founded in Üsküdar.

Bibliography: Among the old chronicles those of Neshrī and 'Ashīk-Pasha-Zāde, and among the later historians especially 'Alī; *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 104; von Hammer, *G. O. R.*², i. 488, 499; Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusain al-Aiwānserāyī, *Ḥaaiḳat al-Djawāmi'*, ii. 195. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD PASHA, SOĞOLLI [See SOĞOLLI].

MUHAMMAD PASHA, SULTĀN ZĀDE, grand vizier under Sultān Ibrāhīm, was born about 1600 as son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Bey, son of the former grand vizier Aḥmad Pasha (under Murād III), and by his mother a grandson of a princess of the imperial house, whence his surname Sultān Zāde. After having been *kapıdār bashī* in the palace, he adopted a military career, became already in 1630 *ḳubbe veziri* and was appointed in 1638 governor of Egypt. In 1642 he was made

commander of the expedition against Azof [q. v.] which town he rebuilt after it had been burned by the Cossacks before its surrender. On his return he formed with the *silāḥdār* Yūsuf Pasha and the sultān's favourite Djindji Khwādjā a triumvirate, supported by the *wālīde* Kösem [q. v.]; they intrigued against the grand vizier Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha, who sought to remove the danger by sending Sultān Zāde Muḥammad in 1643 to Damascus as *wālī*. After Ḳara Muṣṭafā had been executed on January 1, 1644, Sultān Zāde Muḥammad was made grand vizier. One of his most conspicuous characteristics in this office seems to have been his ability to flatter the sultān and to satisfy his very extravagant wishes by obtaining money from all possible sources and by giving sandjaks to many of Ibrāhīm's favourites. At this time the Empire was at peace with Austria (which sent in August 1644 an extraordinary embassy to confirm the peace) and with Persia, although Rakoczy, the prince of Transylvania, did his best to involve Turkey in a war with Austria. There was, however, a strong desire to go to war with Venice and to conquer Crete. The grand vizier was against this undertaking, but his former confederates drew the sultān to their side. Accordingly Yūsuf Pasha sailed as *serdār* to Crete in the spring of 1645 and took Canea (August 17). The bad feelings that arose after Yūsuf Pasha's return led to Sultān Zāde's dismissal from the post of grand vizier (December 1645). After Yūsuf Pasha in January 1646 had fallen a victim to Sultān Ibrāhīm's cruel capriciousness, Sultān Zāde himself was made *serdār* against Crete. He departed in April 1646, drove the Venetians from Tenedos, which they had taken by surprise, and died shortly after his arrival in Canea (July 1646). He was buried in the *teke* of Hudā'i in Üsküdar.

Bibliography: Na'imā's *Tārīkh* is the chief Turkish authority; valuable contemporary information is given in the *Siyāhat-nāme* of Ewliyā Çelebi, who himself went with the expedition against Azof. Further the *Dheil-i Tawārīkh-i 'Alī 'Othmān* of Naṣūḥ Pasha Zāde (cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 211) and an anonymous *Naṣīhat-nāme* (*G. O. W.*, p. 152, note); 'Othmān Zāde Tā'ib, *Ḥadīkat al-Wuzarā'*, p. 84 sqq.; *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 161; von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, v. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD PASHA, TIRYAKI, grand vizier under Maḥmūd I, was born about 1680 at Constantinople. His father was a Janissary. He began his career as a scribe and rose to important posts; in 1739 he played a role in the peace negotiations at Belgrad with Austria. He had been *kiaya* of the grand vizierate, viz. minister of the interior, when the sultān, under influence of his new *kızlar aghası*, the so-called Beṣhrī the Younger, dismissed his predecessor Ḥasan Pasha and called him to the grand vizierate (August 1746). The twelve months of his period of office were not filled with war but with important diplomatic negotiations, in which he was supported by the new *kiaya* Muḥammad Sa'īd, later grand vizier, and the *re'is efendi* Muṣṭafā, both of them equally well versed in European diplomacy. During Tiryākī Muḥammad's grand vizierate peace was concluded with Nādir Shāh of Persia (September 4, 1746) and the peace treaties with Austria and Russia were renewed. As the reason for his dismissal (August 24, 1747) is given his addiction to the use of drugs

(hence the surname Tiryākī) and his quarrelsome, vindictive character, by which he had made enemies, especially in the ranks of the *'ulemā'*. After his fall he was governor in different eyālets, as İč lli, Mōsul, Baghdād, Djidda, and he died in July 1751 at Rethymo in Crete, where he lived, probably in involuntary retirement. According to the *Sidjill-i 'othmāni*, he was a capable official before his coming to the grand vizierate; afterwards he was a failure in every office.

Bibliography: The *Tārīkh* of 'Izzī; Dilāwar Zāde 'Omar, *Dheil* to the *Hadīkat al-Wuzarā'*, p. 73 sqq.; *Sidjill-i 'othmāni*, iv. 237 (where the dates are wrong); von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vi. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD PASHA, YEGEN, grand vizier under Maḥmūd II. He was called Yegen "the Nephew" because he stood in that relationship to Kel Yūsuf Efendi, a high official in the financial administration (*Sidjill-i 'othmāni*, iv. 659); he also began his career by holding different financial offices, and was also *kapı kīyası* of the grand vizier Topal 'Othmān Pasha (1732). In 1737 he became *kā'im-makām* in Constantinople during the absence of the grand vizier 'Abd Allāh Pasha. The latter was successful that year against the Austrians on the Danube frontier (taking of Feth İslām), but was nevertheless dismissed, after his return, through the influence of the *kızlar aghası* Beshir. Yegen Muḥammad was appointed in his place (December 1737) and had to continue the peace negotiations with Austria and Russia, which were made especially complicated by the rivalry between France (represented by de Villeneuve) and the Sea Powers in offering their good services as mediators. The grand vizier himself was rather in favour of continuing the war and, being of a proud and arrogant character, made the negotiations still more difficult. In June 1737 he went as *serdār* to the Austrian front and was successful in recapturing Semendra and Orsowa (August). He was back in the capital in November. At the end of the year the Russians retired from Očakow and Kilburnu, which placed Turkey in a favourable position in the never ceasing peace negotiations, in which Poland also had become involved. But not even this grand vizier was to bring the war to an end; the same influence that had disposed of his predecessor obtained his dismissal in March 1739. After that Yegen Muḥammad was governor of Crete, Bosnia, Aidin and Anadolu. When in this last office he was called to the post of *serdār* on the front of Kaṛş (March 1745) against the Persians. He received large reinforcements from different quarters and thought himself strong enough to attack Nādir Shāh in his encampment near Eriwan. This battle resulted in disaster for the Turks, owing mainly to a mutiny among the irregular *lewends*. Yegen Muḥammad was killed, probably by the mutineers, in August 1745.

Bibliography: The Turkish historians Subkī, 'Izzī; Dilāwar Zāde 'Omar, *Dheil-i Hadīkat al-Wuzarā'*, p. 60 sqq.; *Sidjill-i 'othmāni*, iv. 234; von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vii.; Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, v.; Jorga, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, v. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD (MEHMET) RA'UF, an important Ottoman author and poet who plays a very prominent part in the development of the Turkish moderns and of the written language.

Born on Aug. 12, 1291 (1875) in Constanti-

nople, the son of an Anatolian, who came from Kutāhya, and a Circassian mother, he received a good education. He attended the Naval School and became a naval officer but he only spent eighteen months in the navy, mainly in Crete. When quite a boy, he displayed an irrepressible love for the theatre and literature and began to write at the age of 10, taking as his models the novels of Aḥmad Midḥat and the translations of French romances of adventure. This first production was a drama, *Denā'et yakḥod Gaskonya Kursanları* ("Baseness or the Corsairs of Gascogne"). As his knowledge of French, and later of English, increased, he extended the scope of his reading and of his interests, so that at school he received the nick-name *Roman okuyan Efendi* (the novel-reader) and later *Romanđi* (the novel-writer). His literary activity proper only began in the Naval School where he became acquainted with Georges Ohnet, Octave Feuillet, Alphonse Daudet, Emile Zola, Flaubert, the French realists and naturalists and endeavoured to imitate them. His story *Djanfezā* is the most notable of his efforts at this period.

When he became acquainted with the works of the modernist 'Ushaḳi-Zāde Khālīd Ziyā [q. v.] he came completely under his influence, especially after entering into correspondence with him and having his story *Düşmüsh* published by him in the periodical *Khidmet*. Through Ziyā who remained his model and Hüsein Djāhid, whose friendship he made soon afterwards, he adopted the career of letters completely and became an author. When Djenāb Shihāb al-Din had to go to the Hıdjāz as medical officer, he left the editorship of his periodical *Mekteb* in the hands of Ra'uf. In 1312 (1896) Ra'uf at the suggestion of Ziyā published his novel *Gharām-i Shebāb* ("Youthful Passion") in *İhdām*, but it did not meet with any special success. He only began to be famous as an author with his cooperation in the periodical *Serwet-i Fünūn* in 1312 (1896), which was of great influence in the development of modern Turkish literature. Here he worked with Ziyā and the poet Tewfik Fikret [q. v.], to whom he had become related by his marriage. In 1901 the *Serwet-i Fünūn* came to an end and with it his literary activity till the Revolution of 1908.

His first contributions to the *Serwet* were *Na-kāhatda* ("In Convalescence") and *Uzakdan*. In the 19th volume was published in serial form his most celebrated novel: *Eylül* ("September") which then appeared in book form like most of his works in the collection, so important for the development of Turkish literature: *Edebiyāt-i ājedide Kütüb-khānesi*, vol. vi., 1317 (1901). This novel, which was reprinted several times and which remained unique of its kind and represents a height of achievement never again reached by Ra'uf, had great influence and won general approval. In vivid, moving, although unequal language he describes in impressively realistic fashion the development and tragic end of a noble, innocent love. The exhausting verbosity in which Ra'uf revels here was aptly compared by Ziyā to a gimlet which always turns at the same spot.

Of his novels we may also mention *Ferdā-i Gharām* ("The Morning of Passion"), *Edebiyāt-i ājedide*, No. 28; *Genđi Kız Kalbı* ("A Young Girl's Heart"); *Menkeshe* ("Violet") and *Kābūs* ("Nightmare").

More important are his collections in the pre-

vailing fashion of short sketches, tales and long stories. Among these is his second most famous work: *Siyah Indjiler* ("Black Pearls"), a collection of poems in prose modelled on Ziyā's *Mansūr Shīrler* and Beaudelaire's *Fleurs du mal* (*Edebiyāt*, No. 11, 1317); also the collection of long stories 'Ashikāne ("Enamoured")' (*Edebiyāt*, No. 16, 1325 = 1910); *İhtisār* ("Death Agony") (*Edebiyāt*, No. 12, 1325); *Son Emel* ("The last Hope") (*Edebiyāt*, No. 29, 1329 = 1913) and *Bir 'Ash-kin Ta'rikh-i* ("History of a Love Affair") (1330 = 1914); further *Üç Hikāye* ("Three Tales"); *Eshar* ("Flowers"); *Perwāneler gibi* ("As butterflies") etc.

Ra'uf was no less successful as a dramatist. He wrote the following pieces: *Pençe* ("The Talon"), a drama (*oyun*) in four acts (*faşl*) (*Edebiyāt*, No. 14, 1325 = 1909); *Ferdi we-Shūrekāsh* ("Ferdi and Co.") in 3 acts, a dramatisation of the novel of the same name by Ziyā (*Edebiyāt*, No. 17) and *Djidal* ("Battle") in 5 acts (*Edebiyāt*, No. 30, 1327 = 1911); also *İki Kuwwet* ("Two Powers"); *Yaghmurdan doluya*.

Ra'uf died on Dec. 23, 1931 at Constantinople.

Numerous contributions by him are in the *Serwet-i Funūn*; the finely produced women's periodical *Me-hāsin* of which he edited the only volume that appeared. Contributions by him, some his own work, especially poems (Ra'uf possessed not inconsiderable poetic talent and was regarded as the Turkish Baudelaire), also essays and criticisms, of which his analyses of the contemporary novel are valuable, were published in different collections, periodicals and newspapers in vast numbers. His *Zambak* ("Lily") brought him trouble. It was confiscated on account of its sensuality and the author was imprisoned. He wrote other things in the same style which were not printed.

In his works he appears as a very artistic, rather sentimental nature; even what he writes in prose is pure poetry. His prose is as good as that of Ziyā, the leader of the *Serwet-i Funūn* movement. He is one of the most important personalities in this group of men of letters, although his marked merits in form and style are counter-balanced by equal defects, which became worse as he paid no attention to the cultivation of his style; in him we find a reversed process, from the more perfect to the less. He would have been held in higher repute generally, if he had ceased to write after his first works. — Owing to the identity of the name and the parallel literary activity Muhammad Ra'uf was often taken for M. Ra'uf, the son of Fariq 'Ātif Pasha, who died on Febr. 23, 1918 and was buried at Haidar Pasha. M. Ra'uf was editor of the *Resimli Kitāb*. He was a dramatist and wrote: *Perwāne*; *Nigāhda Kerāmet* ("Wonder in sight"); a comedy *Ātesh ile Bārūt arasında* ("Between Fire and Powder") and a piece entitled *Tirāze* written jointly with Rā'if Nedjdet, one of his most intimate friends. The following dramas were never printed: *Şalāh al-Din-i Eyyūbi*, *Nerimān* and a number of adaptations. From the English he translated Saiyid Ameer Ali's *The Life and Teachings of Mohammed or the Spirit of Islam* in 2 vols. entitled *Mūsawwer Ta'rikh-i İslām*.

Besides being an author, M. Ra'uf was also a teacher, a task for which his extensive knowledge of languages qualified him (in addition to French and English, he knew Arabic, Persian, German, Italian, Greek and others). He lectured at the University on mythology and Greek and Italian

literature, on which he wrote two text-books: *Yūnān i kadīm Ta'rikh-i Edebiyāt* and *İtaliya Ta'rikh-i Edebiyāt*. He was also for a time teacher of western literatures, Turkish literature and French at various secondary schools.

Bibliography: Brusali Mehmed Tahir, *Othmānī Müellifleri*, ii. 218; *Newsāl-i Milli*, 1330, p. 224—236; Shihāb al-Din Sulaimān, *Ta'rikh-i Edebiyāt-i othmāniye*, 1328, p. 367; Ismā'il Hikmet, *Türk Edebiyāt Ta'rikh-i*, Baku 1925, i. 931—951; İbrāhim Nedjmi, *Türk Edebiyāt dersleri*, 1338, p. 307; Ismā'il Hābib, *Türk Tedjeddüd-i Edebiyāt Ta'rikhi*, 1340, p. 533; Rā'if Nedjdet, *Hayāt-i edebiye*, 1922, p. 202 sqq., 287, 349, 350; Khalīl Hāmid, in *Serwet-i Funūn*, liv., 1918, p. 82—83; Fazy and Memdouk, *Anthologie*, p. 255—259; M. Hartmann, *Dichter der neuen Türkei*, in *M.S.O.S. As.*, xix., (1916), p. 124—179 and xvi. (1918), p. 43 and in *Urkunden und Untersuchungen zur Geistesentwicklung des heutigen Orients*, iii., Berlin 1919, p. 83—86; O. Hachtmann, *Die türkische Literatur des 20. Jahrh.*, Leipzig 1916, S. 13—16; *N.O. ii.*, 1918, p. 530 and 560; C. Frank, *Zum Gedächtnis M. Reufs* . . . , in *N.O.*, ii. (1918), 167; Th. Menzel, *Die türkische Literatur*, in Hinneberg's *Kultur der Gegenwart, Die Orientalischen Literaturen*, Leipzig 1925², p. 313. (Th. MENZEL)

MUHAMMAD SA'ID (MİR DJUMLA), minister of 'Abd Allāh Kutb Shāh of Haidarābād during the xviii century, was originally a diamond merchant, and was famous in the Deccan for his wealth before he became minister. After the defeat of his master 'Abd Allāh by Awrangzēb, Mir Djumla took service under the latter, and was made Governor of Bengal from 1071—1075 (1660—1664). He defeated Shāh Shudjā' when the latter fought against his brother Awrangzēb. Mir Djumla was afterwards employed in the conquest of Cooch Bihār and Āssām in 1072—1073 (1661—1662). He overran both these countries but owing to the rainy season and the spread of disease among his troops, he was compelled to return, only to die of dysentery contracted during his campaign, shortly after his arrival at Dacca in 1073 (1663).

Bibliography: *Ma'āthir al-Umarā*, iii. 530; Blochmann, *J. A.S.B.*, xli/i. 51; Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vii. 199; *Imperia Gazetteer of India*, ii. 402; vii. 214; Elphinstone, *History of India*, 1889, p. 588—613.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUHAMMAD SA'ID. [See KHALIL EFENDI ZADE.]

MUHAMMAD SHAH (1131—1161 = 1719—1748), emperor of Dihli, surnamed Muhammad Rawshan Akhtar (or, the Brilliant Star), was the son of prince Djahān Shāh, one of the three brothers who perished in disputing the crown with their eldest brother, Djahāndār Shāh, son of Bahādur Shāh. He was born on Friday the 24th Rabi' I 1114 (August 7, 1702), and was crowned by the two Saiyid brothers, Saiyid 'Abd Allāh and Saiyid Husain, after the death of Rafi' al-Dawla on the 25th Dhu 'l-Kā'da 1131 (September 29, 1719). Muhammad Shāh reigned for about 30 years and died one month after the battle of Sarhind, which his son fought against Ahmad Shāh Abdālī [q.v.]. His death took place on Thursday the 27th Rabi' II 1161 (April 16, 1748). He was buried in the court before the Mausoleum of

Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' at Dihlī. This emperor may be called the last of the Timūrid line, who reigned in Dihlī and enjoyed any power. The few princes of that sovereign's family who were raised to the throne after Muḥammad Shāh were mere puppets in the hands of the nobles of the court.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Ḥashim Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, iii. 840; Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vii. 485; Elphinstone, *History of India*, 1889, p. 692.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUHAMMAD SHĀH I, 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN KHALDĪJĪ (695—715 = 1295—1315), was the nephew and son-in-law of Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Firūz Shāh II, Khaldjī, whom he murdered by treachery at Karā Mānikpūr, in the province of Ilāhābād, in 695 (1295), and ascended the throne of Dihlī in the same year. He re-conquered Guḍjarāt (697 = 1297), took Čitor and temporarily subdued the Rādjpūts (703 = 1303). His eunuch general, Malik Kāfur, seized Deogir and Warangal, and founded a Deccan province of the Dihlī kingdom. The empire is said to have flourished during his reign. Among contemporary poets Amir Khusrāu and Khwādja Ḥasan held the first rank; Shaiḫ Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', one of the greatest saints of India, flourished at the same time. He died in 715 (1315) and was buried in the tomb which he had constructed in his life-time in Old Dihlī.

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Bāki Nahāwandi, *Ma'āthir Raḥimī*, p. 322—330; Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad Harawī, *Ṭabaqāt Akbarī*, Lucknow 1875, p. 68—86; Saiyid Aḥmad Khān, *Āthār al-Sanādīd*, Dihlī 1874, ii. 157; Wright, *Cat. of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, ii. 8; Elphinstone, *History of India*, 1889, p. 390—400.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUHAMMAD SHĀH BAHMANĪ. [See MUHAMMAD I—III, above p. 664 sq.]

MUHAMMAD SHARĪF AL-NADJAFĪ was born in the Deccan where he spent the first twenty-five years of his life. He afterwards visited in an official capacity Guḍjarāt, Mālwa, Adjmir, Dihlī, Āgra, the Panḍjāb, Sind and Kashmīr. He went to the last country in the train of Dījahāngir and under the command of Kāsim Khān (1031 = 1621). He is the author of *Madjālis al-Salāṭin*, a short history of the kings of Dihlī and of the Deccan dynasties from the Muḥammadan conquest to the accession of Shāh Dījahān, completed in 1038 (1628).

Bibliography: Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vii. 134—140; Rieu, *Cat. Persian MSS. Br. Mus.*, p. 907. (M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUHAMMAD ṬĀHIR AL-FATANĪ AL-GUḌJARĀTĪ, was born at Patan in Guḍjarāt in 914 (1508); after completing his education in his native land, he proceeded to Mecca, where he studied traditions with eminent scholars such as Ibn Ḥadjār al-Haitamī al-Makkī and others. He acquired much learning from 'Alī b. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Muttaḳī (d. 975 = 1567) and also became his disciple in the Kādirī and Shādhilī orders. After his return to his native country he tried his utmost to spread learning and to uproot the doctrines of Muḥammad al-Djawnpūri who had claimed to be the Mahdī of his time and had a considerable following among the Bohorās [q. v.], a community to which Muḥammad Ṭāhir himself belonged.

In 980 (1572) Akbar went to conquer Guḍjarāt. After its conquest he conferred honour on Muḥammad Ṭāhir by tying with his own hands a

turban on his head, saying that it was incumbent on him (Akbar) to spread the true principles of Islām. Khān A'zam 'Aziz Muḥammad Kūkalṭāsh was appointed governor of Guḍjarāt and he helped Muḥammad Ṭāhir in uprooting the new doctrines of Mahdism. But when 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān Khānān succeeded him as governor, Muḥammad Ṭāhir suffered much at the hands of the followers of the Mahdī, and proceeded to the court of Akbar in Akbarābād for redress. On his way at Ujdjain he was murdered by some followers of the pretended Mahdī in 986 (1578).

Among his various compositions the following may be mentioned:

1. *Madjma' Biḥār al-Anwār fī Ḡharā'ib al-Tanzil wa-Laṭā'if al-Akhbār*, a copious dictionary of the Qur'ān and the Traditions, lithographed, Lakhnaw 1248, 1284 and 1314;

2. *al-Mughnī*, a dictionary of proper names of Muḥammadan traditionists, lithographed on the margin of *Takrīb al-Tahdhīb* by Ibn Ḥadjār al-Asḳalānī (Dihlī 1290);

3. *Tadhkirat al-Mawḍū'āt*, a treatise on traditions that have been incorrectly attributed to the Prophet.

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, Dihlī 1309, p. 272—273; Ḡulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Subḥat al-Marḍjān*, Bombay 1303, p. 43—45; 'Abd al-Ḥay, *al-Ta'līqāt al-Saniya 'ala 'l-Fawā'id al-Bahiya*, Lucknow 1895, p. 67; Faḳīr Muḥammad, *Ḥaddā'ik al-Ḥanafiya*, Lucknow 1308, p. 385—387; Šiddīq Ḥasan, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, Bhopal 1396, p. 895; *Itḥāf al-Nubalā' al-Muttaḳīn*, Cawnpore 1288, p. 397—400; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 416. (M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUHAMMAD ZA'IM, a Turkish historian. All that we know of his life is gleaned from his works. He was born in 939 (1532) for he tells us that at the accession of Sulṭān Murād III, i. e. in 982 (1574), he was 43. At the early age of eleven he took part in the campaign of 950 (1543) along with his elder brother Perwāne Agha, who at that time was Kapudjī Bāshī to the Sandjak Beg of Lepanto, Yaḥyā Pasha Oghlu Aḥmad Beg. When the latter, after the capture of Stuhlweissenburg, was appointed Sandjak Beg there, the brothers seemed to have remained in his service, probably till 952 (1545) when Aḥmad Beg was summoned to Stambul, in connection with the plundering of the Stuhlweissenburg churches. In 961 (1554) when Sulṭān Sulaimān took the field against Shāh Tahmasp of Persia, Muḥammad Za'im was a secretary in the service of the governor of Syria, Teki Oghlu Meḥmed, and a year later he was secretary to the powerful grand vizier Meḥmedmed Soḳolli and in this capacity compiled the official report of the death of Selīm II and the accession of Murād III which was sent to the governors of Diyarbakr, Aleppo and Baghdād. This office, to which he perhaps succeeded on the promotion (978 = 1570) of the famous Ferīdūn Aḥmed Beg [q. v.], he must have filled till the death of Meḥmedmed Soḳolli in 987 (1579); we hear nothing further about it. He held a great fief (*zi'amet*); hence his epithet Za'im; he himself says: *zu'amā-i 'atebe-i selāṭin-i āl-i osmāniyeden Meḥmed ile müte'aref we-şehir*. Friends requested him to write a history and he finished it within a year. He began the work in Muḥarram 985 (beg. March 21, 1577) and had completed it in Dhū 'l-Hijja of the same year (beg. Feb. 9, 1578). The date of his death and

the site of his tomb are not known but he is said to have left charitable endowments in Karaferia near Salonika.

He called his book *Humā-i Djamī al-Tawārīkh* and dedicated it to his master Mehemmed Sokolli. As his sources he mentions eleven historians from Firdawsi and Ṭabari down to the anonymous *Tawārīkh-i Selāfin-i Āl-i Osmān* and gives as his main source *Behdjet al-Tawārīkh*, from which, as has been proved, he copied out whole pages without a qualm. The book, which is not yet printed, is divided into a preface and five large sections (*aksām*, subdivided into *guruh* and then again into *maḳālāt*) and concludes with an epilogue. Rieu and others have given an account of the contents from the manuscripts. In the fourth *guruh* of the 5th *ḵism* he deals with the Ottomans and here alone do we have statements of any value, when the author describes from his own experience events from 1543 onwards. He brought his story down to the time of writing and the last event that he mentions took place in the month in which the book was finished.

The passages in the book relating to Hungary have been dealt with by Thury (*Török történetirök*, ii. 364—389) who also collected the above data for his life; the earlier from 1390 to 1476 are given in extracts and the later from 1521 to 1566 translated in full. Of the other less valuable parts of the book Diez (*Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, i. 212 sqq.) has edited a portion of the very early history, dealing with Cain and his descendants, while v. Hammer (*Sur les origines russes*, lxi. 120) edited and translated a portion on the tribal divisions of the Turks, where the Rūs appear as the ninth Turkish tribe. Of the later Ottoman historians, Ibrāhīm Pečewī utilised and quoted from the work of Muḥammed Za'im from the year 1542 onwards.

Bibliography: Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 20, 98 sq., 193, where further references are given.

(W. BJÖRKMANN)

AL-MUḤAMMADĪYA, a name of several heretical schools, notably the ultra-Shi'i Muḥammadiya.

As the example of the Kaisāniya [q. v.] shows, at an early date some Shi'is transferred the imāmate to 'Alids who were not descendants of the Prophet's daughter Fāṭima and then to those who were not 'Alids at all. The Manṣūriya revered such an one in Abū Manṣūr al-Idjlī, whom Yūsuf b. 'Omar al-Thakafī, governor of the 'Irāk, executed in the reign of the Caliph Hishām, i. e. before 125 (743). Abū Manṣūr, rejected by the Imām Dja'far al-Ṣādiq for Shi'i exaggeration, thrust the 'Alids aside by still further increasing this tendency: Muḥammad's family, he said, was heaven, the Shi'a the earth and he himself the "fragment falling from heaven" mentioned in Sūra lii. 44, as he had been personally touched and taught by God on a journey to heaven; he is said to have abolished the religious laws. While one group, the Ḥusainiya, recognised the Imām in his son al-Ḥusain after the death of Abū Manṣūr, another, the Muḥammadiya, recognised Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. He is the pretender celebrated as *al-Nafs al-zakiya* ("the pure soul"), who in 145 (762) fell at Medina fighting the troops of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Manṣūr. The Muḥammadiya quoted as authority for the recognition of an 'Alid again an alleged testamentary

disposition of Abū Manṣūr and compared the following order of succession: testament of the Ḥusainid Muḥammad Bākīr for Abū Manṣūr and of the latter for the Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, with the Jewish line: first Moses, then Joshua, son of Nun, then the sons of Aaron (the later priesthood is meant). This arrangement was chosen in both cases so that conflict might not arise between the two lines of brothers (*baḡnān*). — We cannot be certain that the Muḥammadiya formed a definite sect. The name rather records the fact that the rising of al-Nafs al-Zakiya, which was of great extent, attracted all circles of the Shi'a to its ranks, even those who belonged to the Ḥusainid camp; and members of the Mughiriya, the followers of Mughira b. Sa'īd, killed in the year 119 (737) by Yūsuf b. 'Omar's predecessor Khālīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kaṣrī, probably under the leadership of Djabir b. Yazid al-Djufī, supported al-Nafs al-Zakiya with their good wishes at least.

Quite a different group is the ultra-Islāmic Muḥammadiya or Mimiya. It took its name from the belief in the divinity of the Prophet Muḥammad in reply to an 'Ulyāniya or 'Ainiya who regarded 'Alī as God. Its principal representative al-Faiyād b. 'Alī was executed between 279 (892) and 289 (902).

The Khāridī Muḥammadiya was a separate party within the strictly Khāridī sub-group of the 'Adjārida; it is called after a certain Muḥammad b. Zurāk.

Bibliography: al-Ash'ari, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyin*, ed. H. Ritter, Constantinople 1928, i. 8 sq., 22 sq.; as-Baghdādī, *al-Farḡ bain al-Firaḡ*, Cairo 1328, p. 42 sq., 214 sq., 234 sq.; Ibn Hazm, *al-Fiṣal fi 'l-Milal*..., Cairo 1317—21, iv. 186 sq.; cf. al-Idjlī, *Mawāḳif*, ed. Soerensen, Leipzig 1848, p. 353 sq.; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdī*, ed. B. de Meynard, cf. Index; J. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites*, in *J. A. O. S.*, xxviii. und xxix., cf. Index; Th. Haarbrücker (on *Shahrastānī's Religionspartheien und Philosophenschulen*, ii. 409. (R. STROTHMANN)

MUḤAMMARA, a town and port at the head of the Persian Gulf and in the Persian province of 'Arabistān. It lies on the right bank of the Ḥaffār channel (formerly called Nahr Bayān) which connects the Kārūn river with the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab. The original village from which the town grew appears to have lain on the left bank of the channel, on the island of 'Abbādān [q. v.], and Muḥammara is probably therefore not to be identified with the town of Bayān, though it now lies on the same site. Further, Bayān was included in 'Irāk 'Arabī by the geographers, whereas Muḥammara, lying on 'Abbādān island, was a part of Persia until the shifting of a channel threw the possession of the town into dispute between that country and Turkey. By the treaty of Erzerum (1847) it was assigned to Persia, but though the government was nominally directed from Shushtar, it remained in reality in the hands of the Arab *shaikh* of the Čāb (or Ka'b) tribe, who were Shi'is. From the fact that the Arab geographers ignore the town, at any rate under its present name (for references to Bayān see G. Le Strange, below), it may be inferred that the place (? Muḥrizī) was either of minor importance or of comparatively recent origin. At the present time the port is of some importance for the trade of Persia, its principal article of commerce being dates,

though it is also connected with the oil trade.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 48; S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, index; H. G. Rawlinson, *Notes on Mohamrah and the Cha'ab Arabs*, in *P.R.G.S.*, i. 351 sqq.; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, iv. 709.

(R. LEVY)

MUḤĀRIB, the name of several Arab tribes (Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den geneal. Tabellen*, p. 320 gives five of this name) of which the most important is that of the Muḥārib b. Khaṣafa b. Ḳais 'Ailān (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, D, 8). They do not however seem to have been of very great importance either in the D̲j̲āhiliya or in Islām; Ibn al-Kalbī only gives them two pages of his *D̲j̲amharat al-Ansāb* (Brit. Mus. MS., Add. 23,297, fol. 163^b—165^b) but these add considerably to the very meagre information in the *Tabellen* especially as regards the lines of 'Alī b. D̲j̲asr b. Muḥārib and of Badhāwa (*sic*) b. D̲h̲uhl b. Ṭarīf b. Ḳhalaf b. Muḥārib. A typical Beduin tribe, the Muḥārib lived in the mountainous region of southern Naḍjd between Medina and al-Yamāma (Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 320 following Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 41); several places in their territory are recorded in Yāqūt's geographical dictionary (cf. the index of tribes, s. v.). We know very little about their history before Islām; they were closely connected with other tribes of the great group of the Ḳais 'Ailān, like the Hawāzin, with whom they are said to have shared the worship of the idol D̲j̲ihār (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 167, l. 2—3 = Wellhausen, *Reste*², p. 65; cf. *Taḍj al-'Arūs*, iii. 115, l. 7 from below), and especially the G̲h̲atafān (notably their clan Ṭha'laba b. Sa'd b. D̲h̲ubayn) alongside of whom the clan of the al-Ḳhuḍr b. Ṭarīf b. Ḳhalaf b. Muḥārib (the genealogy of the *Tabellen* is to be rectified in as much as al-Mālik is the name of al-Ḳhuḍr and not that of his father) fought the war known as the *yawm al-ḥuraka* or *yawm D̲arāt Mawḍū'* alluded to by the poet of the D̲h̲ubayn Husain b. al-Ḥumām in some of his poems (cf. *al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ed. Lyall, Nrs. xii. and xci. and the commentary of Ibn al-Anbarī, with the passages quoted in the notes).

The Muḥārib at the beginning of Islām were hostile to Muḥammad; this hostility was perhaps only the continuation of that which prevailed between the nomad tribes of the 'Āliya of al-Naḍjd and the citizens of Madīna. Thus we find, in the early years of the Hidjra, that Muḥammad sent against them (and against the G̲h̲atafān) a series of expeditions, of the nature of raids and counter-raids rather than regular military enterprises (our sources give 30 or 40 men as the total of the Muslim forces); the details of their fighting are given in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i., p. 537—538 (3 A. H. § 6), 596—597 (5 A. H. § 3), 689—690 (6 A. H. § 1), 694 (6 A. H. § 6) with reference to the sources utilised (we may add Ibn Sa'd, ii/i. 23—24, 43—44, 61—62). One part at least of the tribe must however have been attracted within the growing sphere of Muslim influence since we find Muḥāribis in the cavalry led by al-Zubair at the taking of Mecca (Caetani, *Annali*, ii. [8 A. H. § 390]). But it was only in 10 A. H. that the Muḥārib sent their ambassadors to Muḥammad and gave their formal adhesion to Islām (Ibn Sa'd, ii/i. 43; cf. Caetani, *Annali*, ii. 344—345); even on this

occasion they were conspicuous by their uncouthness, quite Beduin, of which another example is given in the anecdote of the Muḥāribī (he is said to have been called Suwā' b. al-Ḥārith or b. Ḳais) who dared to doubt the Prophet's word in connection with the purchase of a horse (cf. Ibn Sa'd, iv. 2, 90—91 etc., and Caetani, *Annali*, ix. 627—628).

The Muḥārib abandoned Islām during the *Ridda* but were easily brought back to obedience (*Annali*, ii., p. 594, 596, 11 A. H. §§ 115, 118); they took part in the conquest of the 'Irāk (Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, iv. 20—21: biography of 'A'idh b. Sa'd, who fought at al-Ḳādisiya and D̲j̲alūlā and again, in 36 and 37, at the battle of the Camel and that of Ṣiffīn, where he was slain); they were encamped at Kūfa in the same quarter as the Usad and G̲h̲atafān, not far from that allotted to the Tamīm (Ṭabari, i. 2490, 2495).

The contribution of the Muḥārib to the politics and literature of Arabia is practically nil; we need only mention the name of Laḳit b. Bukair b. al-Naḍr (d. 190), who belonged to a branch of the Banū 'Alī b. D̲j̲asr b. Muḥārib, a poet (cf. Ṭabari, iii. 540), ascetic and historian (*Fihrist*, p. 94 and Yāqūt, *Iṣṣād*, ed. Margoliouth, vi. 218—220, give a list of his works, relating mainly to literary history).

Of the other tribes bearing the name of Muḥārib the best known is the Meccan tribe of the Muḥārib b. Fihri to which al-Daḥḥāk b. Ḳais belonged [q. v.]; the Muḥārib lampooned by al-Farazdaq and celebrated by D̲j̲arir (*Naḳā'id*, ed. Bevan, p. 817 l. 4, 1039 l. 2) are difficult to identify: it is not certain, although they are so identified in the index, that they were the Muḥārib b. Khaṣafa.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

AL-MUḤARRAM (A.), the first month of the Muḥammadan year. The name is originally not a proper name but an adjective, as the article shows, qualifying Ṣafar. In the pre-Muḥammadan period the first two months of the old Meccan year were Ṣafar [q. v.] I and II, which is reflected in the dual "a potiōri" *al-Ṣafarāni* for al-Muḥarram and Ṣafar; in the old Arab year the first half year consisted of "three months of two months each" (Wellhausen), as the two Ṣafars were followed by two Rabī's and two D̲j̲umādās. The first of the two Ṣafars, as the one that belonged to the sacred months, was given the adjectival epithet *al-muḥarram* which gradually became the name of the month itself. As D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥidjdja also belonged to the sacred months, three of the four sacred months came together except in leap year. The month intercalated to equate the year to the solar year was inserted after D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥidjdja and was not sacred. It thus came about that learned Muslims described the intercalation as renaming the Muḥarram concerned Ṣafar, i. e. as making Muḥarram not sacred; they mean that the month after the pilgrimage, which they consider as al-Muḥarram, following the custom, is not sacred i. e. is 'Ṣafar' and the second month i. e. in their view Ṣafar, is "al-Muḥarram". In doing this they of course overlook the fact that Ṣafar proper now only comes third; but when the intercalary month was abolished in Islām, the proper conception of the state of affairs was lost [cf. *Nasī'*].

In the early period when an attempt was made

to equate with the solar year by inserting intercalary months, — which was not successful on account of the ignorance of the old Arabs in astronomical matters — al-Muḥarram introduced the winter half year as the names of the first six months show. The Arab year began, like the Jewish, in autumn. After Muḥammad had forbidden the insertion of the intercalary months in Sūra ix. 37, 1st Muḥarram, the beginning of the year, went through all the seasons as the year, which now consisted of 12 lunar months, had always only 354 or 355 days, as it still has. Whether the first month of the year was originally marked by a festival we do not know. Wellhausen has endeavoured to show that the *ḥaǧǧ* originally fell in the first month of the year, so that Muḥarram was *ḥarām* in its quality as “Dhu ‘l-Ḥiǧǧja”. This also suggests that there was originally only one sacred month, but it was observed at different times in different parts of Arabia. Muḥammad in the Qurʾān always speaks only of the sacred month (ii. 194, 217; v. 2, 97); only in Sūra ix. 36 in laying down the method of reckoning time does he speak of four sacred months, in which it was sought to recognise a later declaration of the equal sanctity of four different sacred months of different districts, which was however illusory, as within Islām the peace of God reigns without this and, according to Sūra ii. 217, the defence of the faith takes preference over the sacred month. What the sacred month referred to in the Qurʾān is, we do not know; in Sūra v. 2, at any rate, the month of the pilgrimage must be meant, which fits Wellhausen’s theory excellently. The commentators think Rādjab or Dhu ‘l-Ḳa‘da is meant, at any rate not al-Muḥarram.

Al-Muḥarram has 30 days of which, in addition to the 1st as the beginning of the year, the following are specially noted: the 9th as the fast-day of the Shī‘ī ascetics; the 10th as the anniversary of Kerbelā’ (60 = 680), on which al-Ḥusain b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib [q. v.] fell fighting against the Caliph Yazīd b. Mu‘āwīya and therefore the great day of mourning of the Shī‘a (on the significance of the 10th Muḥarram for the Sunnis see ‘ĀSH‘URĀ), celebrated by pilgrimages to the sacred places of the Shī‘a, especially to Kerbelā’ [see MESHHED ḤUSAIN], in which the passion play, representing the death of ‘Alī’s sons [see TA‘ZĪYA], plays the most important part; also the 16th as the day of the selection of Jerusalem as the Ḳibla [q. v.] and the 17th as the day of the arrival of the “people of the elephant” (Sūra cv.).

Bibliography: Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*² (1897), p. 94—101; Moberg, *An-Nasīḥ* (Koran IX, 37) in der islamischen Tradition (Lunde Universitets Årsskrift., N. F., Avd. 1, vol. xxvii, No. 1) [1931]; Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads* (1930), p. 57, note 129, p. 350 sq. (p. 350, line 7 from below, read: intercalary month, for day); al-Birūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, p. 60, 62, 196, 201, 328 sqq.; al-Kazwīnī, *Adǧā‘ib al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 66, 68 (where further events that happened on the 10th Muḥarram are given); on the “people of the elephant” cf. Buhl, *op. cit.*, p. 12 sq. (M. PLESSNER)

MUḤĀSIBĪ ABU ‘ABD ALLĀH ḤĀRITH B. ASAD AL-‘ANĀZĪ, called Muḥāsibī, i. e. “he who examines his conscience”, was born in Baṣra; he died in

Baghdād in 243 (857). A legist of the Shāfi‘ī school, a theologian who advocated the use of reason (*‘aql*), using the dialectic vocabulary of the Mu‘tazilis, which he was the first to turn against them, he finally adopted a life of ascetic renunciation after a moral conversion long meditated which is described at the beginning of his *Waṣāyā*. Involved with the Mu‘tazilis in a general persecution as a result of Ibn Ḥanbal’s attack on the dialecticians, he had to give up all teaching in 232 (846) and died in retirement.

His principal works are: *Ri‘āya li-Ḥuḳūḳ Allāh*, *Waṣāyā* (more accurately: *Naṣā’ih*), *Kitāb al-Tawakkum*, *Mā‘iyat al-‘Aql wa-Ma’nāhu*, *Kisālat al-‘Aẓama*, *Fahm al-Ṣalāt*; none of them is yet printed. The *Dawā’ dā’ al-Nufūs*, which Sprenger attributes to him, is of an earlier date; it was arranged by his chief teacher Aḥmad b. ‘Āṣim Anṭākī.

Muḥāsibī is the first Sunni mystic whose works reveal a complete theological education; they combine in a very original way a keen concern for exact philosophical definitions, and a fervid reverence for the most naive traditions with the rigorous search for an increasing moral purification.

In his *Ri‘āya* he discards the foundations of that “method” of introspection which Anṭākī had envisaged; he shows that a correlation is possible between two series of human happenings, the external actions of the members and the intentions of the hearts (against this: ‘Allāf and the majority of contemporary *mutakallimūn*); he proves in detail that the enchainment of the states of conscience (*aḥwāl*) can be guided progressively towards a perfect purity, provided an ascetic and moral rule of life is observed, the true *raḥbāniya* mentioned in Sūra lvii. 27.

His adversaries (*muḥaddithūn*), especially Hanbalis, attacked him for having differentiated the concepts of ‘ilm and ‘aql (parable of the “sower”), *imān* and *ma‘rifā* (like Ibn Karrām); admitted the created character of the *lafẓ* (our pronunciation of Qurʾānic verses); held that the elect, in Paradise, would be summoned to enjoy directly familiarity with the divine being; chosen his references from authors not by following the formal correctness of their *isnāds*, but on account of their intrinsic significance, from their moral weight (*‘ibra*), for the reader.

The *Ri‘āya* is his main work; it forms in 61 chapters, in the shape of advices given to a pupil, a complete manual of the inner life. Ghazālī used it before writing his *Iḥyā’*; and in spite of periodical attacks, its reputation among Arabic-speaking Muslim mystics lasted for a long time and may be compared with that of the *Imitatio Jesu Christi* among Christian mystics using Latin; the Shādhiliya brotherhood, with Mursī, Ibn ‘Abbād Rūndī and Zarrūk Burnūsī, have always recommended its use; and one of them, ‘Izz al-Dīn Maḳḳisī, has made a summary of it.

The Ash‘arī theologians also esteem Muḥāsibī as a precursor.

Bibliography: Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥ-ḍjūb*, ed. Zhukovski, Leningrad 1926, p. 134, 219; transl. Nicholson, in *G.M.S.*, 1911, p. 108, 176; Ghazālī, *Munqidh*, ed. Cairo, p. 28—29; Sam‘ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, in *G.M.S.*, 1912, fol. 509b sqq.; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii. 37—42; Leo Africanus, *Descrittione dell’ Africa*, Venice 1550, book iii., § 43; Margoliouth, *Third Internat. Congr. of Orientalists*, Oxford 1908, i. 292—293; L. Mas-

signon, *Essai sur les origines . . . de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, p. 210—225 and 126—127; do., *Passion d'al-Hallaj*, index, s. v.; do., *Textes inédits concernant . . . la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1929, p. 16—23, and add.

(L. MASSIGNON)

MUḤIBB AL-DĪN. [See AL-ṬABARĪ.]

AL-MUḤIBBĪ, a family of scholars in Damascus of the xth—xith (xvth—xviith) centuries of which three members distinguished themselves in literature:

1. Muḥibb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Dāwūd b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-Khalīk b. Muḥibb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Taḳī al-Dīn al-'Ulwānī al-Ḥamawī al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanafī, born in the middle of Ramaḍān 949 (Dec. 23, 1542) in Ḥamāt, studied there, in Ḥalab and Ḥimṣ and after a journey to Constantinople obtained a post as teacher in the Madrasa al-Kuḍā'iya in Damascus. In 978 (1571) he accompanied the *Shaiḫh* al-Islām and Chief *Kāḍī* Čiwī Zāde to Cairo, was for a period a *kāḍī* there and after a second journey to Constantinople was appointed *kāḍī* in Ḥimṣ, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān and several other towns of northern Syria. In 993 (1585) the post of a chief *na'ib* (*al-niyāba al-kubrā*) was given to him; at the same time he was military judge, judge of the Syrian caravan, taught in several madrasas and gave *fatwās* at the Sultān's request. He died on the 23rd Shawwāl 1016 (Feb. 18, 1608). Of his numerous writings only three have survived: his commentary written in 969 (1561) (according to al-Muḥibbī, iii. 322, on the other hand, prepared at the age of 16) on Muḥammad b. al-Shihna's (d. 815 = 1412) *Urḍūza al-Bayāniya* (*Manẓūma fi 'l-Ma'āni wa 'l-Bayān*) in the Berlin, Alshwardt, *Verz.*, No. 7256—7257 and Gotha, Pertsch, No. 2789 MSS., his *Travels, al-Rihla* or *Hādī 'l-Aḡān al-Nadjiyya ila 'l-Diyār al-Miṣriyya*, in the Paris, Cat. de Slane, No. 2293; Cairo, *Fihrist*, vii. 646; Istanbul, 'Ātif Efendi, No. 2030 (s. Rescher, in *M.F.O.B.*, v. 496) MSS., which he wrote when *kāḍī* in Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, and his commentary written in 1011 (1602) on the authoritative verses in Zamakhsharī's *Kashshūf* entitled *Tanzil al-Āyāt*, pr. Būlak 1281, Cairo 1307—1308, and on the margin of *Kashshūf*, *ibid.*, 1318.

Bibliography: al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Aḥṣar*, ii. 322—331; Wüstenfeld, *Die Gelehrtenfamilie Muḥibbī in Damaskus*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, Hist.-Phil. Cl., xxx/iii., 1884, p. 5—9.

2. His grandson Faḍl Allāh b. Muḥibb Allāh b. Muḥibb al-Dīn was born on the 17th Muḥarram 1031 (Dec. 2, 1621) in Damascus, at an early age showed great linguistic ability, received in 1048 (1638) from Nadjma al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (d. 1061 = 1651), (see Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 292) the *idjāza* for *Ḥadīth*, and after failing to secure something in Ḥalab through the *Shaiḫh* al-Islām Muḥammad b. Zakariyā, was given by his father the latter's post at the Derwishīya. In 1051 (1641) he accompanied Muḥammad 'Iṣmatī to Constantinople, was appointed to the Madrasa Arba'in there, but dismissed a year later, when he returned home. In 1059 (1649) he accompanied the *kāḍī* Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm al-Bursawī to Egypt and became his deputy. After a quarrel with him, he resumed his studies in al-Azhar and came home next year. In 1073 (1662) he again went to Constantinople and four years later was appointed *kāḍī* of Bairūt but returned to Damascus in 1079 where he died on 23rd Djumādā II,

1082 (Oct. 27, 1671). While his own *Diwān* and his description of his journeys to Constantinople have not been preserved, his edition of the poems of his friend Mandjaḳ Pasha (d. 1080 = 1669 in Damascus) are still in existence. He first of all arranged them chronologically, beginning with a poem on Sultān Ibrāhīm I of the year 1055 (1645) (in addition to the MSS. mentioned in Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 277 there are now Köprülü, ii. 1245 and Möşul, Dāwūd, *Makḥḥūfāt*, No. 153, 20), then alphabetically, including poems of a later period down to 1071 (1660); this edition was printed at Damascus in 1301. In 1078 (1667) he edited the biographical work of al-Ḥasan al-Būrīnī (d. 1024 = 1615), *Tarāḡīm al-A'yān min Abnā' al-Zamān* and published it with a supplement; we may add to the MSS. mentioned by Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 290: Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, in *R.A.A.D.*, iii., 1923, p. 193—202.

Bibliography: Muḥibbī, *op. cit.*, iii. 277—286; Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 15—19.

3. His son Muḥammad al-Amin b. Faḍl Allāh b. Muḥibb Allāh b. Muḥammad Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Dimashqī, born in 1061 (1651) in Damascus, went with his father in 1077 (1666) to Bairūt but returned home several times from there. A friend of his father's, Muḥammad b. Luṭf Allāh b. Bairām al-'Izzatī, who had been *kāḍī* in Damascus in 1065 (1655) and was military judge in Anatolia in 1078 (1668), provided him with funds to study in Brusa. He returned home after a brief stay there on 8th Ṣafar 1086 (May 4, 1675) in company with the mufti Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm. Al-'Izzatī had in the meanwhile been appointed military judge in Adrianople and was able to procure him a post there. But his patron fell ill soon afterwards and had to resign. Muḥammad accompanied him to Stambul and looked after him till his death on 10th Shawwāl 1092 (Oct. 24, 1681). He then returned to Damascus and began to write. When in 1101 (1690) he had made the pilgrimage to Mecca, he was appointed deputy *kāḍī* and then a teacher in the Aminiya in Damascus. He died there on the 18th Djumādā I 1111 (Nov. 11, 1699).

His principal work is a collection of 1,289 biographies of scholars, poets etc. of his time and the period immediately preceding it arranged in alphabetical order, entitled *Khulāṣat al-Aḥṣar fi A'yān al-Karn al-ḥādī 'aṣḥar*, the first fair copy of which he finished in 1096 (1685) (printed Cairo 1284, 4 vols.). The draft of a number of biographies from the *Hidjāz* and Yemen, which is preserved in the Brill-Houtsma MS., No. 112 appears to be part of the preliminary work on this collection; the draft of a synopsis is in Berlin (Ahlwardt, No. 9895). A synopsis was prepared by 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Ḥadīdj al-Ghazzī al-'Āmirī (d. 1191 = 1777; Murāḍī, iii. 215); MS. in Tübingen (Seybold, No. 9). A second great biographical work on celebrities of all ages entitled *al-I'tām* was to give under each letter *al-a'tām wa 'l-nisab wa 'l-kunā wa 'l-abnā' wa 'l-nisā' wa 'l-ummahāt* separately. In the draft in Leipzig (Vollers, No. 683) giving the letter *mīm* the sources, which from the articles are taken usually word for word, are generally quoted. He also wrote a continuation of al-Khafādjī's *Raiḥānat al-Alibbā'* entitled *Nafḥat al-Raiḥāna wa-Rashḥat Ṭilā' al-Ḥāna*, which survives, in addition to the MSS. quoted by Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 294, in Stambul, Nūr-i 'Oṭhmāniya, No. 4352 (*M.S.O.S.*, xv. 22) and Möşul, Dāwūd, *Makḥḥūfāt*,

N^o. 264, 7; an anonymous selection from it called *Mukhtārāt* is in Cairo, *Fihrist*², iii. 342. A supplement (*dhail*) to it was written by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Su'ālātī in 1111 (1699); MSS. in Berlin, Ahlwardt, N^o. 7422; Copenhagen, Mehren, N^o. 170; St. Petersburg, As. Mus., N^o. 251; Brit. Mus., Or. 6516 (*Descript. List*, N^o. 57); Yale-Landberg, N^o. 179; Damascus, Zaiyāt, N^o. 78, 64. A companion work of the middle of the xith century is 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Shāshū's *Tarāḍīm ba'd al-'A'yān min Ahl Dimashq min 'Ulamā'ihā wa-Udabā'ihā*, pr. Bairūt 1886. His *Diwān*, mainly *ḥaṣidas* on friends and patrons, which are as a rule also included in his *Khulāṣa*, is preserved in the autograph copy in the library of A. Taimūr in Cairo; s. *R.A.A.D.*, iii. 342, and the Berlin MS., Ahlwardt, N^o. 8007; cf. N^o. 8008; Flügel, *Z.D.M.G.*, ix. 224. In the Urdjūza *Barāhat al-Arwāḥ djalibāt al-Surūr wa 'l-Afrāḥ*, Berlin, N^o. 8162 he collected sayings and proverbs. Al-Tha'alibī's *Kitāb Thimār al-Kulūb fi 'l-Mudāf wa 'l-Mansūb* was arranged alphabetically by him as *Mā yu'awwalu 'alaihi fi 'l-Mudāf wa 'l-Mudāf ilaihi*, MS. in Stambul, Top Kapu, N^o. 2455; 'Ātif Efendi, N^o. 2247 (see *R.S.O.*, iv. 727); Aya Sofia, N^o. 4136 (*M.S.*, vii. 132); Cairo, *Fihrist*², iii. 285. The monograph on grammar *Djany al-Djan-natain fi Naw'at 'l-Muthannayain* is preserved in a MS. belonging to A. Taimūr Paṣha (*R.A.A.D.*, iii. 340; iv. 147) and printed in Damascus 1348. The lexicological work *Sawā' al-Sabīl fi-mā fi 'l-Lughā al-'arabiya min al-Dakḥil* is preserved in a Damascus MS.; see *R.A.A.D.*, iii. 340.

Bibliography: al-Murādi, *Silk al-Durar*, iv. 86—91; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, N^o. 590; do., *Die Gelehrtenfamilie Muḥibbī*, p. 19—28.
(C. BROCKELMANN)

MUḤIBBĪ. [See SULAIMĀN I.]

MUḤĪT. [See BAHR MUḤĪT.]

MUHR (P., Sanskrit मुद्रा), seal, signet or signet-ring. Pronounced in Persian *mohr* and *möhr* and in Turkish *mühür* with the second vowel disjunctive and unstable or popularly *möhür* (Hindoglu, Aucher, Ciackiak and Holdermann) or even, according to Viguier, *mihir*. The word has been arabicised in the form of barbarous derivatives like *tamhīr* "action of sealing" and *mamhūr* (synonym: *mühürilü*) "sealed, hidden".

Muslim legend, according to Mouradgā d'Ohsson (vii. 121), traces the use of seals to Lāhuk, vizier of Lātis, son and successor of the Pharaoh of Moses (cf. Carra de Vaux, *L'abrégé des merveilles*, p. 387; in contradiction with Genesis, xli. 42).

In the article KHĀTAM are given useful references to the use of seals among the Arabs and also among Turks and Persians and the coin of this name is dealt with under MOHR. Here we shall deal more particularly with the word *muhr* as a complement to that article. We have not however to forget that this word *muhr* was used by the Persians and Turks either alongside of *khātām* or in place of it, to express also ideas taken directly from the Arabs, as in the phrase *müḥr-i Süleimān* or *müḥr-i Djem* "seal of Solomon" (also the name of a plant) or *müḥr-i nübüvvet* "the famous mark of a prophet which appeared on Muḥammad's back".

The *Shāhnāma* regards the seal (*muhr*, with its synonym of ring or *nigīn*; the two words sometimes appear together: *muhr-i nigīn*, vi. 51, verse 557 of Mohl's edition) as an attribute of sovereignty,

like the crown and throne. It is the same when sovereignty is delegated to governors (vi., p. 5, v. 1; cf. i., p. 499, v. 163; iii., p. 421, v. 111; vii., p. 459, v. 374; p. 463, v. 418). There is a reference in the same poem to seals of amber (i., p. 545, v. 692) such as actually existed (cf. Reinaud, *Mon.*, i. 129). They were sometimes steeped in Chinese musk (vi., p. 351, v. 2288).

In Turkey the seal was again the emblem of power. The imperial seal (*müḥr-i hümayūn*) was handed to the grand vizier, hence also called *ṣāhib-i müḥr* [cf. ṢADR A'ZAM], with great solemnity (cf. M. d'Ohsson, vii. 120), and Na'imā (iv. 430) in speaking of ambition to become grand vizier uses the phrase *mühür arzusu* ("desire for the seal").

We may mention here that according to d'Ohsson (*ibid.*), the sultān had four seals with a *tughra*, set in rings; one was square and remained in his possession; he entrusted the others which were round, to the Grand Mistress or Lady Treasurer of the Harem (*khazna-dār*) and to the *khāṣṣ-oda-bāshi*, a white eunuch who at one time held the office of first chamberlain.

The seal was changed at each accession of a new monarch (cf. Na'imā, i. 117) as was the *tughra* itself. Ewliyā Çelebi's statement, which implies the contrary, is therefore rather strange (vii. 300, v. 4 from below). In Persia the seal was retained but the name was changed [cf. KHĀTAM].

The grand vizier produced the imperial seal on the *dīwān* days for the *ṭawush bashi* to seal the bag (*kise*) for the registers of the *rūsnāma* and the archives of the Finance Department or *māḥye defterkhānesi*, the Treasury (*khazāne*) and the general Archives (*defterkhāne*) (*M.T.M.*, 499). The grand vizier also had, like all the viziers or governors of provinces, two other seals, one, a large one, impressed at the top of *buyurultu* or "ordinances", and the other, a small and modest one, placed at the foot of letters from the vizier, including official ones (cf. Aḥmad Rāsim, *Othm. Tārīkhī*, iii. 1514).

The use of seals in Turkey (we know very little of those of the Saldjūks; cf. Reinaud, *Mon.*, i. 121 note) was exceedingly widespread. They were used for impressions in wax (*mühür mumu*) and for stamping in a particular kind of ink to which saliva was added, as in Persia (cf. Le Père Raphaël du Mans, p. 129). In more modern times the seal was carried in the purse (cf. a verse by Mehmed 'Ākif in his poem *Seifi Baba*). It is only recently that under the influence of the west the *mühür* has been displaced by the signature. It must have received its *coup de grâce* with the recent adoption of the Roman alphabet and of rubber seals.

The industry of seal-engraving has thus been gradually disappearing. It had at one time reached a high degree of perfection and the artists used to sign their work. These signatures were usually very brief, Mithli, Sā'ī, Aḥmad etc. They were written in characters so minute that they could only be distinguished with a lens and only when very clearly engraved. Quite a study could be written on these artists.

Ewliyā Çelebi gives the following information about the seal engravers of Istanbul (i. 575). He distinguishes:

1. Engravers on stone, *ḥakikī'ākān*, 105 workmen in 30 shops. They engraved on stones such as

agate, garnet, turquoise and jasper. Their patron saint or *pir* was 'Abd Allāh Yamānī, a disciple of Uwais al-Karānī who is buried in Ta'izz.

2. The engravers of *mühür*: *mühürkēnān* who worked especially for the viziers, 80 workmen in 50 shops. Their *pir* was the Caliph 'Othmān. In the reign of Murād IV the most noted were Maḥmūd Čelebi, Rizā Čelebi and Ferid Čelebi, who charged from 100 to 500 piastres for their work.

3. The engravers of silver seals and talismans: *mühürkēnān-i sim ü-heyākil*, 40 workmen in 15 shops. *Pir*: 'Ukkāsha who is buried near Mar'ash, who, having seen on the Prophet's back the *mühür-i nübüwwet* (cf. above), began to engrave talismanic formulae (two of these are quoted). These workmen "cannot engrave Yemen agate". They were established in the area called *Seyişkēnānlar*.

We may still mention the custom of making partisans, whose loyalty one wished to be sure of, stamp their seals on a *Qur'an* (*Kur'an mühürletmek*); cf. in the Turkish papers of June 8, 1925, statements by a rebel Kurd.

The word *memhür* in the old language of the Janissaries meant vouchers for their pay (M. d'Ohsson, vii. 337).

In figurative language Persian and Turkish uses the expression "to break the seal": *muhr berdashen*, *mühür almak* (or *bozmağ*, *açmağ*, *götürmek*) for "to deflower a virgin" [cf. further thh art. TAMGHA].

The MUHRDĀR (*mohrdār*), Turk. *mühürdār* [cf. the article KHĀTAM], keeper of the seals or better "private secretary" (cf. below), was therefore a very important personage. Mir 'Alī Shīr Newā'i was the *mohrdār* of Husain Baikara before becoming *dāvān begi* and first minister (cf. Belin, *Notice sur Mir* ..., 1861, p. 13; cf. de Sacy, *N. E.*, iv. 282, 261). He was succeeded in these offices by another poet, Merwārīd (*ibid.*). — On the *mohrdār* in Persia, cf. Le Père Raphaël du Mans, p. 21. In Central Asia the title of *muhrdār* seems to have replaced that of *tamghachi* which occurs as early as the Orkhon inscriptions.

In Turkey, each vizier had his *mühürdār* (Ahmad Rāsim, 'Othm. *Tārīkhī*, i. 455). Cf. the account of the career of a *mühürdār* in the *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, ii. 31 below (Behdjet Pasha [the same as is mentioned in the *Memoirs* of Sa'īd Pasha, i. 4]).

The *rūznāmedji* had also their own *mühürdārs* (J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, p. 136). At Kādi Kīōy there exists a quarter called *Mühürdār*. For the work bearing the title *Mühürdār Tārīkhī*, cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 216 sq.

With the viceroys of Egypt the *mühürdār* was a "private secretary" of the Khedive. The title of *mühürdār* was abolished in 1884 but the office has remained. His salary was the same as that of the chief of the cabinet (cf. *ibid.*, p. 92 and 476).

Bibliography: Cf. the article KHĀTAM. We may now add: Babinger, *Das Archiv des Bosniaken Osman Pasha*, Berlin 1931, p. 23 and note 5, where reference is made to a little known article by Riza Efendi Mudezirovic. Cf. also von Hammer, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, xii. 425, 539; xvi. 2. (J. DENY)

MUHSIN 'ALĪ, son of Shāh Husain Ḥaḳīkat, was an inhabitant of Lucknow. In poetry he was the pupil of Khwādja Wazīr. He flourished in the latter part of the xixth century. He is the author of a *Diwān*, a collection of lyrical poems, and a

biography of Urdū poets called *Sarāpā Sukhan*.

Bibliography: Nassākh, *Tadhkira-i Shu'ara'* (Lucknow 1874), p. 419.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

AL-MUHTADĪ, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD, an 'Abbāsīd caliph. After al-Wāthiq's death, a number of officials wished to pay homage to the young Muḥammad, son of the deceased caliph and a Greek slave; instead however, al-Wāthiq's brother was proclaimed his successor and only after the deposition and murder of the unfortunate al-Mu'tazz (end of Rādjab 255 = July 869) Muḥammad ascended the throne with the name al-Muhtadī. His ideal was the Umayyad 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. Like the latter, he was distinguished for the strictness with which he conducted his life; with piety and simplicity however, he combined strength and ability and during his brief reign he did his best to raise the caliphate from its degradation and to restore the power of the Commander of the Faithful. In several provinces there were risings by 'Alids, real or alleged; but the most dangerous enemy of the caliph was the Turkish general Mūsā b. Bogha. When the latter, who was fighting against the 'Alids in Persia, heard of the accession of al-Muhtadī, he returned home. Reaching Sāmarrā in Muḥarram 256 (Dec. 869) he forced the caliph to take an oath to bring to justice the Turkish chief Šālīh b. Waṣīf, who had robbed the mother of the caliph al-Mu'tazz of all her priceless treasures. When Šālīh concealed himself, the Turkish mercenaries mutinied and were intending to depose al-Muhtadī but were appeased by the resolute action of the latter. Al-Muhtadī then promised Šālīh's followers that he would pardon him; but as the latter did not appear, they went to Sāmarrā and began to pillage it until they were scattered by Mūsā. Šālīh was soon afterwards discovered and killed by one of Mūsā's men. When Mūsā had taken the field against the Khāridjīs, al-Muhtadī began to incite the people against him and his brother Muḥammad b. Bogha and accused them of embezzlement. Muḥammad was brought to trial and put to death although al-Muhtadī had expressly guaranteed his pardon. The only course left for the caliph was to dispose of Mūsā if he wished to keep his throne. But his plan was betrayed; Mūsā advanced with superior forces and the caliph suffered a disastrous defeat. As he declined to abdicate, he was murdered in Rādjab 256 (June 870) in horrible fashion.

Bibliography: Ibn Qūtaiba, *Kitāb al-Ma'arīf*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 200; Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 590 sq., 616—619; Ṭabari, iii. 1368, 1372, 1537, 1712—1834; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, ed. Paris, vii. 398 sq.; viii. 1—41; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xx. 64—69; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, vii. 23, 134—138, 149—162; Ibn al-Ṭīqāqā, *al-Fakhri*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 335—341; Muḥammad b. Shākīr, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ii. 270 sq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, iii. 296 sqq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 409—421; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 529 sq.; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, new ed. by Weir, p. 539—543. (K. V. ZETTERSTEEN)

MUHTASIB (A.), "censor", an officer appointed by the caliph or his wazīr to see that the religious precepts of Islām are obeyed, to detect offences and punish offenders. His office was the *ḥisba*, and to it only men of good standing could, in theory, be appointed. Like all

holders of public office, he had to be a Muslim and free. Generally he was a *faqih*, and in addition to his police functions he performed those of a magistrate. In some respects his duties were parallel with those of the *kādi*, but the muhtasib's jurisdiction was limited to matters connected with commercial transactions, defective weights and measures, fraudulent sales and non-payment of debts. Even in these matters he could hear only those cases in which the truth was not in doubt. As soon as evidence had to be sifted and oaths administered the muhtasib's jurisdiction ceased. As a censor he had power to enforce the law without first requiring complaint from an injured party. He had to see that in a place where Muslims lived they did not neglect to hold a Friday service in the mosque and that if they numbered forty or more they formed themselves into an organised community. But if the number was large and there were differences of opinion on the question of worshipping together, his authority might be disputed, and it was not within his power to compel the attendance of the individual Muslim at the mosque unless he was a persistent defaulter. Even then the officer could do no more than admonish the delinquent. So far as the mosque was concerned the muhtasib could insist on the *adhān* and he could examine the *mu'adhdhin* in the subject of the times lawful for the *adhān*. If a public mosque fell into disrepair, the muhtasib was charged with the duty of calling the attention of the authorities to the matter.

An important part of the muhtasib's duties was to see that the laws of the *shari'* were maintained. Persons breaking the fast of Ramaḍān, widows and divorced women who did not observe the *'idda* [q. v.] before remarriage, and other transgressors, were liable to have to make explanations before him. Public morals, further, came under his jurisdiction. He had to prevent men from consorting with women in public and from indulging openly in wine; also the playing of forbidden musical instruments came under his ban and he had to see that games and toys did not lead to offences against the *shari'*. However, he could not act on suspicion alone nor had he the right to go behind closed doors to pursue his investigations. His powers would appear to have been wider where the spiritual welfare of Muslims was concerned. Thus if a *faqih* propounded views contrary to *idmāc'* [q. v.] it was the muhtasib's duty to admonish him and to report him to the sovereign if he persisted in preaching heretical doctrines. Also, if a person not a *faqih* suddenly turned to the study of the *fiqh*, the muhtasib had to make investigation in order to discover his motive and to prevent his misleading persons who might apply to him. Schools also had to be visited by the muhtasib, though not so much for the purpose of inspecting the character of the teaching as to ensure that teachers did not beat their pupils too severely (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 464). Other matters which came within his jurisdiction were concerned with public amenities rather than with morals or religious institutions. Thus, in towns where the source of drinking-water was fouled or no provision was made for poor wayfarers he could order the townsmen to rectify matters. He had to ensure that no house overlooked the women's quarters of another belonging to a Muslim and that no house had projecting rainspouts or drains leading on to the street to the inconvenience of

wayfarers, and finally that the *sūḳ* was kept clean and clear of obstacles to traffic.

Bibliography: Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniya* (ed. Enger), p. 420 sq.; Tanukhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara* (ed. Margoliouth), p. 250; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 463 sq.; 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Shāfi', *Nihāyat al-Rutba fi Ṭalab al-Ḥisba* (British Museum, MS. Or. 9221), translated by Behrner, in *J.A.*, 5th series, vol. xvi., p. 347-392; vol. xvii., p. 1-76. — On *muḥāsaba* and the muhtasib from the point of view of ethics and theology, see Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, part iv., book viii. (R. LEVY)

AL-MUHYI. [See ALLĀH, b. 2.]

MUHYI 'L-DİN. [See IBN (AL-)'ARABĪ.]

MUHYI 'L-DİN MUHAMMAD (MEHMED) B. 'ALĀ' AL-DİN 'ALĪ AL-DJAMĀLĪ, a Turkish theologian and historian of the time of Selim I (1512-1520) and Sulaimān I (1520-1566). His father was the famous mufti Zānbilī 'Alī al-Djamālī, a grandson of Djāmāl al-Dīn Meḥmed of Aḳ Serai (hence the epithet Djāmālī). He received his theological training first from his maternal grandfather, Ḥusām-Zāde Efendi, then from his father 'Alā' al-Dīn and later from Mu'ayyad-Zāde Efendi. He worked as müderris in several medreses, in Constantinople at the Murād medrese and at the eight schools of the Fātiḥ mosque and in Adrianople where he was also a mollā for a period. He died in retirement and was buried at Adrianople in 957 (1550); according to some, however, in 956 (1549).

His main importance lies in the fact that he edited the anonymous Ottoman chronicles, the *Tewāriḳ-i Āl-i 'Othmān*, under the title *Ta'riḳ-i Āl-i 'Othmān*. These chronicles which run from the beginning of the Ottoman empire were continued by him down to 956 (1549) i. e. till shortly before his death.

Two versions of his *Chronicle* exist, both of which go back to him: 1. a shorter one to which corresponds the translation of the Beck manuscript by Gaudier-Spiegel: *Chronica oder Acta von der Türkischen Tyrannen herkommen vnd geführte Kriegen, aus Türkischer Sprachen verdeutschet. Vorhin nie in Druck ausgegangen*, Frankfurt a/O. 1567; it was also published in Latin and German by Leunclavius: *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum a Turcis sua lingua scripti*, Frankfurt 1588; 2nd edition with index and German transl.: *Neue Chronika Türkischer Nation von Türcken selbs beschrieben*, Frankfurt a/Main 1590;

2. a longer version: the so-called Verantian *Chronicle* (Codex Verantianus), edited in Latin and German by Leunclavius: *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum de monumentis ipsorum exscriptae libri XVIII*, Frankfurt 1591. There were 18 books instead of the 30 planned. As early as 1590 the first three books were published in German at Frankfurt: *Neuer Muselmanischer Histori, Türkischer Nation, von ihrem Herkommen, Geschichte vnd Taten; drey Bücher, die ersten vnter dreyszig*; followed by the complete German translation of the *Annales: Neuer Muselmanischer Histori Türkischer Nation*, Frankfurt a/M. 1595.

In addition to his chronicle, which exists only in manuscript (MSS. in Vienna, Munich, Berlin, Gotha, London, Constantinople etc.), Muhyi al-Dīn is also credited with poems in Turkish, Arabic and Persian (also extant in a manuscript) and a theological work.

Bibliography: Hādjdji Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, Constantinople 1311, p. 218; Tashköprüzade, *Shakā'ik al-Nu'māniye*, Constantinople 1269, p. 389; transl. by O. Rescher, Constantinople 1927, p. 247; Djāmāl al-Dīn, *'Othmānī Ta'rikh we-Müwerrikhleri* (Ayine-i Zurefā), Constantinople 1314, p. 10 and 25; Rif'at, *Rawdat al-'asāsiye*, p. 180; Thuraiya, *Sidjill-i 'othmāni*, iii. 488; Brusali Mehmed Tahir, *'Othmānī Mucellifleri*, iii. 63; Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 72—74; J. H. Mordtmann, *Isl.*, x. 160; xiii. 153 sqq.; Carl Ausserer, *ibid.*, xii. 226 sqq.; F. Giese, *M.O.G.*, i. 49—75; P. Wittek, *ibid.*, i. 77 sqq.; see also the Catalogues of Manuscripts.

(TH. MENZEL)

MUHYI LĀRĪ (d. 933 = 1526—1527), a Persian writer, author of the famous *Futūh al-Haramain*, a poetical description of the two holy cities, Mecca and Medina, which also contains a full account of all the rites of the obligatory pilgrimage (*ḥajj*).

This book, written in 911 (1506) and dedicated to Muza'ffar b. Mahmūd Shāh of Gujjarāt (917—932 = 1511—1526), was for a long time wrongly attributed to the celebrated poet 'Abd al-Rahmān Djāmī. Muhyi Lārī was a pupil of the great philosopher Muḥammad al-Dawānī (d. 907 = 1501) and made use of his extensive philosophical knowledge in a commentary on the great *Qaṣida* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, which is known as *al-Tā'iya al-kubrā*. In this work he endeavoured, following in the footsteps of his teacher, to reconcile the principles of orthodox Muḥammadan mysticism with the teachings of Aristotle in the form in which they were disseminated in the east.

Bibliography: Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, ii. 655a. — Persian text of the *Futūh al-Haramain* lithographed Lucknow 1292. A full description of the contents in *Wiener Jahresbüchern*, lxxi. Anzeigeblatt p. 49; Hādjdji Khalifa, iv. 385; H. Ethé, *Neupersische Literatur* (*Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii. 306).

(E. BERTHELS)

AL-MU'ID. [See ALLĀH, b. 2.]

MU'IN AL-DĪN SULAIMĀN PARWĀNA, vice-regent of the Saldjūq empire in Asia Minor after the Mongol invasion of that territory. His father Muḥaddhib al-Dīn 'Alī al-Dailamī (in some sources, such as the *Ta'rikh-i Guzida*, Mu'īn al-Dīn is called "al-Kāshī", which implies origin from Kāshān) had been a minister during the reign of Kaikhusraw II and had been able, after the battle of Köse Dagḥ (1243), to secure for a time the continuation of the Saldjūq dynasty in Asia Minor, by his intercession with the Mongol general Baidjū (Ibn Bibi, p. 243). His son Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaimān soon rose to hold important offices and had been commander of Toḡat, and later of Toḡat and Erzindjān, when, in 1256, he was promoted, by the favour of Baidjū, to the rank of *parwāna*. The title *parwāna* denoted a high administrative office (high chancellor) in the Saldjūq empire and is erroneously explained by the Persian dictionaries as a synonym of *farmān* (the word is fully discussed in the foot-note on p. 46 of Khalil Edhem's article in *T.O.E.M.*, vol. viii.; cf. also Huart, *Les Saints*, etc., i. 80). At the time indicated the three sons of Kaikhusraw were nominally reigning, but Mu'īn al-Dīn was already the real director of affairs. After Hülāgū had appeared on the scene in 1260, the empire was divided into two parts,

of which Rukn al-Dīn Kīlīdj Arslan got the eastern part with Parwāna as vizier at his side. The latter had also a family connection with the dynasty, for he was married to a daughter of Kaikhusraw II, while one of his own daughters became the wife of the Saldjūq Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd II. As vizier of Rukn al-Dīn he conquered Sinope (Sinūb) from the Greek emperor of Trebizond; the town was given to himself, and after his death some of his descendants continued to reign there (cf. Sīnūb and Tewḥid, *Sinūbda Parwāne-Zādelar*, in *T.O.E.M.*, 1st year, p. 203). In February 1265 Parwāna, warned that his sultān wanted to get rid of him, had him imprisoned and afterwards strangled at Aḡ-Serāy. The two and a half years' old son of Rukn al-Dīn, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaikhusraw, was set up as a puppet-king. During the following years, when Parwāna was, under the supervision of the Mongols, the real master in Eastern Anatolia, the wretched situation of the country induced many notable Turks to emigrate to Egypt, where they incited Sultān Baibars to a military expedition against the Mongol domination in their country. It is highly probable that Mu'īn al-Dīn Parwāna himself was secretly at the head of these negotiations. Baibars invaded Asia Minor, defeated a Mongol army at Albistān and occupied the town of Kai-sariye in April 1277. Here he waited for Parwāna to join him, but the latter had lost his confidence in the enterprise and fled to Toḡat with the young sultān. Baibars returned again to Syria and soon a Mongol army appeared under the Ilkhān Abaḡa to inflict drastic punishment on the Muslim population; he is said to have killed over 200,000 people. At the same time suspicion fell on Parwāna. He was accused of having fled with his army at the battle of Albistān, of having not appeared before the Ilkhān after the defeat, and of having neglected to inform the Mongols of Baibars' approach. At first Abaḡa was willing to spare him, but on the insistence of the relatives of those killed in the battle of Albistān, he ordered him to be executed at Ala Dagḥ, together with his retainers, probably on the 1st Rabi' I 676 (August 2, 1277). Ala Dagḥ is, according to Khalil Edhem, probably the same as Köse Dagḥ, to the east of Siwās. His burial place is not known. A foundation inscription on a mosque built by Mu'īn al-Dīn Parwāna in 663 (1264—1265) is still extant in Marzifūn. His death inspired several poets to make elegies on him (Munaddjim Bashī). From the tradition of the Mawlawī order it appears that Parwāna was on intimate terms with Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī; the latter's work *Fīhi mā fīhi* was dedicated to him (cf. Kröpülü-Zade M. Fu'ād, *Ilk Müteşarraf*, p. 258).

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p. 436 sq.; Husain Husām al-Dīn, *Amasia Ta'rikhi*, Constantinople 1920, i., ii.; Tewhīd, *Rūm Seldjūki Devletinin inkişāfı ile teşekkül eden Tewā'if-i Mulūk*, in *T.O.E.M.*, vol. i.; Khahl Edhem, *Merzifūda Parwāna Mu'in al-Din Sulaimān nāmına bir Kitābe*, in *T.O.E.M.*, No. 8, p. 42 sqq.; do., *Düvel-i Islāmiye*, Constantinople 1927, p. 211, 272; Cl. Huart, *Les Saints des Derviches Tourneurs*, Paris 1918—1922, i., ii., *passim*. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MU'IN AL-MISKĪN whose full name was MU'IN AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD AMĪN b. ḤĀJJDJ MUḤAMMAD AL-FARĀHĪ AL-HARAWĪ and whose *takhal-luṣ* was Mu'ini (d. 907 = 1501—1502), a celebrated traditionist. He studied *Ḥadīth* for 31 years and throughout this period preached every Friday in the great mosque of Herāt. He was for year *kaḏi* of Herāt but gave up the post by his own request. In 866 (1461—1462) at the request of a friend, he began to write a little book on the life of the Prophet Muḥammad. Out of this little book there grew in time the great biographical work, exceedingly popular in the East, called *Ma'āridi al-Nubuwwa fī Ma'āridi al-Futuwwa*, which was not finished till 891 (1486) and contains a very full account of the life of the Prophet consisting of a *Muḥaddima*, four books and a *Khātima*. Besides this gigantic work Mu'ini also wrote a commentary on the *Kur'ān* entitled *Bahr al-Durar* and a collection of forty *ḥadīths*, *Rawḍat al-Wā'izīn*. His study of the history of the prophets produced a large history of Moses entitled *Mu'djizat-i Mūsawī* (also called *Ta'rikhi-i Mūsawī* or *Kiṣṣa-yi Mūsawī*), which was completed in 904 (1498—1499), and the story of Yūsuf and Zulaikha, *Aḥsan al-Kiṣaṣ*.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *Neupersische Literatur (Grundriss der iranischen Philologie)*, ii. 235, 319, 358; Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, i. 149a; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Bombay, III/iii. 328; text of the *Ma'āridi al-Nubuwwa* lithographed Lucknow 1292. A Turkish translation by Altı Parmak (d. 1033 = 1624) entitled *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa-yi Muḥammadi* printed in Constantinople 1257. A manuscript of the *Ta'rikhi-i Mūsawī* in the India Office, No. 2029. A manuscript of the *Aḥsan al-Kiṣaṣ* in the Bodleian (Elliott, No. 409). (E. BERTHELS)

AL-MU'IZZ. [See ALLĀH, II.]

AL-MU'IZZ b. BĀDĪS. [See ZĪRIDS.]

MU'IZZ AL-DAWLA, ARU 'L-HUSAIN AḤMAD b. ABĪ SHUDJĀ', a Būyid, was born in 303 (915/916). After the taking of Shirāz by the Būyids he brought Kirmān under his rule in 324 (935—936). When the rebel governor of al-Ahwāz, al-Baridī [q. v.], after several unsuccessful encounters with Bedjken [q. v.], the general of the 'Abbāsīd caliph, sought the help of the Būyid 'Imād al-Dawla, the latter sent his brother Aḥmad against al-Ahwāz with an army; Bedjken was defeated first at Arradjān and then at 'Askar Mukram (326 = 938), whereupon Aḥmad took this town; but when he demanded as a reward for the help he had given that al-Baridī should help the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla against Washmgir, the brother of Mardāwīj [q. v.], al-Baridī refused and went to Baṣra. After Aḥmad had received reinforcements from 'Imād al-Dawla, he was able to take al-Ahwāz. In 332 (943—944) he undertook a campaign against Wāsiṭ while the Amir al-Umarā', the Turkish chief Tuzun, was involved in a war with the Ḥamdānīd of al-Mawṣil.

Tuzun hurriedly made peace and set out against Aḥmad, and the two armies met in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da of this year (July 944). The details are variously given; it is certain at least that Aḥmad soon afterwards returned to al-Ahwāz. At the end of Rādjab of the following year (middle of March 945), he made a further attempt to take the town but had to withdraw the next month on the approach of Tuzun. In 334 (945) he attacked Wāsiṭ for a third time; its governor had gone over to his side and the town surrendered without a blow being struck; he then marched against Baghdād and in Djumādā I 334 (December 945) entered the capital where he at once seized the power. The caliph al-Mustakfi appointed him Amir al-Umarā' and gave him the title Mu'izz al-Dawla but was deposed and blinded a few weeks later because he was alleged to be dealing with the enemies of the Būyids. Mu'izz al-Dawla was soon afterwards attacked by the Ḥamdānīd Nāṣir al-Dawla of al-Mawṣil, who advanced on Baghdād along with Abū 'Dja'far b. Shīrẓād and very quickly occupied the eastern part of the capital. Nāṣir al-Dawla was not driven back till Muḥarram of the following year (Aug. 946) when he made peace with the Būyids but without consulting his Turkish allies. The latter were angered at this and turned against him. Nāṣir al-Dawla had to flee and only succeeded in bringing the Turks to terms with the help of the Būyids; he then returned to al-Mawṣil as a vassal of the Būyids. Abū 'l-Ḳāsim, son and successor of al-Baridī, was the next to be dealt with. Mu'izz al-Dawla sent an army against him which put his forces to flight and in 336 (947) he took the field in person. Abū 'l-Ḳāsim fled to the Ḳarmaṭians of al-Bāḥrain and Mu'izz al-Dawla occupied Baṣra. Abū 'l-Ḳāsim's governor 'Imrān b. Shāhin however held out in al-Djāmīda, the capital of the Euphrates territory between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra, and after several years fighting Mu'izz al-Dawla had to confirm him in his governorship. In 337 (948—949) Mu'izz al-Dawla undertook a campaign against al-Mawṣil because Nāṣir al-Dawla did not send the tribute imposed on him. The latter fled to Naṣībīn, but when Rukn al-Dawla, brother of Mu'izz al-Dawla, was attacked by the Sāmānīds, Mu'izz al-Dawla had to send him help and concluded peace with the Ḥamdānīds. In 347 (958—959) Nāṣir al-Dawla rebelled again but on the approach of Mu'izz al-Dawla he left al-Mawṣil and went first of all to Naṣībīn and then to Ḥalab to his brother Saif al-Dawla, while Mu'izz al-Dawla advanced on al-Mawṣil and took this town and also Naṣībīn. Through the intervention of Saif al-Dawla however peace was made (Muḥarram 348 = March—April 959). In the last year of his life Mu'izz al-Dawla had to fight the Ḳarmaṭians and 'Imrān b. Shāhin. The former acknowledged his suzerainty; the war against the latter was interrupted by the death of Mu'izz al-Dawla on 13th or 17th Rabi' II 356 (March 28 or April 1, 967).

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Gesch. d. Chalifen, ii. 651—653, 666 sqq., 688, 692, 695—697; iii. 2—7; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 161—164, 231—233, 318 sq. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-MU'IZZ LI-DĪN ALLĀH, ABŪ TAMĪM MA'ADD B. ISMĀ'IL AL-MANŠŪR, fourth Fāṭimid caliph, was born at Mahdiyya on 11th Ramaḍān 319 (28th Sept. 931), proclaimed heir-apparent in 341 (952—953), and succeeded to the throne in Shawwāl of the same year (March 953). His first object was to restore the Fāṭimid power, which had been reestablished in Ifrīkiya by his father, over the remaining provinces of the Maghrib. In 342 he led in person an army of Kitāma into the Awrās mountains and not only reduced the turbulent tribes of that region for the first time, but also received the formal submission of the chiefs of Zenāta and of the ruling princes of the west. The hostility and intrigues, however, of the Umayyad ruler of Spain, 'Abd al-Rahmān III [q. v.], maintained a situation of unrest in the Maghrib, and after ineffectual naval raids on both sides, al-Mu'izz despatched thither in 347 (958) a strong force under the command of his freedman and *kātib* Djawhar al-Rūmī [q. v.]. Tāhart and Sidjilmāsa were captured with little difficulty, Fās surrendered after an obstinate siege of eleven months in Ramaḍān 348, and the other strongholds in the Maghrib were occupied, with the exception of Salā and Sabta, which were held for 'Abd al-Rahmān. Although the results of this campaign in the western Maghrib were ephemeral, the establishment of the Ṣanhādji chief Ziri b. Manād at Tāhart placed an effective check upon the Zenāta of the Central Maghrib. There can be no doubt that al-Mu'izz was already contemplating the conquest not only of Egypt and Syria, but also of Baghdad, using for this purpose the Kitāma, as the 'Abbāsids had used the army of Khurāsān, while the Ṣanhādja should hold North-west Africa for him, and with this end in view he actively pursued a policy of conciliation of these tribes by lavish gifts and the abolition of financial exactions.

Though this ambition was no secret, it is represented in the official correspondence of al-Mu'izz as subsidiary to his desire (which was probably sincere) to assume the leadership in the *djihād* against the encroaching Greeks. Already in 350 (961) the Cretans, besieged by Nikephoros Phokas, and despairing of assistance from Kāfur, had solicited his aid. In spite of the victory claimed for al-Mu'izz by Ibn al-Athīr (viii. 404), it appears that he was unable to send assistance in time, but he seized the opportunity to denounce the treaty made with the Emperor Constantine VII in 956, and opened a fresh attack in Sicily. Taormīna was captured in 351 (962), and an expeditionary force sent from Constantinople was severely defeated both on land and sea, the general Manuel Phokas being killed, and the commander Niketas taken prisoner.

In the same year (355 = 966) al-Mu'izz began his preparations for the advance on Egypt, by ordering wells to be dug along the route. His relations with Kāfur at this time are obscure. Fāṭimid emissaries had long been engaged in active propaganda in Egypt, and had evidently made some headway, aided by the resentment of the population against the Sūdāni troops, who were fanatical Sunnis. Their propaganda was indulgently regarded by Kāfur, and it is not impossible that, as the Fāṭi-

mid writers claim, he privily declared his adhesion to al-Mu'izz. His death on 21st Djumādā II, 357 (24th May 968) gave the signal for the advance of the Fāṭimid army, said to have been over 100,000 strong, which set off under the command of Djawhar on 14th Rabi' I, 358 (6th Feb. 969), with the support of a naval squadron. The disorganization which prevailed in Egypt and the terror inspired by the Greek armies (who in 968 had swept over the whole of northern Syria without meeting opposition and had taken immense numbers of prisoners), contributed greatly to the prospects of its success; moreover, many of the Egyptian notables and even of the troops had sent letters to al-Mu'izz inviting his intervention. On Djawhar's approach the population made their submission by an embassy of notables, but the *Ikhshīdī* and *Ṭulūnī* regiments rejected the conditions laid down in the agreement, and had to be forcibly dislodged from their positions at *Djiza* and on the islands. The retreating Mamlūks split up into bands, some of which continued to give Djawhar much trouble as local centres of disaffection, ending only with the arrest and deportation to Africa of their commanders, and the disarmament or imprisonment of the remainder.

Djawhar, having entered Fustāt on 17th Sha'bān 358 (7th July 969) and laid the foundations of the new city of al-Kāhira, immediately took in hand the reform of the administration. Complete religious toleration was promised, and confirmed by the reinstatement of the existing officials, weekly sessions for the hearing of *maqālim* were instituted, several vexatious taxes were abolished and property which had been illegally sequestered to the Treasury was restored to its owners, and regular salaries were assigned to the officers of the mosques. Another of his reforms, however, caused great resentment; this was the striking of a new coinage to replace the existing debased coinage, and the order to levy all taxes in the new currency. His difficulties were increased by a prolonged famine and by the turbulence of the Berber soldiery, and it was not until the arrival in Egypt of al-Mu'izz himself in Ramaḍān 362 (June 973) that the task of reorganization was completed by centralizing the financial administration under Ya'qūb b. Kilis [q. v.] and 'Aslūdji b. al-Ḥasan, and by the removal of the Berber troops to a new camp near Heliopolis.

The course of events in Syria after the occupation of Egypt is differently related and obscure in detail. Djawhar's lieutenant *Dja'far* b. Falāḥ defeated the joint forces of the *Ikhshīdī*s and *Ḳarmāṭī*ans under al-Ḥasan (in some sources al-Ḥusain) b. 'Ubaid Allāh b. *Tughdji* at Ramla in the early months of 359 (970), but the general disorganization and the licence of the Arab tribesmen preventing him from entering Damascus until *Dhu 'l-Hijda* of the same year. Shortly afterwards he detached some contingents against the Greeks, but the troops sent to recover Antioch were defeated near Iskandarūna, or, according to *Yaḥyā* b. Sa'īd (ed. Cheikho, p. 139), were recalled after besieging the city for five months. Meanwhile the *Ḳarmāṭī*an general al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-A'sam (in some versions al-Aghsham), in revenge, it is said (but see de Goeje, *Les Carmathes du Bahrain*, p. 181—190), for the stoppage of the subsidy he had received from the *Ikhshīdī* al-Ḥasan, opened negotiations with the Buwaihīd 'Izz al-Dīn and

the Ḥamdānīd amir of al-Mawṣil, and with the aid of subsidies from them and some lkhshīdī contingents, defeated and killed Dja'far and recaptured Damascus in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 360 (Aug.-Sept. 971). Having shut up the remaining Egyptian forces in Yāfā, he marched on Cairo, but was defeated by Dja'war in Rabi' I 361 (Dec. 971), and his fleet was destroyed at Tinnis. The Ḳarmāṭians retained their hold on Damascus, however, repulsed a strong Maghribī force despatched to Palestine by Dja'war in Ramaḍān 361, and with an army of Arab auxiliaries and lkhshīdīs (some sources also add Dailamis) made a second descent upon Egypt after the arrival of al-Mu'izz. By bribing the Arabs, the Caliph succeeded in dividing and defeating the Ḳarmāṭian army outside Cairo in Ramaḍān 363 (May-June 964), but not before Ḳarmāṭian forces had overrun both the Delta and the Ṣa'īd. On al-Ḥasan's return to al-Aḥṣā' the 'Ukailid Zālim b. Mawhūb occupied Damascus on behalf of al-Mu'izz, but came into conflict with the Maghribī troops, whose indiscipline and excesses at length led the citizens to appeal to the Turkish general al-Aftakīn, who remained in possession of the city until he was captured by al-'Azīz [q. v.]. Meanwhile in northern Syria the Fāṭimid troops gained a series of striking successes against the Greeks. Tripoli and Bairūt were captured in 364 (975), and John Zimiskēs suffered a crushing defeat both on land and sea at the hands of Raiyān, governor of Tripoli, on his attempt to recover the city.

The empire which al-Mu'izz bequeathed to his successor, though it fell short of his ambitions, was still of imposing extent. The viceroy to whom he had committed the western provinces, Bulukkin b. Zīrī [q. v.], proved both loyal and capable; when, on the departure of the Caliph, the Zenāta again rose in revolt, he scattered their forces and recaptured Tahart and Tilimsān. The holy cities of Mecca and Madina acknowledged the suzerainty of the Fāṭimids, and they had a powerful following in Sind. Only in Syria had the Ḳarmāṭians, on whose cooperation al-Mu'izz had confidently relied (though the letter reproduced by al-Maḳrīzī, *Itti'āz*, ed. Bunz, p. 133 *sqq.* is of doubtful genuineness), brought him to a halt, but by this action they had placed a fatal obstacle in his way. This disappointment preyed on his mind and, worn out by ill-health and by grief at the loss of his eldest son 'Abd Allāh (died 364), he died at Cairo on 11th Rabi' II, 365 (Dec. 19, 975), having nominated as his successor his second son Nizār al-'Azīz.

The personal character of al-Mu'izz was singularly noble; frank, accessible, simple in his habits, endowed with brilliant gifts and all the traditional qualities of *ḥilm*, he was at the same time a capable administrator and just towards his subjects, though the financial exactions of his last years left a bitter memory. No instance of cruelty is recorded of him, except the execution of his Ḳarmāṭian captives, and he was completely devoid of religious fanaticism.

Bibliography: The fullest accounts are those of al-Maḳrīzī, *Itti'āz* (ed. Bunz, p. 59—143), and the *dā'i* Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan ('*Uyūn al-Akhbār*', vol. vi), both of whom utilized the biography by Ibn Zūlāk (d. 387), and the latter also the works of the Ḳāḍi al-Nu'mān b. Muḥammad (d. 363). Additional details are furnished by Ibn al-Athīr (vol. viii.), whose chronology

is at variance with earlier sources; Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Juynboll, ii. 398—494; Ibn al-Ḳalanīsī, ed. Amedroz, p. 1—14; Ibn Mu'yassar, ed. Massé, p. 43—47; al-Kindī, ed. Guest, Supplement, p. 584—589; Ibn 'Adhārī, ed. Dozy, i. 229—237; Yahyā b. Sa'īd, ed. Cheikho, p. 129—146, 295—296; Ibn Zāfir, MS. Brit. Mus., Or. 3685, fol. 47^b—50^b; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, MS. Brit. Mus., Or. 48, fol. 92—93, sub 365 A.H.; and the *Diwān* of Ibn Hānī al-Andalusī, ed. Bairūt 1326, in addition to the references quoted in the text. — European works include, besides the general histories of Egypt by Wüstenfeld and Lane-Poole, a study by Quatremère, *La Vie du Khalife Moezz-lidin-Allah* (*J. A.*, ser. iii., vols. 2, 3).

(H. A. R. GIBB)

MU'IZZĪ, AMĪR ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-MALIK, one of the most famous of Persian court poets. His place of birth is not exactly known. According to most of the sources he was born in Samarḳand about 440 (1048—1049) but Nasā and Nishāpūr are also mentioned. The son of a little known poet 'Abd al-Malik Burhānī, who was attached to the court of the Saldjūk Alp Arslān (1063—1072), he was introduced to Sultān Malik-Shāh (1072—1092) by Amīr 'Alī b. Farāmūz, ruler of Yazd (443—488 = 1051/1502—1095), made a favourable impression on the sultān and received from him the *takhalluṣ* of Mu'izzī, which comes from the *laqab* of Malik-Shāh, Mu'izz al-Dīn. He enjoyed even greater distinction under the last great Saldjūk ruler Sandjar (1118—1157) and was appointed his *malik al-shu'arā'* and the head of a regular establishment of poets, said to have numbered 400. He is reputed to have become fabulously wealthy from the splendid gifts of the ruler and he received a salary paid out of the revenues of Isfahān. Nevertheless he continually tried to increase his fortune and, as he himself tells us, never wrote a single panegyric without making certain in advance that his work would be well paid. According to the Oriental sources, he came to a tragic end, being accidentally killed by Sultān Sandjar, while practising archery in his tent. This is not possible however, as Mu'izzī himself mentions this incident in his *Diwān* and says that, although he suffered a long illness as a result of being struck by the arrow, he completely recovered in the end. This event took place in Marw, about 496 (1102—1103), but he lived for another 46 years and died there in 542 (1147—1148). There is an elegy written on the occasion of his death in the *Diwān* of Maḍjd al-Dīn Sanā'ī. Mu'izzī is one of the most brilliant writers of *ḥazidas* in the old Ghaznawid style ('Unsurī) but his art was finally displaced by Anwārī's new style and came to be forgotten.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *Neupersische Literatur* (*Gr. I. Ph.*, ii. 260, 263, 267, 283, 573); Ed. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii. 327—330; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, ii. 4, 103; *Maḍjma' al-Fuṣṣaḥā'*, i. 571; Rieu, ii. 552. A longish monograph on the poet by 'Alī Ridā Khusravānī Turfa in the monthly *Armaghān*, iv. 529. A good MS. of the *Diwān* in the Leningrad University Library, No. 939; C. Salemann, *Zap.*, ii. (1888), p. 253. (E. BERTHELS)

MUḲĀBALA, Gr. *ἀντίμετρος*, in the *Almagest* *ἀντίμετρος*, Lat. *oppositio*, the term in astronomy for the opposition of a planet and the sun or of two planets with one another. In opposition the

difference in longitude between the two heavenly bodies is 180° ; while the modern use is to take no note of the deviations of latitude from the ecliptic, al-Battānī expressly emphasises (*Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, iii. 196) that we can only have the true muḳābala when both bodies are either in the ecliptic itself or are in equal ecliptical latitudes when opposed: in other words when they are diametrically opposite one another in the heavens (cf. "διάμετρος"!); Opposition with the sun can only occur for the moon and the outer planets (in ancient astronomy only for Mars, Jupiter and Saturn), not for the two inner ones, Mercury and Venus. When an outer planet is in opposition to the sun, its conditions of visibility are at their best; at midnight it passes through the meridian and is above the horizon the whole night. When the moon is in opposition to the sun we have the full moon; the usual technical expression for this in Arabic astronomy is *al-istikbāl* which is derived from the same root as *muḳābala* (Greek ἡ πανσέληνος) and is rendered by Plato Tiburtinus and other mediaeval translators by *praeventio*; but we not uncommonly find the general term muḳābala applied to the opposition of sun and moon, while on the other hand we never find *al-istikbāl* used in the general sense of opposition of the planets (cf. al-Battānī, ii. 349, s. v. *k-b-l*).

Al-muḳābala, opposition, forms along with *al-tarbiʿ*, quadrature (Gr. τετράγωνον, Lat. *tetragonum*, *quadratum*), *al-tathlith*, trigon (Gr. τρίγωνον, Lat. *trigonum*, *triangulum*, *trigonum*, *aspectus trinus*), and *al-tasdis*, hexagon (Gr. ἑξάγωνον, Lat. *hexagonum*, *sexangulum*, *aspectus sextilis*), the four astrological aspects (*ashkāl*, sg. *shakl*, Gr. σχήματα, σχηματισμοί, συναρμωτισμοί, also βύεις, Lat. *aspectus* or *radiationes*), which are applied to the ecliptical differences in longitude of two planets to the amount of 180° , 90° , 120° or 60° respectively. The *ashkāl* also play a part in the astrological arrangement of the signs of the zodiac (*burūdī*) (cf. the article MINṬAQA and al-Battānī, iii. 194). It should be noted that the conjunction of planets (*muḳārana*, Greek συνωδος; for moon with sun [new moon] always *idjtimāʿ*) is not included among the *ashkāl*, nor the position when the difference of latitude is 30° or 150° (cf. al-Battānī, *op. cit.*).

In horoscopes muḳābala and *tarbiʿ* are as a rule regarded as unfavourable in principle, *tathlith* and *tasdis* on the other hand as favourable.

Bibliography: al-Battānī, *Kitāb al-Zīj al-Šābiʿ* (*Opus Astronomicum*), ed. C. A. Nallino, Milan 1899—1907, i.—iii.; Boll-Bezold, *Stern-glaube und Sterndeutung*, 3rd ed. by W. Gundel, Leipzig 1926, p. 63—64.

(WILLY HARTNER)

MUḲADDAM (A.), "placed in front". Applied to persons the word means the chief, the one in command, e. g. of a body of troops or of a ship (captain). Dozy, *Suppl.*, s. v., gives a number of police appointments which have this name. In the dervish orders the word is used for the head of the order or the head of a monastery.

As a neuter noun the word is a technical term in logic and arithmetic. In logic it means the protasis in a premise in the form of a conditional sentence, e. g. "If the sun rises (it becomes day)", where this whole sentence is to be regarded as premise of a syllogism. But as every sentence can be a premise, *muḳaddam* is really identical with the condition in the conditional sentence. In

arithmetic *muḳaddam* means the first of two numbers in a proportion, i. e. 3 (:5) or in other words the divided in a simple division. — In logic and in arithmetic the portion following the *muḳaddam* (in brackets above) is called *tālī*.

Bibliography: Dozy (cf. above) and other dictionaries; Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des isl. Vereinswesens* (*Türk. Bibl.*, xvi.), p. 106; *Dict. of Technical Terms*, ed. Sprenger, p. 1215, 1362. (M. PLESSNER)

AL-MUḲADDASĪ, SHAMS AL-DĪN ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. ABĪ BAKR AL-BANNA' AL-ŠA'MĪ AL-MUḲADDASĪ AL-MA'RŪF BI 'L-BASHSHĀRĪ as he is called on the first page of the Berlin manuscript (Cat. Ahlwardt, N^o. 6034), is the author of the most original and at the same time one of the most valuable geographical treatises in Arabic literature. The name-form al-Muḳaddasī, denoting his origin from Jerusalem, goes back to Sprenger, who brought the Berlin manuscript from India and made this author first known in Europe (A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, Leipzig 1864, p. xviii.), but the form al-Maḳdisī is probably more correct as Jerusalem is commonly spelt al-Bait al-Maḳdis (Yāqūt, *Mu'adjam*, iv. 590). Yāqūt always quotes him as al-Bashshārī.

Biographical dates on the life of this author are only to be found in the text of his treatise. In 356 (966), when he was at Mecca, he was about twenty years of age; it is probable that he lived at least as late as 1000, as the last datable information in the treatise belongs to the end of the ivth (xth) century. His grandfather Abū Bakr al-Banna' was an architect in Palestine and had made for Ibn Tūlūn the gates of the town of 'Akkā. His mother's family was originally from Biyār in Kūmis, from where his grandfather Abū 'l-Taiyib b. al-Šawā (in *B.G.A.*, iv., p. vii., l. 12 "paternus" is to be corrected into "maternus") emigrated to Jerusalem. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad himself shows also a good knowledge of architecture, besides a good literary and general erudition.

The geographical treatise is known from two old manuscripts, which form the basis of de Goeje's edition in the *B.G.A.*, iii, Leyden 1877 and of his revised edition of 1906. The Berlin manuscript has the title *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim fī Ma'rifaṭ al-Aḳālīm*, while the Constantinople manuscript (Aya Sofia, N^o. 2971 bis; cf. Ritter, in *Isl.*, xix. 43), written in 658 (1260), is only indicated as *Kitāb al-Aḳālīm*. The Leyden manuscript (*Cat.*, v. 191) is a modern copy of the Constantinople one, while another Berlin manuscript (Cat. Ahlwardt, N^o. 6033) is a bad copy of the other Berlin manuscript. The date of composition is not certain. The text itself states that it was completed in 375 (985) (*B.G.A.*, iii. 9), but as has been said, information of a later date has been added, while Yāqūt (i. 653) gives the year 378 (988). The manuscript C (Constantinople) is somewhat less extensive than B (Berlin) and de Goeje, hesitatingly, considers the redaction of C as the older one. It is dedicated to a certain Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan and mentions the Sāmānids as the most important dynasty; B, on the contrary, does not contain the dedication and is more orientated towards the Fātimids.

The general scope of the work proves beyond doubt that it is based on the same geographical tradition as the treatises connected with the names

al-Balkhī — al-Iṣṭakhri — Ibn Ḥawkal; the same is proved by the fact that the maps accompanying both manuscripts show the still rather primitive type of the Iṣṭakhri maps (the Maḳḍisī maps have been published by K. Miller, in *Mappae Arabicae*, vol. i.—v., Stuttgart 1926—1931). In this last respect al-Maḳḍisī's work does not really reflect the considerable progress of geographical knowledge that is manifested in the text. As in the texts of al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawkal the object is to treat only the Islāmic world (*mamlakat al-Islām*) of the ivth (xth) century and that after a division into regions (*aḳālīm*) which, on the whole, is the same as that of the two authors mentioned; the order is not always the same, but the distinction between western and eastern regions is maintained. The treatment is often more detailed than with the earlier authors, while the disposition of the geographical matter is the same, each region ending with a survey of the distances between the different towns. In how far al-Maḳḍisī is dependent on al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawkal remains to be examined. His introductory chapters show not a few original features and are especially valuable for information about earlier geographical authors. As de Goeje has already remarked, this information is more accurate in the redaction C than in B; if the latter redaction is really later it would seem that the rather depreciating judgment he gives therein of al-Balkhī, al-Djaihānī and others (p. 4) must be explained by the change of the author's political predilection in favour of the Fātimids and occidental Islām. Al-Maḳḍisī's style and language is sometimes difficult, owing to his expressly stated endeavour to adapt himself in the description of each region to the special idiom used in that region. Moreover, the reading of his text is several times made unpleasant by the boisterous way in which the author speaks of the merits of his work.

A English translation of part of the treatise was published by G. S. A. Ranking and R. F. Azoo in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1897—1910, vol. i.—iv.

Bibliography: The author and the work are discussed by de Goeje in the introduction to vol. iv. of the *B.G.A.*, p. vi.—viii.; further cf. Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-MUKADDIM. [See ALLĀH, II.]

MUKALLĀ (MAKALLA), a seaport on the south coast of Arabia, 2½ miles N. W. of the cape of the same name. The town lies between two bays at the foot of a reddish limestone cliff, which rises to a height of 300 feet behind the town; four towers for the defence of the town are built upon it. On the west side a wall runs from the cliff to the shore with only one gate in it. The only buildings of any size are the great mosque on the coast with a minaret which can be seen from a great distance, and the sultān's palace; the other buildings are mainly huts with a few houses of stone. The palace is a great six-storey building with decorated windows which stands on a kind of peninsula. In the centre of the town is a large cemetery with the tomb of Walī Ya'qūb; in the modern western part of the town is the bazaar which is provided with all kinds of goods and has some modest industries which provide the native population with baskets, pipes of a kind of limestone, silver powder-horns and muskets without stocks. There is a yard in the harbour

where the native sailing-boats are built. The country around is not fertile; a mile to the west however is an oasis belonging to the ruler, which is watered by a stream which also provides the town's water supply. The climate of Mukallā is very dry, the coast hot; only from October to April and in June and July do fresh breezes and showers temper the heat. The population varies between 6,000 and 12,000.

Mukallā is the only place between 'Aden and Maṣṣaṭ that deserves the name of harbour. It cannot however be used as an anchorage during the southwest monsoon; in this period its place is taken by Burūm, 16 miles southwest. The trade with India, Ṣomaliland, the Red Sea and Maṣṣaṭ is considerable. The exports are mainly gum arabic, skins, honey from the Yeshbom valley, senna and some coffee; the imports are cotton goods, metals, pottery from Bombay, dates and dried fruits from Maṣṣaṭ, coffee from 'Aden, sheep, aloes and frankincense from the African coast. The fisheries also give a considerable yield while amber is obtained in considerable quantities. Parsis and banians from Bombay play a leading part in the trade and Hindustānī is spoken almost as much as Arabic. Since 1881 Mukallā has been under the al-Ḳa'itī dynasty with which England concluded a treaty granting a protectorate on May 1, 1888. According to Ibn al-Mudjāwir, the old name of the town was al-Mukannā, and the natives also call al-Mukallā, like al-Shīhr, Bender al-Aḥḳāf or Sūḳ al-Aḥḳāf. The port has steamship communication with 'Aden; most of the traffic is borne by native sailing-boats of 100—300 tons, which are busiest at the time of the date harvest.

Bibliography: A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients* (Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, iii./3, Leipzig 1864), p. 145; L. Hirsch, *Reisen in Süd-Arabien, Mahra-Land und Hadramūt*, Leyden 1897, p. 83—92; ders., *Ein Aufenthalt in Makalla (Südarabien)*, in *Globus*, lxxii. (1897), p. 37—40; Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900, p. 74—77; C. Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, i., Leyden 1901, p. 148; F. Stuhlmann, *Der Kampf um Arabien zwischen der Türkei und England, in Hamburgische Forschungen*, i., Hamburg 1916, p. 145 sq.; *A Handbook of Arabia* vol. I General compiled by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, Naval Staff, Admiralty London, p. 232; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, i. (*Osten u. Orientforschungen*, vol. iv., Vienna 1922), p. 21, 39, 137, 139, 145, 146, 148, 152, 154, 162, 168, 187 sq., 202; ii. (Brünn 1931), p. 47—49, 55, 60, 61, 66, 73, 77, 81—84, 88 sq., 93; D. v. d. Meulen and H. v. Wissmann, *Hadramaut*, Leyden 1932, index, s. v. *Makalla*.

(ADOLF GROHMANN)

AL-MUKALLAD B. AL-MUSAIYIB, ḤUSĀM AL-DAWLĀ ABŪ ḤASSĀN, an 'Uḳailid. After the death in 386 (996) or 387 (997) of the 'Uḳailid emir Abū 'l-Dhawwād Muḥammad b. al-Musaiyib [cf. BAḤĀ' AL-DAWLĀ], a quarrel arose between his brothers, 'Alī and al-Mukallad, each of whom claimed power. 'Alī was the elder; but al-Mukallad wrote to Baḥā' al-Dawla and promised him an annual tribute and then told his brother that Baḥā' al-Dawla had appointed him governor of al-Mawṣil and asked 'Alī's help to take the town. Baḥā' al-Dawla's general in al-Mawṣil, Abū Dja'far al-Ḥadjī-

djādī, took to flight and the two brothers agreed to share the government. Disputes between al-Mukallad's representative in Baghdād and Bahā' al-Dawla's officials gradually led to open hostilities. A reconciliation was soon brought about and al-Mukallad promised to pay 10,000 dinārs and in return received the title Ḥusām al-Dawla with al-Mawṣil, al-Kūfa al-Ḳaṣr and al-Djāmi'ain as a fief. In 387 (997) he took 'Alī prisoner. As a result the third brother advanced with a strong army against al-Mukallad; before they came to blows however, their sister Rahila succeeded in making peace among the brothers. 'Alī was released and received his confiscated property back and al-Mukallad turned his attention to the lord of Wāsiṭ, 'Alī b. Mazyad, who was on the side of 'Alī and Ḥasan. But when al-Mukallad learned that 'Alī had designs on al-Mawṣil, he turned back but through the intermediary of Ḥasan, the two brothers were again reconciled. Soon afterwards 'Alī and Ḥasan left al-Mawṣil. After long negotiations, it was agreed that 'Alī should be al-Mukallad's representative in al-Mawṣil whenever the latter had to leave the town. On 'Alī's death in 390 (999—1000), Ḥasan succeeded to his privileges but was driven out by al-Mukallad and had to take refuge in the 'Irāq. In Ṣafar 391 (Dec. 1000—Jan. 1001) al-Mukallad was murdered in al-Anbār by a Turkish Mamlik.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), N^o. 745 (transl. de Slane, iii. 415 sqq.); Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ix. 88 sq., 94—96, 116; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, iv. 255—257; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 49—50.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

MUKĀN (Mūghān), a steppe lying to the south of the lower course of the Araxes, one part of which (about 5,000 square kilometres) belongs to Russia (U. S. S. R.) and the other (50—70 × c. 50 kilometres) to Persia. The steppe which covers what was once the bottom of the sea has been formed by the alluvial deposits from the Kur (in Russian Koura) and its tributary the Araxes. (The latter has several times changed its course and one of its arms flows directly into the gulf of ẸẸzīl-Aghač). In the interior the only water in Mūghān is from a number of springs, but it is covered with tells and shows traces of the old system of irrigation. Mūghān has a very mild climate in winter (Ḳazwīnī calls it *djūrūm Aḍhar-bāidjān*) and in the spring is covered with a rich carpet of verdure but in summer the heat makes it a regular hell and it is infested with snakes (Monteith says "in June the snakes literally covered the ground"; cf. Abū Ḥāmid al-Gḥarnaṭī in Ḳazwīnī, p. 379).

The name. The old Arabic transcription (Balādhuri, Ṭabari) is Mukān (without article) but quite early in certain manuscripts of the Arab geographers we find Mūghān (probably a popular etymology *mūghān* "magi") which becomes general in the Mongol period. Markwart, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1895, p. 633 connects the name of Mukān with that of the people mentioned by classical writers as inhabiting this region: Hecataeus, fragment 170: *ἐκ Μυκῶν εἰς Ἀράζην*; Pomponius Mela, book iii., ch. v.: "Mochi ("ad Hyrcanium fretum Albani et Moschi et Hyrcani"). This tribe is to be connected with the Caspians who lived in this region; (cf. Hübschmann, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, 1904, p. 269; cf. in Yāqūt, iv. 676 the genealogy in-

vented by Ibn al-Kalbī, according to which Mukān and Djilān — both inhabitants of Ṭabaristān — were the sons of Kamāshah (?) b. Yāfith b. Nuḥ; cf. Genesis x.). The Chronicle of Theophanes, p. 363, has *Βουκάνια* (var. *Βουκάνια*), the Armenian geography Mukan, the Georgian chronicle Mowakan (another Mowakan lay near the confluence of the Alazan with the Iora).

History. The Byzantine general Leontius in 678 subdued Iberia, Albania, Bukania (cf. above) and Media. The district of Mukān was conquered in 21 (642) by an officer of Surāḳa Bukair who addressed a letter guaranteeing peace to "the people of Mukān of the mountains of al-Kabdj" (Caucasus; Ṭabari, i. 2666). According to Balādhuri, p. 327—329, in 25 (645) Walid b. 'Ukba undertook a campaign against the people of Mukān (*ahl Mukān*), of al-Babr [cf. ṬAROM] and al-Tailasān (= Talish). Another campaign of Sa'īd b. 'Aṣī against the people of Mukān and Djilān, although successful, entailed severe losses. According to Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 395, 15, in 123 the future Caliph Marwān II b. Muḥammad undertook a campaign in Djilān and Mukān. Mukān figures several times as a stronghold of Babak (Tab., iii. 1174, 1178). In the third (ninth) century Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 119, mentions one Shakla (?) as chief of Mukān. According to al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii. 5, in his time the Sharwān [cf. SHIRWĀN] had conquered the states (*mamlaka*) of Lāyirān (several variants) and al-Mukāniya. It appears from Ibn Miskawaihi (ed. Margoliouth, i. 399) who mentions the isphabad of Mukān b. Dalūla as ally of the Gil chief Lashkari b. Mardī, who rebelled against the Dailamis in 326 (937), that Mukān enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy. In 339 (950) the Kurd Daisam sent his vizier "into the mountains (sic!) of Mukān to entrench himself". In 349 Mukān appears as a centre of rebellion (Ibn Miskawaihi, ii. 136, 178—179). The poet Ḳaṭrān mentions the rising of the isphabad of Mukān against the Rawwādī Wahsūdān (344—378; cf. Kisrawī, *Pādshāhān-i gumnām*, Ṭihirān 1929, ii. 94). Later we hear of Mukān mainly as an excellent area for the winter pasturage of the conquering nomads. In Yāqūt's (iv. 676) time the majority of the people of Mukān were still Turkomans. In the history of the Khwārizmshāh Djālāl al-Dīn, Mukān is constantly mentioned. The sultān sends his booty there, keeps his baggage and mobilises his troops there (Nasawī, *Sira*, p. 210, 280, 366 etc.). But in 617 (1220—1221) the Mongol generals Djebe and Subutay spent the winter in Mukān (Djuwainī, i. 116), and Ḳazwīnī, p. 379 says that Mongols took Mūghān for their winter pastures and drove out the Turkomans. In the time of Timūr, Mukān must have been included in the region of Ḳarabāgh where this conqueror liked so much to pass the winter. During the winter of 804 (1401) Timūr restored an old canal which was given the name of his tribe Barlas. The canal left the Araxes at Kūshk-i Čangshī and at a distance of 10 farsakhs ended at Sardja-pil (bel?). Since, in order to give the necessary instructions, Timūr (who was to the north of the Araxes) had to cross the river (*Zafarnāma*, ii. 395), we may suppose that the canal lay to the south of the Araxes, i.e. in the steppe of Mūghān. It must correspond to the Yegin G'aur arkhi of which traces can still be seen for a length of about 35 miles. Sardja-pil may correspond to Čarčeli on the Russian map (according

to the involved description by Monteith, the Barlas canal issued in the neighbourhood of Qara-su (?). The canal is in any case quite distinct from another canal which Timūr traced in 806 to the north of the Araxes towards the town of Bailakān (*Zafar-nūma*, ii. 543).

In the Šafawid period (and perhaps already under the Karakoyunlu) Mūghān became the possession of the Shīrī Turkoman tribes who formed the principal support of the dynasty and became known as Shāhsewān [q. v.]. By article ii. of the treaty of Gülistān of 1813 the steppe of Mūghān was divided between Russia and Persia. The boundary line was more precisely defined in article iv. of the treaty of Türkmenčai [q. v.]. In 1884 Russia forbade Persian nomads to cross into Russian territory. Towards the end of the sixth century the project of irrigating the land of Mūghān was conceived and realised between 1902 and 1907. The four systems of canals were to make 200,000 hectares cultivable, particularly for cotton. From 1884 the steppe was occupied solely by nomads who were Russian subjects. But in 1917 there were already 46 Russian villages with 17,000 inhabitants while the Turkish nomads who had become settled on the banks of the Kur and of the Araxes numbered 30,000 souls. As a result of the tragic events of 1918, the whole Russian population had to leave Mūghān and the canals became silted up. Between 1920 and 1924 the work of restoration was carried out and the fugitives began to return. The total area of irrigated land in Mūghān is estimated at 253,000 hectares, while immediately to the north of Mūghān the steppe of Mil (from *Mil-i Bailakān*, "the tower of Bailakan"; cf. Khanikow, *Mém. sur les inscriptions musulm. au Caucase*, in *J. A.*, Aug. 1862, p. 72) has another 165,000 irrigated hectares.

Historical geography. The Arab geographers are fairly well acquainted with Mūghān (cf. the *Bibliography*). In the Mongol period, Mūghān must have comprised all the lands to the north of the Šalāwāt range (which is a western outlier of Russian Tālīsh and forms the watershed between the middle course of the Qara-su and the Bolgaru), to the east of the lower course of the Qara-su (where it follows the northern direction) and to the south of the Araxes. Towards the east Mūghān stretched to the Caspian Sea and included the coastal region of Russian Tālīsh. The mountainous part of the latter, held as in a vice, must also have belonged to Mūghān. The same condition must have existed in the Arab period for the curious expression of Ibn Miskawaihi, ii. 136 referring to the *Djibāl Mukān* can only refer to the mountainous part of Russian Tālīsh.

We may note Muḳaddasī's remark (p. 380) who among other wonders mentions, one marḥala (7—8 farsakhs = 20—25 miles) distant from Mukān, an imposing fortress called al-Ḥsra (?) below which are houses and palaces in which there are large quantities of gold (*dhahab 'aḡīm*) in the form of birds and wild beasts and "many kings made plans to seize it but never succeeded in reaching it". Muḳaddasī does not definitely say that the fortress belongs to Mūkān and evidently speaks of it by hearsay. Is this a reference to Shindān-ḳal'a (which is about 50 miles = 2 marḥala to the south of the presumed site of the *shahristān* of Mūghān)? On this imposing mountain (6,000 feet high) can still be seen ruins

of important fortifications (Radde, p. 135: "ruins of a strong castle... many ruins of brick buildings"). Finally in a Persian translation of Iṣṭakhri, p. 186, 17, we read: "The Gils and the Mūkān are tribes on foot who rarely go on horseback" which can only refer to a few remnants of the old population settled in upper Tālīsh (where the highlanders are very distinct from the lowlanders).

Bibliography: cf. the article SHĀH-SEWĀN; *Djīhān-nūmā*, p. 192 (of little originality); Olearius (1633), *Voyages*, book iv., ch. 21 [ed. 1656, p. 447—451]: *Shamākha-Djāwād* - Balharu river - Bedjirwān - Dizle - Aghīz - Sāmīyān - Ardabil; J. Struys, *Les voyages*, Amsterdam 1720, ch. 27 (ii., p. 235): itinerary exactly identical with that of Olearius; J. J. Lerch, *Nachricht von d. zweiten Reise nach Persien* (1747), in *Büsching's Magazin*, part x., p. 367—476: *Shamākha-Djāwād* - Bolgaru - Lanḳurān - Astārā - Rasht; Monteith, *Journal of a tour through Azerbajan* (sic!), in *J. R. G. S.*, 1834, iii., p. 28—31: Ardabil - Barzand - Kīzīl-ḳal'a (at the confluence of the four rivers which form Balarood = Balharu) - Ḳuyular-tapa - Agha-mazār - Vēdi-bōlūk - Altun [Altan]-takht - Aslanduz - Bayat (wrongly taken for the old Bailakān) - Bardha'a; Toropov, *Muganskaya steppe, Kavkaz. kalendar*, 1864, p. 242—298; Toropov, in *Kavkaz*, 1864, No. 28; Ogranovič, *Urolišhe Belasuwar*, in *Kavkaz*, 1871, No. 32; Dorn, *Caspia*, St. Petersburg 1875, index; Ogranovič, *Provinciis Persii Ardebilskaya i Serabskaya*, in *Zap. Kavk. Otdel. Imper. Russ. Geogr. Obšč.*, x./1, 1876, p. 214; Udjarūd; Radde, *Reisen an der persisch-russischen Grenze, Talysch und seine Bewohner*, Leipzig 1886, *passim*: Belasuwar etc. — On the flora and fauna of Mūghān and the plans for irrigating it there is a whole literature in Russian. The most recent references are in W. S. Klupt, *Zakavkazye*, Moscow 1929, p. 50.

(V. MINORSKY)

AL-MUKĀṬARĀT. [See ASTURLĀB.]

MUKĀTIL B. SULAIMĀN B. BAŠĪR AL-AZDĪ AL-KHURĀSĀNĪ AL-BALKHĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN, traditionist and commentator on the *Kur'ān*, was born in Balkh and lived in Marw, Baghdād and Bašra, where he died in 150 (767); there is also a reference to a stay in Bairūt. Of his life we know almost nothing apart from a few details for his judgment as a traditionist. The name of his wife Umm Abi 'Isma Nūḥ b. Abi Maryam has been preserved. According to Ibn Duraid, he was one of the *mawālī* of the Banū Asad. He is sometimes quoted as Muḳātil b. Djāwāl dūz or Dawāl dūz. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Miṣnān*, expressly states in contradiction of wrong ideas that this is our Muḳātil and that Dawāl dūz is not a *laḳab* of Muḳātil himself but of his father.

Muḳātil's prestige as a traditionist is not very great; he is reproached with not being accurate with the *isnād*. His exegesis enjoys even less confidence. The biographers vie with one another in telling stories which illustrate his mendacity and particularly his professing to know everything. Contempt is poured on his memory by stories of ludicrous questions which were put to him about the most impossible things and to which he either gave fantastic answers or could make no reply. It is in keeping with this profession of universal knowledge that the sources are unanimous in talking of his extreme anthropomorphism (*tashbīḥ*).

It did little to help his fame also that he is said to have told pious stories [cf. ḲIṢṢA] in the mosque, at a time when this was strictly forbidden. In politics he is said to have belonged to the Zaidiya, in theology to the Murdji'a [q. v.].

Muḥātīl's literary activity was somewhat comprehensive, yet until quite recently nothing was known of his works. Only since 1912 has a Ḳur'ān commentary by him been known in the MS. Or. 6333 of the British Museum, the genuineness of which however Goldziher did not think beyond doubt. The *Fihrist* gives a list of his works; Ḥādjdī Khālifa also gives some of them. They deal mainly with the language and exegesis of the Ḳur'ān; but a pamphlet against the Ḳadariya is also mentioned. This is however hardly in keeping with another story, according to which he wrote a pamphlet against Ḍjahm [q. v.] and the latter wrote against him.

Bibliography: Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ish-tikāḥ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 294; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, v. 454; *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 179 etc.; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o 743; al-Ḍḥahabī, *Mizān*, iii. 196, N^o 1723 and 1724; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, x. 279—285; do., *Lisān al-Mizān*, vi. 82 sq.; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā'*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 574 sq.; al-Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, p. 75, 106, 108, 121; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii. 206; do., *Richtungen d. islam. Koranausleg.*, p. 58—60, 87, 112.

(M. PLESSNER)

AL-MUḤAṬṬAM, the part of the range of hills west of the Nile, which lies immediately to the east of Cairo and from which the mountains take a north-easterly direction, bordering the Nile delta to the south-east. It reaches a height of about 600 feet and consists, as does the greater part of the north African mountains, of limestone (cf. *Description de l'Égypte, Etat moderne*, Paris 1822, II/ii. 751).

The name Muḥaṭṭam (the *Tādī al-ʿArūs* records also the popular form al-Muḥaṭṭab) does not go back to a pre-Muḥammadan nomenclature, nor is it considered, in spite of its correct Arabic formation, as a true Arabic word, for the geographers (cf. Yāqūt, iv. 607 sqq.) give, hesitatingly, different explanations of its meaning. The name occurs for the first time in the historical tradition of the Egyptian Arabs, as found in the *Futūḥ Miṣr* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (cf. Torrey's edition, New Haven 1899, p. 156 sqq.), in half legendary tales in which also al-Muḥawḥis [q. v.] plays a part. Some of these traditions give it an eponymous hero, Muḥaṭṭam b. Miṣr b. Baiṣar b. Ḥam, or lay stress on the special sanctity of the mountain, declaring that, in some way, it is connected with the mountain of Jerusalem. As in the last mentioned traditions Ka'b al-Aḥbār [q. v.] is named as final authority, it seems probable that the origin of the name must be sought in Jewish legendary traditions (for Jewish traditions about mountains, cf. the Midrash *Thillim* on Psalm lxviii. 17) and that the name has been fixed only in course of time on the ill-defined mountainous region to which it is attached since the flourishing times of al-Fuṣṭāṭ and al-Ḳāhira. The vagueness of the geographical definition has survived in the Arabic geographical sources, which either call Muḥaṭṭam the entire eastern mountain range as far as Uṣwān (Yāqūt), or even represent under the name Muḥaṭṭam the whole of the mountain system that

runs over the inhabited world from China to the Atlantic Ocean (Ibn Hawḳal and others). Moreover several geographers give the legendary statement that in the Muḥaṭṭam are mines of emerald and other precious stones, while in reality it contains only stone quarries, but these were used already in very ancient times. Makrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, ed. Bülāḳ, i. 123 gives a fairly complete survey of the different traditions and opinions.

It may be thus assumed that the Muḥaṭṭam acquired a real geographical identity only after the foundation of al-Fuṣṭāṭ. Its geographical situation, viz. its proximity to the bank of the Nile, has deeply influenced the territorial expansion of this town and later of Cairo [q. v.]. Parts of the town and famous sites are situated on the western spurs of al-Muḥaṭṭam, such as the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn and the citadel of Saladin. The elevation of Ibn Ṭūlūn's mosque bears, however, the special name of Ḍjabal Yaṣḥkur. The cemetery of al-Ḳarāfa belongs likewise to the Muḥaṭṭam and it is with this cemetery that are connected the ancient traditions already mentioned, in which al-Muḥawḥis plays a part; al-Muḥawḥis informs ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs that the mountain, instead of earthly vegetation, is destined to bear the plants of Paradise and the caliph ʿUmar, informed by ʿAmr, decides that by these plants of Paradise can only be meant Muslims who have died. Accordingly, tradition records a number of ṣaḥābīs who are buried in al-Ḳarāfa. On the summit of al-Muḥaṭṭam was built in the Fāṭimid period the mosque of al-Djuyūshī, by Badr al-Djamālī in 478 (1085); for this reason the mountain is also called Ḍjabal al-Djuyūshī. On the southern slopes, towards Hulwān, lay the Christian monastery Dair al-Ḳuṣair (description by al-Shabūshī towards 1000; cf. Sachau, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. Wiss.*, 1909). A historical, or perhaps legendary feature, connected with al-Muḥaṭṭam is that the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim is said to have disappeared mysteriously, in the night of 27th Shawwāl 411 (Feb. 23, 1021), when he had gone for a ride in the Muḥaṭṭam. — Finally it may be mentioned that the Muḥaṭṭam has given its name to one of the large modern Arabic newspapers published at Cairo.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-MUḤAWḤAS, AL-MUḤAWḤIS, the individual who in Arab tradition plays the leading part on the side of the Copts and Greeks at the conquest of Egypt. The Prophet is said to have sent a letter to him in the year 6 A. H. In the address on this letter, the text of which is given in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (ed. Torrey, p. 46), al-Makrīzī (*Khīṭaṭ*, i. 29), al-Suyūṭī (*Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, i. 58) and al-Manūfi (p. 29), as well as in an entirely different version in Pseudo-Wāḳidī (p. 10), and also in the accounts of the incident in the Arab historians, the position of Muḥawḥis is described in the following phrases:

1. *Ṣāḥib al-Iskandariya* (Nawawī, p. 577; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, p. 45, 52; Abū Ṣāliḥ, p. 38 [100]; Ibn Kathīr, iii., fol. 159, along with N^o 7 in Ibn Sa'd in Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv. 3 [99]);
2. *Malik al-Iskandariya* (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, p. 49; al-Suyūṭī, i. 60; Pseudo-Wāḳidī, p. 25; Ibn Hishām, p. 971);
3. *Ṣāḥib Miṣr* (Abu 'l-Fida', i. 149);
4. *Malik Miṣr* (al-Manūfi, p. 7; cf. al-Makrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, i. 163, 22 sq.);
5. *Malik Miṣr wa 'l-Iskandariya* (Pseudo-Wāḳidī, p. 10);
6. *Ṣāḥib Miṣr wa 'l-Iskandariya* (Pseudo-Wāḳidī,

p. 10); 7. *ʿAzīm al-Kubṭ* (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, p. 46, 47; al-Makrizī, *Khitaṭ*, i. 29, 12, 16; al-Suyūṭī, i. 58; al-Manūfī, p. 29; al-Ṭabarī, i. 1575; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 261, 5 along with 1, q. v.).

All these epithets no doubt mean simply the actual ruling authority in Egypt, whose true title was not known to the Arabs. If we remember that in the year 6 (628) the Persians were masters of Egypt, we can hardly give much credence to the story of the Arab historians. This is evident from the statement recorded by Manūfī (p. 30) that Egypt was under the rule of Mukawḳis continuously from the lifetime of the Prophet, through the caliphate of Abū Bakr to the beginning of the caliphate of ʿOmar. Muḥammad's letter to Mukawḳis was long ago declared not to be genuine by E. Amélineau (*Fragments coptes*, p. 392) and Wellhausen (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv. 90) although they did not doubt the fact of the embassy to him; later Butler (*Conquest*, p. 522) and Th. Nöldeke (*Z. D. M. G.*, xlviii. 160) still believed in the embassy although the latter granted the possibility that tradition might have transferred the name known from the time of the conquest to the man to whom Muḥammad sent gifts, while for example S. Lane-Poole (*Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 6, note 2) supposes that the Mukawḳis of 628 and the Mukawḳis of the conquest are two different people. This suggestion however is disposed of by the fact that the Mukawḳis of the letter is called in Ibn Kathīr مينا ابن جريج (in Abu 'l-Fidaʿ

the patronymic has been corrupted through منى

to منى; Nawawī only gives *Djuraidj*), i. e. the same as the Mukawḳis of the conquest; for we need not heed the patronymic of Mukawḳis given by Pseudo-Wāḳidī (p. 10) (بن راعيل), while the epithet al-Farḳab al-Nūnī, which al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 261, 5 has taken in an obviously corrupt form from an old source, is the Ibn Qurḳub al-Yūnānī of the Mukawḳis of the conquest. In view of the many serious contradictions, which the transposing of Mukawḳis into the period of Persian rule in Egypt offers, there is no alternative but to regard with Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iv. 90 the story of Muḥammad's embassy to Mukawḳis as legendary and devoid of any historical value (cf. also G. Rouillard, p. 187 and note 2). The genuineness of the parchment found in a monastery at Akhmim by the French Egyptologist E. Barthélemy in 1852, which was thought to be the original of Muḥammad's letter to Mukawḳis and was actually put among the relics of the Prophet in the old Serail, thus disappears (cf. the publication by Belin, in *J.A.*, 1854, p. 482—518 and Djirdji Zaidān, in *Hilāl*, xiii./2, 1904, p. 103 sq.). Its falsity had already been recognised by J. Karabacek (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Masʿaditen*, Leipzig 1874, p. 35, note 47 and *Mitteilungen des K. K. Österr. Museums*, xix. [1884], p. 183) (cf. also Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i., Leipzig 1909, p. 190). As a matter of fact palaeographical grounds are clearly against any assumption of a date in the first century for this document.

The same discrepancies, which we find in the transmission of the name and title of the Mukawḳis of Muḥammad's letter are found in the Mukawḳis of the conquest. In the historians we find the following names:

1. *Djuraidj b. Minā* (Abū Šāliḥ, p. 30 [81], 101 [230]); 2. *Djuraidj b. Minā b. Qurḳub* (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, p. 64, note 9; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iii. 1090); 3. Ibn Qurḳub or Ibn Farḳab (al-Kindī, p. 8; al-Makrizī, *Khitaṭ*, i. 289, 27; Ibn Taghribirdī, i. 9; Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii. 894, 14).

Taking first of all the name of his grandfather, J. v. Karabacek's endeavour (p. 2) to dispose of apparent contradictions in the statements about the patronymic by assuming a double name *Minā Farḳab* proves unnecessary, when we see the name unequivocally given in N^o. 2. When Karabacek (p. 3) preferred the reading *Farḳab* for *Qurḳub*, he was at least able to quote the form فرقب in the Codex Parisinus of Ibn Taghribirdī, but I cannot agree with Amélineau in supporting Karabacek's proposal (*Fragments*, p. 394 sq.) to equate this name with Παρκάβιος, especially if we remember the variant فرقب of the *Iṣāba*, and Nöldeke must be right when he (*Z. D. M. G.*, xlviii. 161) restores this to the Παρκάβιος rejected by Karabacek. The form فرقب (unpointed however) has however so far been found in only one papyrus, the more usual form being فرقبوس (*Z. D. M. G.*, i. 158). Butler's conjecture (p. 523) on the name فرقب seems to me as improbable as Karabacek's identification. He calls attention to Abū Šāliḥ's observation (p. 67 [156]) that فرقب is a corruption of Gregorios and supposes that Farḳab is a corruption of Farḳar so that Ibn Farḳab would be an error for Ibn Farḳar and mean "son of Gregory". Casanova's proposal (in Butler, p. 523) must be dismissed as still more improbable, viz., that Ibn Farḳab is a corruption of Abū Qirūš. The office filled by Mukawḳis is described by the sources in the following terms:

1. *Šāḥib Mišr* (al-Balādhuri, p. 226); 2. *Malik ʿalā Mišr* (al-Makrizī, *Khitaṭ*, i. 163, 22 sq.; Ibn Duḳmāk, v. 118); 3. *Amīr al-Kubṭ bi-Mišr* (Ibn Ḥadjar, iii. 1090); 4. *Amīl ʿalā Mišr* (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, p. 64, note 9; al-Makīn, p. 29); 5. *Amīl ʿalā 'l-Kharādī bi-Mišr* (Eutychius, ii. 302). If the three first terms only mean the ruler of Egypt in general, the two last named limit the sphere of activity of Mukawḳis to the administration of taxation and the expression given in 4 may be taken as synonymous with *amīr* "governor". In this connection we have the very clear evidence of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, p. 37 and Ibn Duḳmāk, v. 119 who preserve the statement that Mukawḳis was appointed by the emperor Heraclius as governor of Egypt and entrusted with the waging of war and the levying of taxation. Abū Šāliḥ's statement (p. 30 [81 sq.]) that Mukawḳis Djuraidj b. Minā had rented the taxes of Egypt from Heraclius for 18,000,000 dinārs fits in with this. This makes intelligible the statement of Eutychius (ii. 302) who calls Mukawḳis controller of the land taxes (*ʿamīl al-kharādī*) and traces his attitude to the Arabs to his embezzling the taxes raised, and further explains the description of Mukawḳis (ΠΑΡΚΑΒΙΟΣ) as ΤΑΞΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΕΞΗΝΑΝ-

ΛΩΣΙΟΝ ΠΤΕΧΩΡΑ ΝΗΝΛΕ in the *Vita* of Apa Samuel published by Amélineau (p. 367), to which we may add the statement of the Ethiopic Synaxar that Mukawḳis had been Patriarch and financial controller of Egypt.

M. J. de Goeje and J. v. Karabacek have laid special stress on this side of the activity of Muḳawḳis and identified the prefect George mentioned in John of Nikiu (p. 559), whom de Goeje regards as prefect of Lower Egypt and Karabacek (p. 8) as pagarch of Babylon, with Muḳawḳis who is called in the sources George son of Menas. A. J. Butler (note 4 to Abū Ṣāliḥ, p. 81), Milne and Lane-Poole have followed de Goeje while Amélineau (*Fragments coptes*, p. 404; *Samuel de Qalamon*, p. 24 and *Résumé de l'histoire de l'Égypte*, p. 243) wished to identify Muḳawḳis with the Patriarch George who was appointed by the emperor Heraclius as successor or deputy to Cyrus during the period of the latter's stay in Constantinople (cf. John of Nikiu, p. 574).

In contrast to these attempts at identification, which are in more than one respect in contradiction to the sources, the most probable solution of the Muḳawḳis problem is the identification of Muḳawḳis with the Patriarch and governor Cyrus of Phasis, who was sent in the year 631 A. D. by Heraclius to Alexandria where he died on March 21, 642. While Zotenberg (in his edition of John of Nikiu, p. 576, note 2) had already pointed out that the main features of the activity of Cyrus are found in the Arabic stories of Muḳawḳis, although no doubt the legend mixes up the activities of several individuals under this name, F. M. Esteves Pereira, (*Vida do Abba Samuel*, p. 41—53) completely proved the identity of the two. Independently J. Krall in an unpublished article for the *Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung des Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, on the authority of three new fragments of the *Vita* of Apa Samuel, had come to the same conclusion. The full study of the whole problem by A. J. Butler, the main result of which, the identity of Muḳawḳis with the Patriarch Cyrus, has been adopted by B. Evetts (*Patrologia Orientalis*, i. 491, note 1), by M. Guidi in his doctoral thesis, C. H. Becker and O. Braun in his article *Cyrus in the Kirchliches Handlexicon*, ii., col. 530 and others, has been critically examined by L. Caetani (*Annali dell' Islām*, iv. 86 sqq.). The decisive evidence for the identity of the two individuals is found in the *History of the Patriarchs* of Severus of Ashmūnain (ed. Evetts, p. 490 sq.; ed. Seybold, p. 106 sq.) in which there are references to the Patriarch and governor of Heraclius in connection with the flight of the Patriarch Benjamin once as Cyrus (قبيرس), then a few lines later as al-Maḳawḳaz or al-Maḳawḳas; the synaxars in this connection also give the name al-Maḳawḳas (cf. E. Amélineau, *Fragments coptes*, S. 397, note 1; p. 398, note 1; p. 406, note 1 and the edition by R. Basset, *Patrologia Orientalis*, xi. 562) and the Arabic *Vita* of Benjamin (Amélineau, p. 400, note 1); of peculiar importance is the text edited in *R. O. C.*, xx. 393, where the combined names Cyrus al-Muḳawḳiz appear. There is the additional fact that the period of ten years which, according to the history of the Patriarchs, lay between the flight and return of the Patriarch Benjamin coincides within a year with the period of office of Cyrus (631—642) in Egypt, whom the Christian sources describe as an "unbeliever" (пасевне, Amélineau, *Fragments coptes*, p. 364, 366; *kāfir* in Severus of Ashmūnain, p. 495 [108]), godless and sinful Kauchios (παταρχιος παсевνε μαραβανης,

Vienna Coptic fragments of the *Vita* of Apa Samuel in Krall, Kauchios frequently in Amélineau), deceitful Antichrist (παντιχριστος μιλανος in Amélineau, p. 366 sq.) and Pseudoarchiepiskopos (*ibid.*, p. 365). The double position of Cyrus or Muḳawḳas as supreme head of the administration and archbishop, of which we have ample evidence (cf. G. Rouillard, p. 230, note 2), and which is quite certain from the testimony of Severus (p. 490, 495 [106—108]) and the Arabic and Ethiopic synaxar (Amélineau, p. 406, note 1: وزير وبطريرك, p. 399) and also by the *Vita* of Samuel (Amélineau, p. 367), was quite unknown to the Muslim Arabic sources. Nöldeke has already called attention to this remarkable fact (p. 160) and it remains a crux for the identification of the two figures. There was however no necessity for the Arabs to refer to his position in the church. He was only of importance to them as head of the administration. If one wants to, one can see an indication of his ecclesiastical dignity in the wish expressed by Muḳawḳis during the negotiations with 'Amr regarding the capitulation of Alexandria (in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, ed. Torrey, p. 72) that he might be buried in the Church of St. John (cf. thereon Amélineau, p. 400 sq.). How much the Christian sources differ in their ideas of the personality and position of Muḳawḳis may be gathered from the description of the death of Muḳawḳis. According to Severus of Ashmūnain (ed. Evetts, p. 495; Seybold p. 108), the governor and Patriarch of Alexandria poisoned himself after the occupation of Alexandria lest he should be put to death by 'Amr, while John of Nikiu (p. 335, 578) says that Cyrus weakened by vexation at the faithlessness of 'Amr caught dysentery and died. According to Caetani, the contradictions and obscurities on the part of the Arab historians show that they did not consider who Muḳawḳis exactly was, but simply used the name as the family name of the chief personage in Egypt at the time of the Muslim conquest. Evidently all who negotiated with 'Amr in the name of the Copts are included in one individual. The unanimity with which Muḳawḳis is described as a Copt and the different names given him suggests that Muḳawḳis conceals not only Cyrus but also other Egyptian negotiators — e. g. perhaps the commander of Babylon, George, and the bishop of the same town, Menas. The Arabs must have made one out of these two negotiators and given him like Cyrus the name Muḳawḳis. Of the attempts to explain this name, Karabacek's (p. 8) μεγαύκης is as little probable as Amélineau's explanation (p. 407—409) which makes Kauchios "the man from Kauchion". We would rather think with Butler and Guidi of a connection with καυδίσκος, which indicates the home of Cyrus. But even this explanation is by no means certain and the connection of Muḳawḳis with Cyrus has again (in Canterelli) given rise to serious doubts. Nau, p. 11 has compared Muḳawḳis with μακός. His name survived in the Kōm el-Muḳawḳis in the area of old Cairo (Ibn Duḳmāḳ, iv. 53).

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MUKḤADRAM (A.), the term applied to an individual whose life fell within the periods of both paganism and Islām. Various explanations are given of the origin of the name. Some derive it from *uḡḡn mukḥadrama* "cropped ear" and say the meaning is that these people were cut off from the Djāhiliya by Islām (cf. *nāḡa mukḥadrama* "a she-camel with cropped ears"). It is said that the tribes who adopted Islām cropped the ears of their camels differently from what they had done in the pagan period. A man who had therefore seen both the pagan and Muslim styles was called *mukḥadram*. Others derive the word from *mā' khidrim* "(a well) which contains much water" and explain that a man who has lived in both Djāhiliya and Islām was called *mukḥadram*, since he was fully acquainted with both periods. The term *mukḥadram* is occasionally found with the same application and the explanation given is that the individuals had mixed paganism and Islām. Some commentators describe as *mukḥadramūn* only those who adopted Islām after the death of Muḥammad.

The word *mukḥadram* is particularly used to describe one of the four classes into which the Arab philologists divide the poets. It means those whose work was begun in the period of the Djāhiliya but who lived to see Muḥammad and his mission and some even adopted Islām. Among these for example were Labid, al-A'shā and Ka'b b. Zuhair. These poets are still completely immersed in the poetic tradition of the Djāhiliya. The new outlook was late in finding its way into poetry so that the change is not yet reflected in the poets who were Muḥammad's contemporaries. The scheme of the *ḡaṣida* of the pagan poetry with its fixed themes and stereotyped images also holds for the *mukḥadramūn* and in their poems one can hardly find the slightest hint that they were contemporary with the great religious change in Arabia. The only exception is the *ḡaṣidas* composed in honour of Muḥammad, like the *ḡaṣida* of Ka'b b. Zuhair called after its opening words *Bānat Su'ād* and the panegyric on the Prophet by al-A'shā. While these still follow the scheme of the *ḡaṣida* as regards form they reflect Muḥammadan points of view and legal ordinances and also use *Ḳur'ānic* phrases.

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(ILSE LICHTENSTÄDTER)

MUKHLIS AL-DAWLA. [See AL-MUKALLAD.] **AL-MUKHTĀR** B. ABĪ 'UBAID AL-THAḲAFĪ, a Shī'a agitator who seized possession of Kūfa in 66 (685—686). The clan of Thaḡif to which he belonged was the same as that of the poet Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt [q. v.] and another poet, Abū

Mihdjan, was his second cousin (al-Mukhtār's grandfather Mas'ūd being the son of 'Amr b. 'Umayr b. 'Awf; cf. Wüstenfeld, *Gen. Tab.*, G. 19). He is said to have been born in 622 (Ṭabarī, i. 1264) a statement which has perhaps no real foundation (cf. Ṭabarī, ii. 2: in 40, he was a "young man", *ghulām shābb*) and based on the fact that his adversary 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair was born in the same year. His father having died the death of a hero at the battle of the Bridge in 13 against the Persians, the orphan was brought up by his uncle Sa'd b. Mas'ūd who became governor of al-Mada'in under the caliph 'Alī. Al-Mukhtār was his deputy when Sa'd left al-Mada'in to go after the Khāridjīs who had left 'Alī's camp in 37 (Ṭabarī i. 3366; al-Dinawarī, p. 218). His early life and his family traditions therefore made him a partisan of 'Alī: al-Ṭabarī (ii. 2) however says that when 'Alī's son al-Hasan took refuge with al-Mukhtār's uncle when fleeing from Mu'āwiyā in 40, the nephew proposed to surrender him to his rival and he was reproached with this disloyal act 25 years afterwards by the Shī'īs. This is all we know of the early days of one who was destined to become the champion of the extreme Shī'īs: his refusal to bear witness before Ziyād b. Abihi against Ḥudjir b. 'Adī, who was accused of having attempted an anti-Umayyad rising at Kūfa in 51 (Ṭabarī, ii. 134), shows however that his feelings were already pro-'Alid. It is only when, after the death of Mu'āwiyā, the hopes of the partisans of 'Alī's family began to rise again, that al-Mukhtār emerges from obscurity; he took part in the rising of Muslim b. 'Aqil in 61 and, imprisoned by the governor 'Ubaid Allāh b. Ziyād, he was only released after the failure of al-Ḥusain's attempt and returned to Mecca, where 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair was secretly engaged in preparing the movement which was to take him to the head of the anti-Umayyad rising. It is alleged that al-Mukhtār, after vainly trying to compromise Ibn al-Zubair prematurely, disappeared from Mecca for a whole year which he spent in his native town of al-Ṭā'if. It was no doubt in this period that the ideas ripened in him which made him the initiator and leader in a new political and religious phase of the Shī'a movement; but of the way in which his ideas came to him, their immediate origin and the influences which went to form them, history unfortunately knows nothing.

In any case, al-Mukhtār returned to al-Zubair, who had in the meanwhile been publicly recognised as caliph, and fought bravely at the first siege of Mecca in 64. But his adhesion to the cause of Ibn al-Zubair had no other object than to enable him to return to Kūfa which was then under the anti-Umayyad caliph. According to one source which is in contradiction to Ṭabarī, al-Mukhtār was sent by al-Zubair himself to the capital of the 'Irāk to take charge of its administration, having promised him the support of the 'Alid party (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, v. 70); it seems more probable that, as Ṭabarī says, he went there of his own accord to carry out his plans for a Shī'a revival.

The Shī'īs of Kūfa were at this time (Ramaḍān 64) under the influence of Sulaimān b. Ṣurad [q. v.]. Al-Mukhtār did not wish to join his party and began propaganda of his own, saying he was the emissary of Muḥammad, son of 'Alī called Ibn al-Ḥanafīya from the name of his mother's tribe

[cf. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤANAFIYA]. The motives which gave al-Mukhtār the idea that he could pass off as the legitimate successor to the rights of 'Alī, this son, who was not born of Faṭima, the daughter of the Prophet, have not been fully explained; but as the other children of 'Alī who had escaped the massacre of Kerbelā' were quite incapable, al-Mukhtār's choice was limited. In any case, his fiery and peculiar eloquence (he pronounced his discourses in *sadīq* with obscure phrases and expressions which recalled the Qur'ān, without being a slavish imitation of it; he also said or allowed it to be said of him that he was inspired by the angel Gabriel) was able to gain partisans for the idea of the Mahdī whose imminent coming would restore the rule of the true religion. Without being yet openly hostile to the rule of Ibn al-Zubair, al-Mukhtār's attitude was suspected. He was therefore imprisoned by the Zubairid governor 'Abd Allāh b. Yazid al-Anṣārī but his captivity was not rigorous and enabled him to remain in contact with the people of Kūfa. After the defeat and death of Sulaimān b. Ṣurad, which he had predicted, he was set at liberty on guaranteeing he would not fight against the Zubairid government. Al-Mukhtār took advantage of the liberty restored to him to secure the cooperation of Ibrāhīm b. al-Aṣhtar, son of 'Alī's famous general, who kept up his father's traditions. The latter hesitated long before accepting al-Mukhtār's proposals and only agreed on receiving a letter, undoubtedly a forgery, in which Ibn al-Ḥanafīya introduced al-Mukhtār to him as his plenipotentiary (*amīn*) and minister (*waṣīr*).

The rising then began (14 Rabī' I 66): the resistance of the chiefs of the tribes (the *Ashrāf*), who while opposed to the Umayyads and former fighters by the side of 'Alī, had long lost their enthusiasm for the cause of his family, was overcome by the onslaught of the troops, composed for the most part of adventurers and *mawālī* led by Ibn al-Aṣhtar, a most capable warrior. The Zubairid governor fled (he was at this time 'Abd Allāh b. Muṭī' al-Kurashī); the *Ashrāf* capitulated and al-Mukhtār, undisputed lord of Kūfa, rapidly extended his power over Mesopotamia and the eastern provinces, to which he at once appointed governors: the south alone, with Baṣra, remained to Ibn al-Zubair.

Al-Mukhtār had naturally to give the *Ashrāf* positions of authority in his organisation but he could not completely gain their confidence. Although old partisans of 'Alī, or sons of partisans, they were moderates who distrusted al-Mukhtār as an extremist and demagogue: indeed, the favour which the latter showed to the *mawālī*, who formed his real support, threatened to overthrow the system on which the political and economic supremacy of the Arabs over the native population was based, for not even the conversion of the latter to Islām had made them equal to their conquerors. Al-Mukhtār therefore was faced with the necessity of deciding for one or other. He preferred the *mawālī* party, probably more from genuine conviction than for political reasons: he must have believed that the triumph of the Mahdī whom he foretold would make all believers equal without distinction of race. During the absence of the army which had gone under Ibn al-Aṣhtar to fight 'Abd al-Malik's troops, the *Ashrāf* made an attempt to overthrow al-Mukhtār who was forced to temporize with them; but succeeding in informing Ibn al-

Ashtar of his difficulty, the latter returned to Kūfa and completely routed the enemies of al-Mukhtār. This was the signal for putting into execution the latter's full Shī'a programme; all those who had taken part in the murder of al-Ḥusain, or had neglected to defend him, were put to death. This bloody deed seemed to have divine approval, for two days later the Syrian army which had set out for the 'Irāq was completely routed on the banks of the Khazir by Ibn al-Ashtar, and its leader 'Ubad Allāh b. Ziyād, who had defeated and killed al-Ḥusain, was killed in the battle (Muḥarram 67). In the fanatical enthusiasm of these days in which the Shī'a cause seemed to have won a definite success there took place episodes of great religious interest although unfortunately not yet clearly explained, notably the worship of the empty chair (Tabari, ii. 702—706; cf. al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 597—600).

But in spite of his successes at home and abroad, al-Mukhtār was threatened by the presence in Baṣra of the brother of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair, Muṣ'ab, whose army, organised by al-Muhallab b. Abi Ṣufra, hardened in the war with the Khāridjīs and strengthened by the accession of the Kūfan Ashrāf who had left the town, was one to be feared. Indeed, the Shī'i troops were defeated by it at al-Maḍhār on the Tigris; a little later at Ḥarūrā, they suffered a complete rout, mainly because of the absence of Ibn al-Ashtar who was in the north at al-Mawṣil and whom al-Mukhtār either through distrust of him or through excess of confidence in himself had neglected to recall. Al-Mukhtār who had taken refuge in the citadel of Kūfa held out there valiantly for four months. Finally abandoned by most of his men, he was slain in a desperate sortie (Ramādān 14, 67). His body was mutilated, his hand suspended at the gate of the great mosque (and it was only taken down many years later by al-Ḥadīdījādī); one of his wives, who would not disown him, was executed in brutal fashion, although she was the daughter of al-Nu'mān b. Baṣhīr al-Anṣārī, who had been governor of Kūfa under Mu'āwiya. A great many of al-Mukhtār's followers were also massacred.

The nature of the movement led by al-Mukhtār has been variously judged by modern historians. The historical tradition which grew up in Kūfa, especially in the milieu of the Ashrāf, is naturally hostile and regards him as an adventurer and false prophet. His conduct was undoubtedly somewhat crooked occasionally; the way in which he exploited the name of Ibn al-Ḥanafīya (who never wished to be completely compromised in the business of the Mahdī) was not quite fair. But neither these doings nor his double dealing with regard to the Ashrāf (they paid him back however only too well) are sufficient to convict him of bad faith. They were tactical expedients which every one who wants to stir the masses is justified in employing for the triumph of his cause. It seems certain that al-Mukhtār sincerely believed in his mission, and his equalitarian ideas about the *mawālī*, although premature, were, as the future was to show, the only ones which could secure to Islām its later expansion and transform it from the exclusively Arab movement it was at first into a world wide civilization. What is still and will remain mysterious in the personality of al-Mukhtār (Wellhausen rightly observes that "demoniac" natures like his are always problematic), is the

manner in which he arrived (no doubt through a crisis within himself) at the religious and eschatological conception of the Shī'a of which he was the creator and which is infinitely greater than the expiatory sacrifice of the *tawwābūn* of Sulaimān b. Ṣurad. It is owing to this conception that the importance of the movement started by al-Mukhtār is far greater than the ephemeral political success which he enjoyed; in the popular enthusiasm which welcomed his propaganda we see the germs of the ideas which transformed the Shī'a from a political movement to a religious doctrine. In what measure these ideas were in existence before al-Mukhtār, in what relation they stood to that enigmatical personage 'Abd Allāh b. Saba' and his disciples are points that are still obscure. But if he was not the inventor of the doctrine of the Mahdī, it was undoubtedly he who in locating in a real person, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya, the mystical figure of the Messiah, the restorer of the true religion, gave it the stamp which was henceforth typical of Imāmī doctrines.

The name Mukhtārīya is borne by one of the many Shī'a subdivisions given in the lists of the writers on heresies; but it is doubtful if it ever had a real existence as an organised sect, especially as the sources which mention it do not clearly distinguish it from the Kaisāniya [q.v.] and the Khashabiya [q.v.], which seem very likely to be the legitimate successors of the teachings of al-Mukhtār.

Bibliography: The principal and almost the only source for the history of al-Mukhtār is al-Tabarī (ed. de Goeje), ii. 530—752 and *passim*, which is based for the most part on the statements of eye-witnesses of the events. The secondary sources add practically nothing new; they are quoted in Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, a. 64 § 13, 65 § 6, 66 §§ 5—7, 9—12, 67 §§ 2, 4, 42 (a few details also in the biography of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya in Ibn Sa'd, v. 71—77); H. D. van Gelder, *Mohtār de valsche Propheet*, Leyden 1888; J. Wellhausen, *Die rel.-pol. Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* (Abh. G. W. Gött., N. S., v. 2, 1901), p. 74—89. Cf. also the bibliography given in the articles KAI-SĀNIYA and KHASHABIYA (add al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-Shī'a*, ed. Ritter [Bibl. Islamica, iv., 1931], p. 20—30). (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

MUKHTĀR PASHA, GHĀZĪ AḤMAD, a Turkish general and statesman, was born in Sept. 1832, the son of a high official in Brussa, and received a military training there and in Constantinople (officer in 1854). He took part in the Crimean War, from 1860 taught in the Mekteb-i Ḥarbiye as professor of the art of war and in 1865 was tutor to the prince Yūsuf 'Izz al-Din. After holding a command in Albania (1867—1870) he distinguished himself under Redif Pasha in the Yaman campaign, the conduct of which he took over in 1871 as General of Division and Pasha. On his return he was given the title of *müşir*. In the Herzegovina he was defeated in 1876 at the Duga Pass. After the declaration of war by Russia (April 24, 1877) he was given the supreme command on the Caucasus front, where after at first having to retire to Köprüköy, he counter-attacked at Daḥar (June 21) and Ziwin (June 25) and forced the Russians under the Armenian generals Loris-Melikoff and Ter-Hugassoff, to evacuate Ottoman territory and occupied Sukhum.

Successes in August on the Yaghni Dagħ and at Kīzīl-Tepe (near Bash Gedikler) earned him the title of honour of *Ḡhāzī* [q. v.] but did not prevent the collapse of the army in Oct.—Nov. [cf. DEWE BOYŪN, KARS AND ERZERUM]. Appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Artillery, he restored peace in Crete in 1878; in 1879—1885 he served as commissioner on the Greek frontier. As a result of the Anglo-Turkish agreement of Oct. 24, 1885, he became the first High Commissioner of the Porte in Egypt, holding the post till 1906 and playing a part in the Taba affair. In this period he busied himself with the question of reforming the calendar; he advocated a uniform Hidjra solar year for all Muslims (see *Bibl.*).

From Dec. 1908 Vice-President of the Ottoman Senate, he proposed in the National Assembly of April 27, 1909 to give prince Reshād the name Mehmed V in memory of the first conqueror (*Fātiḥ*) of Constantinople [see MUḤAMMAD II] (communication of 'Abd al-Rahmān Sheref to Martin Hartmann); he himself led the deputation which announced his accession as Sultān-Caliph and brought him to the War Ministry to receive the oath of allegiance [cf. BAĪĀ']. On Oct. 14, 1911 he succeeded Sa'īd Pasha [q. v.] as President of the Senate and on July 22, 1912 as grand-vizier in the cabinet of the "Great Ones" (*Büyükkler*). Under pressure from the association of old-Turkish officers (*Khalāṣkārān*) he persuaded the Senate on Aug. 4 by a bold interpretation of the constitution to declare the session of Parliament closed. He endeavoured to free the army and civil service from politics, obtained an amnesty for Albania, recalled Aḥmad 'Izzet Pasha from the Yaman, instituted the Naval Medal and Medal of the Red Crescent, obtained favourable terms in the treaty of peace with Italy (Oct. 18, 1912) but could not avert the catastrophe in the Balkan War. On Oct. 29, 1912 he retired in favour of Kīāmīl Pasha, but remained a member of the Senate till 1918, in which on Feb. 12, 1917 he advocated the adoption of the Gregorian calendar and rejection of the Christian reckoning for the financial year. He died on Jan. 21, 1919. Maḥmūd Mukhtār Pasha is his son.

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MUKHTĀRĪ, SIRĀDĪ AL-DĪN 'UTHMĀN B. MUḤAMMAD AL-MUKHTĀRĪ AL-ḠHAZNAWĪ, court poet of the later Ḡhaznawids Ibrāhīm b. Maṣ'ūd II (1059—1099) and Maṣ'ūd III b. Ibrāhīm (1099—1114). He lived for a considerable period in Kirmān, where he wrote panegyrics on the Saldjūk Arslān-Shāh b. Kirmānshāh (1101—1141). The great poet Madjd al-Dīn Sanā'ī showed him the greatest reverence and celebrated him in a long *kaṣida* as the best poet of his time. He could not have been Sanā'ī's teacher, as the Bankipore Catalogue (i. 32) says, since he must have been only a year or two older than Sanā'ī. His influence however is quite marked in many of Sanā'ī's

works. One of Mukhtārī's philosophical *kaṣidas* may be regarded as the one of the finest examples of the old Persian school of poetry since *naṣīras* on it were written by the best poets such as Khākānī, Amīr Khusrāw, Athīr-i Akhsikātī, 'Abd al-Rahmān Djamī and Nawā'ī. His chief work is a large *Diwān* of lyrics, the majority of which are panegyrics in the style of the old Ḡhaznawid poets like 'Unṣurī and Farrūkhī, and dedicated to Arslān-Shāh, Bahrām-Shāh, Aqūd al-Dawla Dailamī, Ṭamghash-Khān and a number of viziers. Besides these *kaṣidas* there were in the *Diwān* a few short *mathnawī*'s, one of which of an astronomical nature seems to have had a great influence on later poetry. We should probably also ascribe to our poet the authorship of the *Shāhriyār-nāma*, an imitation of the *Shāh-nāma*, the hero of which is Shāhriyār son of Barzū son of Suhrāb, i. e. a great-grandson of Rustam, and the action of which is laid in India. The poem is dedicated to Maṣ'ūd III; in the preface the poet says that he has worked at it for three years and hoped for a present worthy of this labour. If he does not receive this gift however, he will not write a satire this; seems to be a direct reference to Firdawsī. The year of Mukhtārī's death is not exactly known, 530 (1135), 534 (1139), 544 (1149) and 554 (1159) are mentioned. The last date seems to be the right one.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *Neupersische Literatur* (Gr. I. Ph., ii. 234, 256—257); Dawlatshāh, p. 93; *Madjma' al-Fuṣṣḥā*, i. 598—607. A manuscript of the *Shāhriyār-nāma* in Rieu, ii. 542. (E. BERTHELS)

AL-MUKĪT. [See ALLĀH, II.]
MUKRĀ, a district and village in the Yaman, a day's journey south of Ṣanā'. The Arab geographers mention a cornelian mine here. The name is also given to a mountain in the Yaman Sarāt. According to Sprenger, we cannot connect the Hīmyar tribe of this name with the *Monpīras* of Ptolemy.

Bibliography: al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djaṣīrat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller (Leyden 1884—1891), p. 68, 104 sq.; al-Mukāddasi, *B.G.A.*, iii. 91; al-Hamadhānī, *B.G.A.*, v. 36; Ibn Khurdādhbih, vi. 141; al-Ya'qūbī, *B.G.A.*, vii. 319; Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, iii. 130; iv. 437, 603; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 244. (A. GROHMANN)

MUKṬADAB, name of the thirteenth metre in Arabic prosody, very little used; in theory it consists of three feet, with two successive *mustaf'ilun*, in each hemistich; but in practice it has only two.

There is one *'arūd* and one *ḍarb*:
maṣ'ūlātu mustaf'ilun: *maṣ'ūlātu mustaf'ilun*. However, *maṣ'ūlātu* should lose its *f* (*ma'ūlātu* = *fa'ūlātu*) or change its *ū* to *u*, which is very frequent (*maṣ'ūlātu* = *fa'ūlātu*).

Mustaf'ilun can never retain its *f* (*mustaf'ilun* = *muṣṭaf'ilun*). (MOH. BENCHENEB)

AL-MUKṬADĪ BI-AMRĪ 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-KĀSIM 'ABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD, 'Abbāsīd caliph. His father was a son of the caliph al-Qā'im and his mother an Armenian slave girl named Urdjuwān. After the death of his grandfather al-Qā'im in Ṣaḥbān 467 (April 1075), al-Mukṭadī succeeded him as caliph. The real ruler was the Saldjūk sultān Malikshāh [q. v.] to whose daughter al-Mukṭadī was married in 480 (1087). By 482 (1089) however, she had returned to her father because

she was neglected by the caliph. Malikshāh, who wished to prevent the caliph interfering in affairs of state, endeavoured to induce him to leave Baghdād and take up his residence in another town; this plan however came to nothing through the death of the sultān in Shawwāl 485 (Nov. 1092) and al-Mukṭadī was left in peace in the capital. About this time the power of the Saldjūks reached its greatest height and in all the lands conquered by them the spiritual supremacy of the caliph was recognised. Al-Mukṭadī died suddenly on 15th or 19th Muḥarram 487 (4th or 8th Feb. 1094) at the age of 38. He was perhaps poisoned by Malikshāh's son and successor, Barkiyārūq [q. v.] whom he had offended by confirming the selection of his minor brother Maḥmūd as sultān.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, x., see Index: Ibn al-Tiḡṭakā, *al-Fakhri*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 398—403; Muḥammad b. Shākir, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, i. 233; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iii. 472 sqq.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi-i Kazwīnī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, i. 359 sq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 121—137; Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjucides*, ii. 12, 22, 45, 49—81; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 283, 292 sq., 326. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-MUKṬADIR. [See ALLĀH, II.]

AL-MUKṬADIR BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-FADL DJA' FAR B. AḤMAD, 'Abbāsīd caliph, son of al-Muṭtaḍid and a slave named Shaghāb. After the death of his brother al-Mukṭafī in Dhū 'l-Ka'da 295 (Aug. 908), al-Mukṭadir who was only 13 at the time was proclaimed caliph. Many however preferred 'Abd Allāh, son of the caliph al-Mu'tazz, and after the murder of the vizier al-'Abbās b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad [q. v.], al-Mukṭadir was declared to be deposed and Ibn al-Mu'tazz elected caliph. The eunuch Mu'nīs [q. v.] came forward to save al-Mukṭadir; Ibn al-Mu'tazz was slain and al-Mukṭadir retained the caliphate. He showed very little independence however and allowed himself to be guided, sometimes by the personnel of the ḥarem and sometimes by the viziers among whom special mention may be made of the intriguing Ibn al-Furāt [q. v.] and the brave Ibn al-Djarrāh [q. v.]. Al-Mukṭadir's caliphate was therefore marked by a gradual decline. In his reign the dynasties of the Fātimids [q. v.] and Ḥamdānids [q. v.] became independent. The Karmāṭians also rebelled once more. In the years 307 (919—920) and 311 (923) Baṣra was plundered by the Karmāṭian chief Abū Ṭāhir Sulaimān [cf. AL-DJANNABĪ] and at the end of the year 311 (924) he fell upon the pilgrim caravan returning from Mecca. In Dhū 'l-Ka'da of the following year (925) he attacked the caravan which was going on the pilgrimage to Mecca from Baghdād and put it to flight. He next plundered al-Kūfa and then returned to Bahraīn. An army sent against the Karmāṭians under the command of Mu'nīs arrived only after they had retired. In 314 (926—927) Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādī was summoned from Aḥḥarabāidjān to help, but Sulaimān defeated him in Shawwāl of the following year (Dec. 927) and took him prisoner. The caliph's troops did not dare to give battle and in Muḥarram 316 (March 928) Sulaimān seized the town of al-Raḥaba. After an unsuccessful attack on al-Raḥka he retired; in 317 (929—930), or, according to others, in 316, he plundered Mecca and carried off the Black Stone.

On the Byzantine frontier both sides continued their raids with varying fortunes. In 305 (917) the Byzantines made an offer of peace and after two years peace was definitely concluded, but hostilities very soon broke out again. In 314 (926—927) the Byzantines ravaged the district of Malatya and in the following year they crossed a considerable part of Armenia. After taking several Armenian cities which belonged to the Arabs (316 = 928—929) and occupying northern Mesopotamia (317 = 929—930) they lost all their gains in 319—320 (= 931—932). In Muḥarram 317 (Feb. 929) a rebellion broke out in the capital. Al-Mukṭadir was forced to abdicate but was brought to a place of safety by Mu'nīs, while the soldiery plundered the palace. His brother Muḥammad was summoned to be Commander of the Faithful in his stead with the style al-Kāhīr; but since the chief leader of the rebels, the head of police Nāzik, could not satisfy the demands of the troops for higher pay, al-Kāhīr was deposed after a few days and al-Mukṭadir placed on the throne once more. In Baghdād the confusion increased and in 320 (932) the catastrophe came. The enemies of Mu'nīs took advantage of his absence to persuade the caliph that Mu'nīs intended to dethrone him and when Mu'nīs approached at the head of his army, al-Mukṭadir was persuaded with great reluctance to take the field against him; he fell at the beginning of the encounter (27th Shawwāl 320 = Oct. 31, 932). See also the article MUḤAMMAD B. YĀKŪT.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii. 2280—2294; 'Arib, ed. de Goeje, p. 21—186; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Paris, viii. 247—286; ix. 6, 8, 47, 52; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ii. 76; v. 32; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, viii. 6 sqq.; Ibn al-Tiḡṭakā, *al-Fakhri*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 352—374; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iii. 358 sqq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 540 sqq.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 532 sqq.; Muir, *The caliphate, its rise, decline, and fall*, new ed. by Weir, p. 563, 565; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, see Index; do., *A Greek Embassy to Baghdād in 917 A.D.*, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, p. 35 sqq.; M. Bowen, *Life and Times 'Alī ibn 'Isā*, Cambridge 1928.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-MUKṬAFĪ LI-AMRĪ 'LLĀH, ABU 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD, 'Abbāsīd caliph, born on 12th Rabi' II 489 (April 9, 1096), son of al-Mustazhir and a slave girl. After the deposition of his nephew al-Rashīd, al-Mukṭafī was acknowledged as caliph on the 8th Dhū 'l-Hidjja 530 (Sept. 17, 1136). While the Saldjūks were fighting among themselves, he did his best not only to maintain his independence but also to extend his, rule and one district after the other in the 'Irāq fell into his hands. In 543 (1148) a number of emīrs announced their allegiance to Sultān Mas'ūd and marched on Baghdād but dispersed after several encounters with the caliph's troops. According to some sources, the same thing took place again next year. In Radjab 547 (Oct. 1152) Mas'ūd died, and was succeeded by his nephew Malikshāh who was deposed in a few months and succeeded by his brother Muḥammad. In the meanwhile the caliph seized the two towns of al-Hilla and Wāsiṭ. In the following year Sultān Sandjar who lived in Khurāsān was attacked and taken prisoner by the rebel Ghuzz [q. v.] whereupon his emīrs proclaimed Mas'ūd's

brother Sulaimānshāh sultān. In Muḥarram 551 (Feb.—March 1156) the latter was recognised by the caliph on condition that he did not interfere in the affairs of the Irāk. Although al-Mukṭafī supported him he was defeated in Djumādā I (June—July) of the same year by his nephew Muḥammad and the latter's auxiliary. In Dhu 'l-Hijidja (Jan.—Feb. 1157) Sultān Muḥammad advanced on Baghdād to take vengeance on the caliph. The latter had to retire to the eastern part of the town and was besieged there for several months. In Rabi' I 552 (May 1151) however, the sultān suddenly raised the siege because Malikshāh was advancing on Hamadhān. As the latter therefore retired, hostilities automatically ceased and Muḥammad is said to have later made his peace with al-Mukṭafī. The latter twice besieged Takrit in vain; on the other hand, he succeeded in taking Liḥf. The Crusaders continued their hostilities in al-Mukṭafī's caliphate. The most powerful pillar of Islām was the Atābeg of al-Mawṣil, Imād al-Dīn Zangī, and his son Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd in Syria. Al-Mukṭafī died on 2nd Rabi' I 555 (March 12, 1160).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), xi. 27 sqq.; Ibn al-Tiṭṭakā, *al-Fakhri* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 416—425; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iii. 512 sqq.; Hamd Allāh Mustawfi-ī Kazwīnī, *Tārīkh-i Guzida* (ed. Browne), i. 364 sq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 219, 258—306; Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljoudides*, ii., see Index.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-MUKṬAFĪ BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD 'ALĪ B. AḤMAD, 'Abbāsīd caliph, son of al-Mu'taḍid and a Turkish slave girl named Čiček (Arabic Djidjak). In 281 (894—895) he was appointed by his father governor of al-Raiy and several towns in the neighbourhood, and five years later he was made governor of Mesopotamia and took up his quarters in al-Raḡḡa. After the death of al-Mu'taḍid on 22nd Rabi' II, 289 (April 5, 902), he ascended the throne and at once won the good-will of the people by his liberality and by destroying the subterranean dungeons in the capital. He proved a brave and fearless leader who fought with success against the many enemies of the caliphate. The Ḳarmāṭians were ravaging Syria; one town after another fell into their hands and Damascus itself was plundered. On the 6th Muḥarram 291 (Nov. 29, 903) the general Muḥammad b. Sulaimān finally succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on them and they scattered in all directions. Muḥammad then turned his attention to Egypt where he put an end to the rule of the Ṭūlūnids. Many of their followers joined him and after the Ṭūlūnid Ḥārūn b. Khumārawaih had been slain, the capital had to surrender (Safar 292 = Jan. 905) and 'Isā al-Nūshari was appointed governor of Egypt. An attempt to restore the Ṭūlūnids was easily crushed (293 = 905—906). About this time the Ḳarmāṭians again began to be troublesome and at the beginning of the year 294 (Oct.—Nov. 906) they attacked the great pilgrim caravan returning from Mecca, massacred the men and carried off the women and children. In Rabi' I of the same year (Dec. 906—Jan. 907) they were defeated near al-Qādisiyya by the caliph's troops under Waṣīf b. Šawārtegin. The war with the Byzantines was also vigorously pursued. In 291 (903—904) a Greek named Leo who had adopted Islām undertook a number of raids on the Greek coasts with

his fleet of 54 ships. The Byzantines however had the advantage by land. In 292 (904—905) Mar'ash, al-Maṣṣiṣa and Ṭarsūs were taken by the Greek general Andronicus and in the following year the Byzantines advanced as far as Halab. Then the Muslims gained the upper hand and Andronicus went over to them. Al-Mukṭafī died in Dhu 'l-Kā'da 295 (Aug. 908) at the age of 31; cf. also the article AL-'ABBĀS B. AL-ḤASAN B. AḤMAD.

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AL-MUKṬANĀ, BAHĀ' AL-DĪN, a Druse missionary and author, with his teacher Ḥamza (b. 'Alī; q. v.) founder of the theological system of the Druses [q. v.], the fifth minister of the Druse theogony, with several titles of honour, in addition to the above two: al-Djanāh, al-Aisar, al-Tālī, al-Khayāl, al-Mukāsīr etc. His "secular" name was Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. AḤmad al-Samūki. Of his life practically nothing is known. As Arab historians are silent about him (Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, ii. 320), his own writings are almost the only source. According to Druse tradition, he was ḳāḍī in Alexandria in al-Ḥākim's time [q. v.] (M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, i., Berlin 1899, p. 135). As his works reveal quite a good knowledge (not without misunderstandings) of Christian religion and literature, he may have been born a Christian, probably in Syria. Only for the period of his teaching do we have chronological exactness. His *taḥlīd* of investiture is dated on the 13th Shābān of the third year of Ḥamza's mission i. e. 411 (1020) (S. de Sacy, *op. cit.*, i. 474—475; ii. 309, 313; transl. *ibid.*, ii. 297—309). The earliest of his known writings is of the tenth year of Ḥamza, 418 A. H. (*ibid.*, ii. 326). In consequence one must assume that he came to the front after the disappearance of al-Ḥākim and Ḥamza. His activity was not a continuous one and he had even to live for a time in concealment (about the year 17—18 of Ḥamza; see S. de Sacy, *op. cit.*, ii. 364), whether in Egypt or Syria is not certain (H. Guys, *La nation druze*, p. 114). The latest date known in his writings is the 26th year of Ḥamza, i. e. 433—434 (1042) (S. de Sacy, *op. cit.*, i. 496; ii. 379). His farewell epistle dates from this year; according to it he had retired into concealment (*ibid.*, i. 514—515; ii. 358); nothing more is known of him. The "Druse theogony" does not agree with these dates; it gives 17 years as the period of his activity (H. Guys, *op. cit.*, p. 107). Ph. Hitti's assertion (*The Origins of the Druse People*, p. 11) that he died in 1031 is due to a misunderstanding.

Druse tradition not unjustly ranks him with Ḥamza and regards him as the greatest theological writer, to whom four of the sacred books are ascribed (M. v. Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, i. 135—137). These are not books

in the proper sense but collections of separate tracts, usually in the form of epistles, directed to followers of the Druse teaching or of other creeds in various lands (Byzantium, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, India). They are to this day frequently read by the Druses in their *khalawāt*; commentaries were written on some of them by the last independent Druse theologian 'Abd Allāh al-Tanūkhī (d. 1480; on him see Ph. Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 53, 71; M. v. Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, i. 137). Of the some 110 Druse treatises so far known in Europe, 70 are ascribed by S. de Sacy to al-Mukṭanā (*op. cit.*, i. 484 and 496). Except for a few short texts published by S. de Sacy along with other writings of Ḥamza (see *Bibl.*) very few have been printed, namely the *Kitāb al-Bad'* by Chr. Seybold (s. *Bibl.*) and *al-Risālat al-Ḳuṣṭanīniya*, sent in 1028 to the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VIII., by J. Khalil and L. Ronzevalle (s. *Bibl.* and extracts in Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 64—67). Others are accessible only in translations and extracts (espec. in Silvestre de Sacy; *al-Risālat al-Masīhiyya*, a synopsis in Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 68—70). As with other Druse writers, the style is very obscure and artificial, frequently embellished with rhymed prose.

Silvestre de Sacy, whose book still is the most important collection of material, regards al-Mukṭanā as "un enthousiaste de bonne foi" (*op. cit.*, i. 508). It is highly desirable that some one should devote a special study to his life and work, paying particular attention to the authenticity of his works and to a critical edition of them.

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MULAI [See MAWLĀ.]

MULK (A.), royal power, is used in the Qur'ān with reference to God and to certain pre-Islāmic personages, who all appear in the Old Testament, and in the former case is synonymous with *malakūt*; the latter word however occurs only four times in the Qur'ān and always with a dependent genitive (*kull shai'* or *al-samawāt wa 'l-arḍ*) while *mulk* is often used absolutely. To God alone belongs *mulk*. He has no associate therein; to Him belongs *mulk* over heaven and earth as well as over the judgment. He gives *mulk* to whom He will; the unbelievers have no share in it. Shaitān promised Ādam imperishable *mulk* and tempted him with this promise to eat of the *shajarāt al-khuld* (Sūra xx. 118). Nimrūd endeavours to claim for himself God's *mulk* against Ibrāhīm (ii. 260) but God gives *mulk* to the family of Ibrāhīm (iv. 57). Yūsuf thanks God in prayer

for the *mulk* which He has given him (xxi. 102). Fir'awn boasts of his right to the *mulk Miṣr* (xliii. 50); God wills to give Tālūt *mulk* over the recalcitrant Israelites and to send the *tābūt* as a sign (ii. 248 *sqq.*) Dāwūd's *mulk* is mentioned ii. 252 and xxxviii. 19 and Sulaimān's ii. 96; the latter prays for it (xxxviii. 34).

That the conception of *mulk* was not carried over into Muslim law generally has been explained in the article MALIK; an exception is Egypt during the Aiyūbid period and in quite modern times. Cf. also the article TĀDĪ and G. Richter, *Studien zur Geschichte der älteren arab. Fürstenspiegel* (Leipz. Sem. Studien, N. F., iii., 1932), esp. p. 6.

(M. PLESSNER)

MULTĀN is an ancient town of the Panḍjāb situated in 30° 12' N. and 71° 31' E., and has been known at various times as Kashtpūr, Hanspūr, Bāgpūr, Sanb or Sanābpūr, and finally Mulasthān, of which Multān is a corruption. This name is derived from that of the idol and temple of the sun, a shrine of vast wealth, which the Arabs, who plundered it, named *dār al-ḍahab*, or the house of gold. It remained the Arab capital, and the outpost of Islām in India, for three centuries but by A. D. 900 its ruler had become independent of Baghdād. At this time it was seized by 'Abd Allāh the Ḳarāṭī, and became a stronghold of the Ḳarāṭian heretics, who were crushed and expelled by the orthodox Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. The town and province remained nominally subject to his descendants until Khusrāw Malik, the last of them, was carried into captivity by Mu'izz al-Din Muḥammad b. Sām, when it became a province of his Indian empire. On his death the governor, Nāṣir al-Din Ḳabāḥā, attempted to establish his independence of Dihli, but Ḳuṭb al-Din Aibak reduced him to obedience, and the province remained nominally subject to Dihli from 1206 to 1438 when Shaikh Yūsuf Ḳuraishī became independent ruler of Multān and was followed by the kings of the Langāh tribe, who reigned until 1527. The town was occupied both by Timūr in 1397 and by Bābūr in 1528.

The province was one of the *ṣubas* of Akbar's empire, and remained nominally subject to his successors until 1752, when its allegiance was transferred to Kābul. It was threatened by the Sikhs as early as 1771, but was not annexed by them until 1818, when Randjit Singh took the city by storm. It was not affected by the first Sikh war, but the murder of two British officers by Mūlraḍī led to the second Sikh war, and the city was captured on January 3, 1849. Its fortifications were dismantled in 1854 and its garrison was disbanded in the mutiny of 1857.

Bibliography: Firīšta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* (Bombay 1832); *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, by Niẓām al-Din Aḥmad; Sir Edward D. Maclagan, *Gazetteer of the Multan District* (Lahore 1902).

(T. W. HAIG)

MU'MIN, title of sūra xl. See also ALLĀH, II and IMĀN.

AL-MU'MINŪN, title of sūra xxiii.

AL-MUMĪT. [See ALLĀH, II.]

MUMKIN. [See MANṬIḲ.]

AL-MUMTAḤINA, title of sūra lx.

MUMTĀZ, BARKHWARDĀR B. MAḤMŪD TURK-MĀN FARĀHĪ, a Persian writer, a contemporary of the Ṣafawid Sulṭān Ḥusain (1694—1722). At an early age he left his native town of Farāh

and went to Marw where he entered the service of the governor Aṣlān-Khān. After two years however, he left this post and became munshī with Ḥasan Kūlī Khān Shāmlū Kūrcī-bāshī in Iṣfahān. At a banquet there at his master's house he heard a story which attracted him exceedingly. He wrote it down and it became the foundation of a great collection, *Maḥfilārā*, which contained about 400 stories and consisted of a *muḥaddama*, eight *bāb* and a *khātima*. Soon afterwards he returned to Farāh, spent some time in Herāt and Meshhed and then entered the service of the emīr Minūcihr Khān b. Kārṭighāy whose duty it was to defend Darūn and Khabūshān against raids by the wild nomad tribes. His stay there was disastrous for Mumtāz, since he lost all his goods and chattels and the valuable manuscript of his *Maḥfilārā* during a nomad raid; he did not have another copy of it. He resolved however to restore the book and wrote all the stories that he could remember a second time. Thus arose the second version of the *Maḥfilārā*, which consists of a *muḥaddama*, five *bābs* and a *khātima* and has come down to us under the title *Maḥbūb al-Kulūb*. The book is written in an extravagantly artificial style. The *khātima* is the best part; it contains the celebrated story of Zibā and Ra'nā, which is very common in Persia in a simplified form in many editions from the popular presses.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *Neupersische Litteratur* (G. I. Ph., ii. 333). A MS. of the *Maḥbūb al-Kulūb* in Rieu, ii. 767, 1093; lith. Bombay 1852 (Edwards, *Catalogue*, p. 150). See also Malcolm, *History of Persia*, i. 614.

(E. BERTHELS)

MUMTĀZ MAḤALL, wife of Shāh Djahān, and the lady for whom the Tādj Maḥall [q. v.] was built. She was the daughter of Abu'l-Ḥasan Aṣaf Khān, who was Nūr Djahān's brother. Her name was Ardjumand Bānū, the title Mumtāz Maḥall being conferred on her after Shāh Djahān's accession. She was his favourite wife and bore him fourteen children, seven of whom grew up. She was born in 1593, married in 1612, and died, at Burhānpūr in the Deccan, very shortly after the birth of a daughter in 1631. She was beautiful and amiable, and Shāh Djahān loved her tenderly.

Bibliography: Khwāfi Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, i. 459; 'Abd al-Ḥamid Lāhōrī, *Bād-shāhnāma* i. 384; Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, translated by W. Irvine; Elliot-Dowson, vii. 27; *Indian Magazine* for December 1913, p. 316.

(H. BEVERIDGE)

MUNADJDJIM. [See ASTROLOGY.]

MUNADJDJIM BASHĪ is the name by which the author of the most important general historical work written in Turkey is known. His real name was Aḥmad Efendī, son of Luṭf Allāh, a native of Eregli near Konya. He was born in Selānik, in the first half of the xvth century, received a scholarly education and served in his youth for fifteen years in the Mewlewī-khāne of Kāsim Pasha under Shaikh Khalil Dede (*Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, ii. 287). Afterwards he studied astronomy and astrology and became court astrologer (*munadjdjim bashī*) in 1078 (1667—1668). In 1086 (1675—1676) he was admitted to the intimate circle of Sulṭān Muḥammad IV as *muṣāhib-i pādīshāhi*. He was dismissed in Muḥarram 1099 (November 1687) and banished to Egypt. From here he went

some years later to Mecca, where he became *shaikh* of the Mewlewī-khāne. In 1105 (1693—1694) he was obliged to move to Medina, where he lived for seven years. Soon after his return to Mecca he died there on the 29th of Ramaḍān 1113 (February 27th 1702) and was buried near the tomb of Khadija.

Besides writing his historical work, Munadjdjim Bashī displayed a considerable literary activity. Of his works are mentioned a *ḥaṣhiya* on the Qur'an commentary of Baidāwī, a commentary on the '*Aḳā'id al-Aḳudiya* of al-Idjī, a *Laṭā'if-nāme*, a translation of the anecdotes of 'Ubaid-i Zakānī, and a number of treatises on geometry, mysticism and music. His Turkish *diwān* also gives him a place in the ranks of Turkish mystical poets; his *takhalluṣ* was 'Ashīk.

The general history was written in Arabic under the title *Djāmi' al-Duwal*, but although manuscripts of the Arabic original exist (the *Semā-Khāne-i Edeb* of 'Alī Enwer mentions two MSS. not mentioned by Babinger, viz. one in the library of the mosque of Selim II in Adrianople and the other in the imperial palace, in the library of Aḥmad III), it is much better known in the Turkish translation made by the poet Nedīm [q. v.] in the xviiith century under the title *Ṣaḥā'if al-Akḥbār* (printed in three volumes in Constantinople in 1285). It is a world history, arranged, after the fashion of similar Arabic works, according to dynasties, with a main division into three parts: the first treating of the history of Muḥammad, the second the non-Muḥammadan dynasties and the third the Muḥammadan dynasties. In the introductory chapters the author cites his numerous sources, not a few of which are lost in the original. Therefore the work has a special value for the knowledge of many smaller dynasties and for this reason it has been especially used by E. Sachau for *Ein Verzeichnis muhammedanischer Dynastien*, in *SB. Pr. Ak. W.*, Berlin 1923 (cf. the introduction). The last dynasty treated is that of the Ottoman Sulṭāns; it is proportionately longer and more detailed than the history of the other Muḥammadan dynasties and based on several imperfectly known sources; the last part, which ends in 1089 (1678), gives contemporary history. The Turkish translation of Nedīm is very readable and not composed in the high-flown literary style that prevailed in his period. For this reason it is especially praised and represented in Ebuzziyā Tewfik's *Nümūne-i Edebiyāt-i 'othmāniye*⁶, Constantinople 1330.

Bibliography: F. Babinger, *O. G. W.* and the sources mentioned there.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-MUNĀFIKŪN (A.), the term applied in the Qur'an to those Medīnese upon whose fidelity and zeal Muḥammad could not absolutely rely. The Arabs (e.g. Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 153) derive the word from *nāfiḳā* ("one of the entrances to the hole of a fieldmouse"), but it is certainly the borrowed Ethiopic *manāfēk* "heretic" from *nafaḳa* to "split", *nāfaḳa* "to be divided, irresolute". The meaning "waverer", "doubter" quite fits the usual use of the word in the Qur'an, while the usual translation "hypocrite" only suits a few passages. Another description of the same people in the Qur'an is: "those in whose hearts there is sickness (weakness, doubt)", again in contrast to the unshakably firm believers. Sometimes (ix. 68

sq.; xxxiii. 73; xlviii. 6; lvii. 13) there are references to women of this type (*munāfiḳāt*) in addition to the male *munāfiḳūn*. A closer consideration of the passages in question shows we have not to think of a regular, rigidly defined party; sometimes the reference is to such Medinese as had only joined the Prophet under compulsion or reluctantly, and sometimes to those who had quite honestly joined him but had not been able to retain their belief and enthusiasm (ix. 67; lxiii. 3). Muḥammad also on one occasion speaks of *munāfiḳūn* among the Beduins. The first group found their leader in 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy [q. v.] who would have been the chosen head of the Ka'ila tribe, if a new and superior force, which he could not meet, had not opposed him in Muḥammad. Nevertheless these grumblers, joined by other unreliable elements, were strong enough to cause the greatest embarrassment to the Prophet in critical moments e.g. before the battle of Uḥud (iii. 160 sq.), in the War of the Ditch (xxxiii. 1, 12—24, 60, 73) and before the march on Tabūk (ix. 65—69, 74, 78), as he had always to be careful not to drive them over into the enemy's camp. It is no wonder then that his utterances about them are always made in a tone of great irritation. He describes them as hypocrites, who say something different from what they mean in their hearts (iii. 161; xiii. 1); in their irresolution they join, according to their view of the future, sometimes the Muslims and sometimes the enemy (iv. 137—142; v. 57); if it goes badly with the believers, they think that their religion has deceived them (viii. 51). When they are together among themselves they revenge themselves for the restraint which they must put upon themselves by malicious remarks about the Prophet and his revelations, but are in great anxiety, lest Allāh may communicate their secret conversations (ix. 65 sqq.; x. 79, 125 sqq.). They are indolent at prayer (iv. 141), refuse to take part in the fighting or to contribute from their means (xlvii. 22, 31; lvii. 1 sq.; lxiii. 71; cf. iv. 40 sqq.); they hope for a weakening of his power so that the more worthy may expel the meaner (lxiii. 8). As representatives of the true Meccan aristocracy, their attitude and eloquence made a certain impression on the Prophet but on closer examination they are nothing but "propped timbers" (lxiii. 4). In a word, they are no better than the unbelievers. God makes them err (iv. 50 sqq.) and their abode shall be hellfire (ix. 74; lvii. 13 sq.). We cannot help feeling in some ways a certain sympathy for these men who were deprived of their rights; but in the end they deserved their fate for their complete lack of ideas and courage at decisive moments and their conduct with regard to the Jews in Medina, whom they incited to resist Muḥammad and then left in the lurch (cf. lv. 11), makes a very unfavourable impression. With the death of 'Abd Allāh they lost their leader and their opposition was forced to be silent before the great successes of Muḥammad's last years.

The word *munāfiḳ* remained however and like other Qur'anic terms was used in the fighting between the various parties as a term of abuse; cf. e.g. its application to Ibn Zubair (Ṭabarī, ii. 467, 3) and his party (Ahlwardt, *Anonyme Arab. Chronik*, p. 73, 4).

In the Qur'an Sūra lxiii. is called after the *Munāfiḳūn*; it is connected by most commentators

with the campaign against the Banū Muṣṭalik.

Bibliography: Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², p. 232; Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 48 sq.; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'ans*, p. 88 sq., 167 sq., 209; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 411—413, 546 sq., 558—560, 651, 670, 688, 726, 734, 894. (FR. BUHL)

AL-MUNDHIR B. MUḤAMMAD. [See UMAIYADS II.]

AL-MUNDJIYA, title of sūra lxvii., which is also called *al-mulk* and *al-wāḳiya*.

MUNGIR (MONGHYR), the head-quarters of the Mungir District in Bihār and Orissa in India, situated in 25° 23' N. and 86° 28' E. on the south bank of the Ganges. The population of the district in 1911 was 2,132,893, of whom 200,339 were Muḥammadans. Muḥammadan historians state that Bakhtiyār Khaldjī was the first Muḥammadan who conquered Mungir during his subjugation of Bihār about 595 (1198). Henceforth it became a place of military importance. In 1177 (1763) Nawwāb Mir Kāsim, the Nawwāb Šubadār of Bengal, when he proposed to fight against the British made Mungir his military head-quarters. He founded here an arsenal under Gurgin (Gregory) Khān, his Armenian general. The gun-making industry for which the town is famous is said to date from the establishment of this arsenal.

Bibliography: *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xvii. 401—403; O'Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers, Monghyr*, Calcutta 1909, xvii.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUNIS DEDE or DERWISH MUNIS, Ottoman poet of Adrianople. He belonged to the Mewlewī Order. He received his education from the famous Enis Dede (d. 1147 = 1734). He died in 1145 (1732) in Adrianople, where he is buried.

Bibliography: Faṭin, *Teskere*, Constantinople 1271, p. 385; Thuraiyā, *Sidjill-i 'othmāni*, iv. 527; 'Alī Enwer, *Semā'khāne-i Edeb*, Istanbul 1309, p. 226. (TH. MENZEL)

MUNIS AL-MUẒAFFAR, ABU 'L-HASAN, principal 'Abbāsid general from 296 to 321 (908—933), and latterly virtual dictator (usual attribution to him of *nisba* al-Kuṣhūrī seems to rest on passage — p. 347 — in Hilāl al-Šābi's *Kitāb al-Wuṣarā'* [ed. Amedroz], where Naṣr should be read for Mu'nis), a eunuch (passage of Ibn Miskawaih [ed. Amedroz and Margoliouth, i. 160] shows that *khādīm* in this case does not mean merely freedman, as suggested by Massignon, *al-Hallaj*, p. 205, N^o. 2), said by al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām* (followed by Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Juynboll, ii. 255) to have been 90 years old at death (though this age would seem incredibly great for a recently active commander), i.e., to have been born in 231 (845—846), and to have held the rank of *amīr* for 60 years.

Mu'nis first appears (if passage of al-Ṭabarī, iii. 1953, refers to him) as a *ghulam* of al-Mu'taḍid (not yet caliph) in Zandj [q. v.] campaign of 267 (880—881); and is mentioned as Chief of Police in caliph's camp in 287 (900). Al-Dhahabī (also Ibn Taghribirdī, *loc. cit.*) states, again, that he was banished to Mecca by al-Mu'taḍid, to be recalled on accession of al-Mu'taḍir [q. v.]; and as Mu'nis is nowhere referred to during intervening reign of al-Muktafi, the statement may be true. (If so, in al-Mas'ūdi's description, *Murūdj*

al-*Dhahab*, ed. B. de Meynard, viii. 212, of al-Mu'taḍid's death, for *khādim* read *khāsin*, as in 'Arib, ed. de Goeje, p. 29).

Mu'nis owed his later eminence mainly to his leading the defence, in 296 (908), of the Ḥasanī palace at Baghdād for al-Muḥtadīr against the partisans of the latter's cousin, the pretender Ibn al-Mu'tazz [q. v.]. During the caliph's youth his gratitude and that of his powerful mother for this service assured Mu'nis's position; and though later al-Muḥtadīr's favour turned to enmity, by that time Mu'nis's authority was hardly in need of support, owing chiefly to his almost invariably successful generalship. For though he undertook no very important campaigns, except perhaps the repulse of the Fātimid al-Mahdī [q. v.] in 307 (919–920) (for which he received the *laḡab* al-Muẓaffar), and the defence of Baghdād from the Ḳarmāṭians [q. v.] in 315 (927–928), he was only once defeated — in 306 (918).

Mu'nis early fell out with the wazīr Ibn al-Furāt [q. v.], repeatedly opposing him, till in 312 (924), on Ibn al-Furāt's third term of office, Mu'nis played a prominent part in securing his dismissal and execution. He now became all-powerful, being invariably consulted on the appointment of viziers and so controlling the government. Hence the change of al-Muḥtadīr's affection to dislike, first signalized (315 = 927) in an abortive plot of the caliph's to murder him. In 316 Mu'nis lent himself to al-Muḥtadīr's deposition in favour of his half-brother al-Ḳāhir [q. v.]. He almost immediately restored him, however, thereby becoming more absolutely his master than ever. Al-Muḥtadīr eventually defied Mu'nis (319 = 931), who thereupon left Baghdād. Next year, however, having meanwhile collected a strong force, he marched on the capital intending to reimpose his authority. He duly defeated the caliph's army outside the walls, but al-Muḥtadīr himself was killed on the field.

Mu'nis now restored al-Ḳāhir. But by resuming his dictatorial ways he soon so alienated him also that he was obliged in self-defence to keep the new caliph a prisoner in the palace. He even contemplated deposing him. Al-Ḳāhir, however, succeeded in luring Mu'nis, together with his chief supporters, into the palace, where he shortly had them executed in *Shābān* 321 (August 933).

Mu'nis' influence was on the whole exerted for good; but he was neither strong nor intelligent enough to prevent the decline of the caliphate. His example of depriving the caliph of real power was pernicious. It was to be followed all too soon by the series of adventurers who, with the style of *amīr al-umara'* [q. v.], were to dominate al-Ḳāhir's successors.

Bibliography: In addition to the authorities cited above: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, viii.; al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges of Egypt* (G. M. S., xix.), p. 273, 277–278; Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'* (ed. Amedroz), index; Ibn Miskawaih, *Tadjarib al-Umam*, v., *passim* (= Amedroz and Margoliouth, *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, vols. i. and iv.); 'Arib, ed. de Goeje, index; H. Bowen, *Life and Times of 'Alī b. 'Isā*, Cambridge 1928, index. (HAROLD BOWEN)

MUNKAR WA-NAKĪR (the forms with the article are also found), the names of the two angels who examine and if necessary punish the dead in their tombs. To the

examination in the tomb the infidels and the faithful — the righteous as well as the sinners — are liable. They are set upright in their tombs and must state their opinion regarding Muḥammad. The righteous faithful will answer, that he is the Apostle of Allāh; thereupon they will be left alone till the Day of Resurrection. The sinners and the infidels, on the other hand, will have no satisfactory answer at hand. In consequence of this the angels will beat them severely, as long as it will please Allāh, according to some authorities till the Day of Resurrection, except on Fridays.

In some sources a distinction is made between the punishment and the pressure (*daḡḡa*) in the tomb, the righteous faithful being exempt from the former, not from the latter, whereas the infidels and the sinners suffer punishment as well as pressure (Abu 'l-Mu'in Maimūn b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī, as cited in the commentary on the *Waṣīyat Abi Ḥanīfa*, Ḥaidarābād 1321, p. 22).

The punishment in the tomb is not plainly mentioned in the Ḳur'ān. Allusions to the idea may be found in several passages, e.g. sūra xlvii. 29: "But how when the angels, causing them to die, shall smite them on their faces and backs"; sūra vi. 93: "But couldst thou see, when the ungodly are in the floods of death, and the angels reach forth their hands, saying, Yield up your souls: this day shall ye be recompensed with a humiliating punishment"; sūra viii. 52: "And if thou wert to see when the angels take the life of the unbelievers; they smite their faces and their backs, and taste ye the torture of burning" (cf. further sūra ix. 102; xxiii. 21; lii. 47).

The punishment of the tomb is very frequently mentioned in Tradition (see *Bibliography*), often, however, without the mention of angels. In the latter group of traditions it is simply said, that the dead are punished in their tombs, or why, e.g. on account of special sins they have committed, or on account of the wailing of the living.

The names of Munkar and Nakīr do not appear in the Ḳur'ān, and so far as I can see, once only in canonical Tradition (Tirmidhī, *Ḍiḡā'iz*, bāb 70). Apparently these names do not belong to the old stock of traditions. Moreover, in some traditions one anonymous angel only is mentioned as the angel who interrogates and punishes the dead (Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 163; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunna*, bāb 39^b; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 233, 346; iv. 150; Ṭayālīsī, N^o. 753).

So there seem to be four stages in the traditions regarding this subject: the first without any angel being mentioned, the second mentioning "the" angel, the third two angels, the fourth being acquainted with the names Munkar and Nakīr.

This state of things as reflected in *ḥadīth* finds a similar reflex in the early forms of the creed. In the *Fīkh Akbar* i., which may date from the middle of the viiith century A.D., the punishment of the tomb appears as the only eschatological representation (art. 10). In the *Waṣīyat Abi Ḥanīfa*, which may represent the orthodox views of the middle of the viiith century, we find, apart from an elaborate eschatology, the two following articles (arts. 18, 19): "We confess, that the punishment in the tomb shall without fail take place. We confess, that in view of the traditions on the subject, the interrogation by Munkar and Nakīr is a reality". The term "reality" is apparently intended to oppose the

allegorical interpretation of eschatological representations as taught by the Mu'tazilis.

The *Fikḥ Akbar* ii., which may represent the new orthodoxy of the middle of the ixth century A. D., is still more elaborate on this point (art. 23): "The interrogation of the dead in the tomb by Munkar and Nakir is a reality and the reunion of the body with the spirit in the tomb is a reality. The pressure and the punishment in the tomb are a reality that will take place in the case of all the infidels, and a reality that may take place in the case of some sinners belonging to the faithful". In the later creeds and works on dogmatics the punishment and the interrogation in the tomb by Munkar and Nakir are expressed in similar ways.

The Karrāmiya [q. v.] taught the identity of Munkar and Nakir with the two guardian angels who accompany man ('Abd al-Kāhir al-Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, Stambul 1928, p. 246). Ghazālī admits the idea that eschatological representations are a reality that takes place in the *malakūt*.

The origin of the names is uncertain; the meaning "disliked" seems doubtful. The idea of the examination and the punishment of the dead in their tombs is found among other peoples also. The details to be found in Jewish sources (*ḥibbūṣ haḳ-keber*) are strikingly parallel to the Muslim ones.

Bibliography: The passages from *ḥadīth* in Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muh. Tradition*, s. v. Grave(s); further E. Sell, *The Faith of Islam*, London 1880, p. 145; Mouradgea d'Ohsen, *Tableau de l'Empire othoman*, Paris 1787, i. 46; Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, General Index, s. v. Punishment and Munkar and Nakir; J. C. G. Bodenschatz, *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden*, Erlangen 1748, iii. 95 sq.; al-Taḥāwī, *Bayān al-Sunna wa 'l-Djama'a*, Halab 1344, p. 9; Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Nasafi, *Aḳā'id*, Stambul 1313, with the commentary of Taftāzānī, p. 132 sqq.; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, Cairo 1302, iv. 451 sqq.; do., *al-Durra al-fākhira*, ed. Gautier, p. 23 sqq.; *Kitāb Aḥwāl al-Kiyāma*, ed. M. Wolff, p. 40 sq.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

MUNSARIḤ, the name of the tenth metre in Arabic prosody; it has three feet to the hemistich. It has three 'arūd and four ḍarb:

1st 'arūd	{	<i>mustaf'ilun maf'ulātu mustaf'ilun</i>
		<i>mustaf'ilun maf'ulātu mustaf'ilun</i>
		<i>mustaf'ilun maf'ulātu mustaf'ilun</i>
2nd 'arūd		<i>mustaf'ilun maf'ulātun</i>
3rd 'arūd		<i>mustaf'ilun maf'ulun.</i>

We rarely find *mustaf'ilun* in the ḍarb of the first 'arūd. The second ḍarb of the first 'arūd is not indicated by al-Khalil b. Aḥmad but Ibn Barri notes it was much used by the *muwallad* poets, among them Ibn al-Rūmī. It may be noted that the second and third 'arūd are regarded as belonging to the *raḍiāz* metre.

Mustaf'ilun may lose: 1. its *s* except when used as the first ḍarb in the first 'arūd; 2. its *f* and the foot becomes (*musta'ilun* =) *muṣṭa'ilun*; 3. its *s* and *f* at the same time (which is very bad) and the foot becomes (*muta'ilun* =) *fa'ilatun*. This last change could not be undergone by the first 'arūd.

Maf'ulātu loses 1. its *f*, which is very bad and the foot becomes (*ma'ulātu* =) *maf'āilu*; 2. its *w* and the foot becomes (*maf'ulātu* =) *fā'ilātu*;

3. its *f* and *w* at the same time which is very bad and we have (*ma'ulātu* =) *fa'ilātu*.

Maf'ulān and *maf'ulun* may lose their *f* and become (*ma'ulān* =) *fa'ulān* and (*ma'ulun* =) *fa'ulun*. (MOH. BEN CHENEH)

MUNSHI. [See INSHĀ']

MUNŞIF (A.), part. active iv. of *n-ṣ-f*, "to be just, to act with justice", the title of a native judge of the lowest grade in India.

Bibliography: Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. moonsiff.

AL-MUNTAQĪK, a section of the Arab tribe of the Banū 'Uḳail, which in turn is a subdivision of the great group of the 'Āmir b. Ṣaṣ'a'a [q. v.]. Genealogy: al-Muntaqīk b. 'Āmir b. 'Uḳail (Wüstenfeld, *Gen. Tab.*, D. 19). The very scanty information in Wüstenfeld can be supplemented by the notice which Ibn al-Kalbī gives of the Banu 'l-Muntaqīk (*Djāmharat al-Ansāb*, MS. Brit. Mus., fol. 130v—131r); but this little clan nowhere appears to play a great part in early history. The territory inhabited by the Banu 'l-Muntaqīk is the same as that of the other divisions of the Banu 'Uḳail, in the southwest of Yamāma; some places belonging to them are quoted by al-Bakrī (*Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 567), Yāqūt (*Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 793—794; iv. 712, l. 78: we may note that in these two passages al-Muntaqīk is said to be the surname of Mu'āwiya b. 'Uḳail while the usual genealogy makes this Mu'āwiya a son of al-Muntaqīk), al-Hamdānī (*Djāsira*, ed. D. H. Müller, p. 177, l. 12—15: note the mention of gold mines in their territory). The Banu 'l-Muntaqīk numbered among their clients the Banū Ṭaṭhr (Wüstenfeld, *Gen. Tab.*, C. 13) whose eponym was said to have been made a prisoner by them (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vii. 110); one of the few episodes of the pre-Islāmic period in which this clan is mentioned is the battle of Shi'b Djabala where ʿKais b. al-Muntaqīk distinguished himself (*Aghānī*, x. 44; *Naḳā'id*, ed. Bevan, p. 671 l. 12—672, l. 14, where Ibn Ṭufail should be deleted). In the history of the origins of Islām, several of them appear as ambassadors of the Banū 'Uḳail to the Prophet: such were Anas b. ʿKais b. al-Muntaqīk and Laḳīṭ b. 'Āmir b. al-Muntaqīk (Ibn Sa'd, i/ii. 45 etc.; on the latter the biographical collections have long discussions as to whether he is to be identified with this or that *muhaddith*: cf. among others Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, viii. 456). In the period of the conquests, the Banu 'l-Muntaqīk settled in the marshy region between Kūfa and Baṣra (al-Kāḳashandī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab*, p. 65—66). All that we know of them after this period is the names of a few individuals who held public offices: a certain 'Āmir b. Mu'āwiya b. al-Muntaqīk, mentioned by Ṭabarī, i. 3284 at end, as fighting at Siffin, is said by Ibn al-Kalbī to have been governor of Armenia and Ādharbāidjān under Mu'āwiya; according to Ibn al-Kalbī, 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. al-Muntaqīk was governor of Marw and Ahwāz, also under Mu'āwiya, and 'Abida b. ʿKais b. al-Muntaqīk of Armenia, under Yazīd I. These men are not mentioned elsewhere: the same is true of the poet Djahm b. 'Awf b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Muntaqīk (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba* [ed. Sharafiya, Cairo 1325], v. 124 follows Ibn al-Kalbī).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

AL-MUNTAQĪM. [See ALLĀH II.]

AL-MUNTAṢIR (also called Mustanṣir) b. 'LLĀH, ABŪ DJĀ'FAR MUḤAMMAD B. DJĀ'FAR, 'Abbāsīd caliph, son of al-Mutawakkil by a Greek slave. After his father had been murdered in Shawwāl 247 (Dec. 861) by conspirators, among whom was al-Muntaṣir, the latter ascended the throne, aged 25 according to the usual statement. As a ruler he was only a tool in the hands of the vizier Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb and the Turkish generals. His brothers al-Mu'tazz and al-Mu'ayyad were forced to renounce their claims to the throne and Waṣīf, the commander of the bodyguard, was sent to the Byzantine frontier. Unlike his father, he treated the 'Alids with great consideration; nothing else remarkable is recorded of him. Al-Muntaṣir died in Rabi' II 248 (June 862) or, according to a less trustworthy report end of Rabi' I, in Sāmarrā after a reign of six months.

Bibliography: Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 594—596, 601—603; Ṭabarī, iii. 1379 sqq.; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdī*, Paris, vii. 290—323; ix. 46, 52, 72; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabetiques*; Ibn al-Aṭṭar (ed. Tornberg), vii. 27 sqq.; Ibn al-Ṭīkākā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 327—329; Muḥammad b. Shākir, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ii. 184; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iii. 282; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 351 sqq.; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, p. 531. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

MURĀBĪṬ. [See ALMORAVIDS.]

MURĀD, the name of an Arab tribe, belonging to the great southern group of the Madhhidj [q. v.]; genealogical tradition (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djāmharaṭ al-Ansāb*, Escorial MS., fol. 114b—117b, which is followed by Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishṭikāk*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 238, 4; cf. also *Lisān al-'Arab*, iv. 409) regards Murād as a nickname, for this tribe was said to have been the first to rebel (*tamarrada*) in the Yaman: an etymology which is not convincing. Murād's own name is said to have been Yuhābir b. Madhhidj and he was therefore a brother of the 'Ans and the Sa'd al-'Ashira (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, p. 7, 11). Although they were neighbours of the South Arabian civilization, the Murād have always retained a typically Beduin character; their country (usually called al-Djāw and placed to the east of Naḍjrān and Ma'rib) is bare and sterile (cf. the picturesque description given of it by the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xviii. 135 and "the mountains of the Murād" mentioned by Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ii. 78) and its inhabitants are notorious as brigands (*fakḥ Murād*; cf. *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, x. 147). The land inhabited by the Murād and by their neighbours, the Hamdān [q. v.], had once belonged to the Ṭayī' (Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, i. 129), who had left it to settle in the north of the Arabian peninsula; it is probable that it was from the old masters of the country that the Murād and the Hamdān inherited the cult of the god Yaghūth (cf. below).

The Murād appear for the first time in history in connection with an episode, not however at all clear, of the last days of the dynasty of the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra; as the king 'Amr b. al-Mundhir (III) b. Mā' al-Samā' had excluded his half-brother 'Amr, a son of Usāma, sister of Hind mother of the first-named 'Amr, from a share in the kingdom, the latter sought refuge with the Murād, who recognised him as their chief but when he began to rule tyrannically, they killed him, which gave 'Amr b. Hind a pretext for invading the land of the Murād and putting to death

the murderer of 'Amr b. Usāma (al-Mufaḍḍal al-Dabbī, *Amthāl al-'Arab*, Constantinople 1300, p. 68—69, who gives a more satisfactory account than that contained in the passages quoted by G. Rothstein, *Die Dyn. der Lakhmiden*, p. 99, in which Yāqūt, iv. 130 should be read for i. 130). 'Amr is said to have been killed by a certain Ibn al-Dju'aid (the same story is given by Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djāmhara*); according to Yāqūt on the other hand by Hubaira b. 'Abd Yaghūth surnamed al-Makshūh; the latter's son Kais seems to have been one of the most powerful chiefs of the Murād at the time of the rise of Islām.

The Murād had just then suffered a disastrous defeat, which had considerably weakened them, at the hands of the Hamdān, as the result of a quarrel which had arisen in connection with the control of the worship of the god Yaghūth (cf. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*², p. 19—22 and the sources mentioned by him). It is probably this defeat (Yawm al-Razm), which tradition places in the same year as the battle of Badr, which made a section of the Murād think it advisable to seek an alliance with Muḥammad; but Kais b. al-Makshūh refused to join in this. It was therefore another Murādī chief, Farwa b. Musaik, who went to al-Madina in the year 10 A. H., and concluded a treaty there with the Prophet (cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii. 332). To what extent tradition is right in saying that Farwa was given authority to levy *zakāt* on all the tribes of the Yaman, is very difficult to ascertain. In any case, the policy of the Murād was not oriented towards Muḥammad under the leadership of Kais b. al-Makshūh. In the great rising led by al-Aswad al-Ansī against Persian hegemony in the Yaman, the Murād were against him. But if, as tradition has it, Muḥammad used his connections with some chiefs of the Yaman to prevent al-Aswad's success, after the death of the Prophet these same chiefs refused obedience to Abū Bakr and resolutely threw themselves into the struggle against Islām. It is again Kais b. al-Makshūh who plays the chief part in these events. Taken prisoner, Abū Bakr granted him his life and henceforth the chief of the Murād and his tribe played their part bravely in the conquests. We find them sometimes in Syria, sometimes in the 'Irāk, and Kais everywhere distinguishing himself by his exploits. He lost an eye at the battle of Yarmūk (cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i.—v., index s. v. Qays b. Hubayrah). But the account of his death in the civil war between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya at the battle of Ṣiffin is based on confusion with another man of the same name of the tribe of Badjila (this fact, which is clearly indicated by Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djāmhara* and Ṭabarī, i. 3301—3302, has already been noted by Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, ed. Sharafīya, v. 281; *Annali dell' Islām*, ix. 638 should be corrected). We also find the Murād in the conquest of Egypt (*Annali*, iv. 573, 21 A. H., § 191 b [29]). But it was at Kūfa that they settled in the largest numbers. It was there that one of them, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mulḍjam, assassinated the caliph 'Alī; it was there also that in 60 (679) Hānī' b. 'Urwa al-Murādī was executed by orders of the governor 'Ubaid Allāh b. Ziyād after being found guilty of conspiring with Muslim b. 'Aqil in favour of al-Ḥusain (Ṭabarī, ii. 227 sq.). He was a descendant of the poet 'Amr b. Kī'ās (R. S. O., xiii. 58, 3271), one of the very few poets

of this tribe, which does not seem to have produced many individuals of note either during the *Djāhiliya* or under *Islām*. We may however mention *Uwais al-Ḳaranī* (of the *Banū Ḳaran b. Radmān b. Nādjīya b. Murād*; *Wüstenfeld, Geneal. Tab.*, p. 7, 25), one of the prototypes of Muslim asceticism.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

MURĀD I, according to the common tradition the third ruler of the Ottoman state, was a son of *Orkhān* and the Byzantine lady *Nilüfer*. Although some Ottoman sources profess to know the year of his birth (*Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, i. 74 gives the year 726 = 1326), this date, like all dates given by Turkish sources relating to this period, is far from certain. The name *Murād* (Greek sources such as *Phrantzes* have Ἀμουράτης, from which later Latin sources make *Amurath*, while contemporary Latin sources from Italy have *Moratibei*) must have originated in mystical circles and hardly occurs in earlier times. An 'Abdal *Murād* lived in *Orkhān's* time (cf. *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 354; 'Ashīk *Pasha Zāde*, ed. Giese, p. 200; photographs of his tomb in R. Hartmann, *Im neuen Anatolien*, Leipzig 1928, plates 9 and 10). The ancient Turkish chronicles often call *Murād Ghāzī Khunkhār*, later Turkish historians *Khudāwendikār* [q. v.].

During his father's lifetime *Murād* had already been entrusted with the governorship of *In Ōñü* and later of *Brusa*. His brother *Sulaimān Pasha* had held the more important sandjaks and was destined to become *Orkhān's* successor. *Sulaimān's* untimely death, shortly before that of *Orkhān* himself, placed *Murād* unexpectedly at the head of the Ottoman principality. This happened about 1360; the date of *Orkhān's* death is uncertain.

Murād I became the first great Ottoman conqueror on European soil. In this he followed the footsteps of his brother *Sulaimān Pasha* and of other Turkish emirs before him.

It is not yet possible to gain a clear idea of the succession of the military achievements by which the Ottomans succeeded in establishing themselves firmly on the Balkan Peninsula. Even the outstanding victories are confounded with each other in the Ottoman and Western sources, and the exact dating of even important events is subject to great difficulties. The Byzantine sources, the most reliable of all, are mainly concerned with the tortuous policy of the Byzantine rulers. On the other hand, many tales of a legendary character have entered the historical accounts of later times. The impression on the whole is, that the Ottoman successes were mainly due to the mutual rivalry between the then existing Balkan states, Byzantium, and the Bulgarian and Serbian kingdoms, complicated by the struggle of Venice and Genoa for an advantageous position in the Levant, and the zeal of the popes for bringing the Greek church back to Rome. This secured the Ottomans at all times allies in the Christian camp itself. Nor is it possible to ascertain which Ottoman expeditions were really planned by *Murād* and his councillors and which were merely successful raids by Turkish bands. All this makes it extremely difficult to form an adequate judgment of *Murād's* personality as a warrior and as a statesman.

Provisionally three periods can be distinguished. The first begins shortly after *Murād's* accession with the conquest of Western Thrace, in which

were taken *Çorlu*, *Demotika* (if this town had not already been taken under *Orkhān*), *Gümüldjina*, *Adrianople* (about 1362; cf. *EDIRNE*) and *Philippopolis*, mainly through the activity of the beglerbeg *Lala Shāhin* and *Ewrenos Beg*. These conquests provoked a coalition of Servians, Bosnians and Hungarians, who were beaten on the river *Maritza* by *Hādjdī Ilbeki*. The western part of *Bulgaria* was raided up to the *Balkan Mountains* and the Byzantine Emperor *John Palaeologos* made his first submission as vassal to *Murād*. *Murād* himself had been on a campaign in *Anatolia*, which brought him as far as *Toḡat* [q. v.] during which he consolidated the Ottoman hold on *Angora* (already taken by *Sulaimān Pasha* in 1354; cf. *Witteke, Festschrift Jacob*, 1932, p. 347, 351 sqq.). He then came to *Rüm-ili* and took up his residence in *Demotika*, to change this town in 1366 for *Adrianople*, from this time on the European capital of the Ottomans. The story about a treaty between *Ragusa* and *Murād* concluded in 1365 has a legendary character (cf. Giese, *Festschrift Jacob*, 1932, p. 42, after *Jireček*). In the meantime the hostility between Byzantines and Bulgarians gave *Murād* the opportunity of taking *Ishtebol* (*Sozopolis*) near *Burgas*, and the same hostility led to the failure, about 1366, of a crusade undertaken at the instigation of Pope *Urban V* by count *Amadeo of Savoy* to come to the rescue of the Byzantine Emperor; the expedition only drove the Turks from *Gallipoli* for a short time.

A second period of *Murād's* reign may be said to begin with the crushing of a Serbian advance on the *Maritza*, near *Cirmen*, probably in 1371. This Serbian defeat is known to the Turkish sources as *sırf şindighi* and gave the Turks during the following years the important Macedonian towns of *Seres*, *Drama* and *Ḳawalla*, and at the same time the possibility of advancing west of the *Vardar*. These conquests were made by *Ewrenos* and *Djandarlı Khalil Pasha*, while *Lala Shāhin* obtained about the same time successes in eastern *Bulgaria* (battle of *Samakow*). Then followed again some years of comparative tranquillity, in which the newly won regions were partly colonized with Ottomans; the still unsubdued northern parts of *Serbia* and *Bulgaria* were governed by the local rulers as vassals of *Murād*. The latter had more than once to interfere with the dynastic affairs of the *Palaeologoi*. After *John Palaeologos* had sold in 1375 the island of *Tenedos* to *Venice*, this led to an action of *Genoa* in combination with the Turks, in course of which *John* lost his throne and was imprisoned, until, by the favour of *Murād*, he became Emperor again in 1379; his dependency went so far as to help the Turks, together with his son *Manuel*, in the conquest of *Philadelphia* (*Ala Shehir*), the only remaining Greek fortress in *Asia Minor*. The end of this second period is marked by an increased activity in *Anatolia*. A part of the territory of the *Germiyan-Oghlu* [q. v.] was acquired as a wedding gift to prince *Bāyazid* when he married the daughter of that ruler (probably in 1381); this territorial accession was followed by the sale of the greater part of the lands of the *Hamid-Oghlu* to *Murād* and by the conquest of a part of the principality of *Teke*.

About 1385 there followed new conquests in Europe. Turkish troops intervened in *Epirus* and *Albania* (under *Khalil Pasha*), but decisive for the establishment of Ottoman power in the Balkans

was the taking of Sofia (1385 ?) and Nish (1386 ?). About the same time, the Italian republics, Genoa and Venice, obtained by treaties with Murād, concluded respectively in 1385 and 1388, commercial privileges in Turkish territory. Immediately after the successes in Serbia, probably also in 1386, Murād went to war with the Karamān-Oghlu 'Alā' al-Dīn, his son-in-law; this conflict had long been threatening [cf. KARAMĀN-OGHLU]; now the Ottoman power had grown so far as to destroy the political equilibrium in Anatolia. Murād was victorious in the battle of Konya, but left 'Alā' al-Dīn in his possessions and set the example, henceforward traditional, of leniency in dealing with the Anatolian population. This caused a lively discontent amongst the Serbian troops who had taken part in the battle of Konya. These Serbians are said to have contributed to the anti-Turkish feeling among the Serbians in general, who, under the leadership of Lazar Gresljanowitch, and with the Bosnian king Tvrtko as a powerful ally, were preparing a last effort to free themselves from Turkish vassalage. They succeeded in defeating an Ottoman army at Plochnik (1388). The results were meagre, however, for at the same time the Turks made new conquests in Bulgaria (Shumla and Tirnovo) and even raided Morea. In 1389 Murād himself marched against the Serbians and their allies and fought the famous battle of Kosovo Polje (Turkish: KOSOVA), where he himself lost his life, although the Serbians, partly owing to treachery in their own ranks, were defeated. The most probable date is June 20, 1389 (Gibbons, cf. also Giese, in *Ephemerides Orientales*, No. 34, April 1928, p. 2 sq.). The way in which Murād was killed, during or after the battle, is not clear from the early sources; the later Serbian epic tradition has the well-known tale that Murād was murdered by Milosh Obranowitch, Lazar's son-in-law, who, claiming to be a deserter, had obtained an audience with Murād after the battle, was admitted to his presence and killed him with a dagger. Murād's body was transported to Brusa and buried in a *türbe* near the mosque which he had built at Çekirge in Brusa (cf. Ahmed Tewhid, in *T. O. E. M.*, vol. iii.).

Murād I was the first ruler under whom the state founded by 'Othmān rose to be more than one of the then existing Turkoman principalities in Asia Minor. This development is symbolised in the successive change of titles given to him in different building inscriptions dated in his reign (cf. Taeschner, in *Isl.*, xx. 131 sqq.). While the oldest inscription calls him simply Bey, like his father Orkhān, and gives him a *laḡab* (Shihāb al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn) after the Saldjūk fashion, he is already called Sultān [q. v.] in 785 (1383), while in the inscription from 790 (1388) on the 'imāret built by him in Iznik, we find the style which afterwards became a tradition with the Ottoman sultāns (*al-malik al-mu'azzam al-khākān al-mukarram al-sultān ibn al-sultān*). It was a time when the old Saldjūk traditional institutions no longer held and new forms of government and administration came into being, to which the example of Byzantine institutions, and also those of Mamlūk Egypt may have contributed. Even if it is not true that Djandarlı Khair al-Dīn Khalil Pasha — who was appointed Murād's vizier at the beginning of his reign and died about 789 (1387) — was the first Ottoman grand vizier, it

cannot be denied that the activity of this man — who by his origin belonged to a higher culture than the Ottoman — as Murād's councillor as well as his military deputy and administrator in Macedonia, makes him a true prototype of the grand viziers of a later age (cf. Taeschner and Wittek, in *Isl.*, xviii. 66 sqq.). His son 'Alī Pasha began also to play an important military part during the later years of Murād's reign. It is also with Khalil Pasha that the old Turkish sources connect the institution of the Janissaries as troops formed from converted Christian prisoners of war. In the administration of the *timārs* [q. v.] a *Kānūn* of Murād I is said to have brought improvements. Some of these measures were closely connected with the problem of acquiring a quiet and loyal population in the newly conquered Christian territories; this was not possible by Turkish colonisation only but succeeded mainly through a humane treatment of the original inhabitants, after the region had once been conquered.

The more important buildings of Murād I are all in Asia Minor. The best known are the Khudāwendikiār Djāmi'i in Çekirge, near Brusa, where Murād himself is buried, and the Ulu Djāmi' in Brusa; further a mosque in Biledjik, the Nilüfer 'Imāreti in Iznik (recently described by Taeschner, in *Isl.*, xx. 127 sqq.). There is also a mosque of Murād in Serres. The old Ottoman chronicles enumerate his foundations. — On Murād I's coins cf. 'Alī, in *T. T. E. M.*, xiv. 224.

Bibliography: The information given by the old Turkish chronicles ('Ashīk Pasha Zāde, Anonymus, ed. Giese, Urūdī, the translations of Leunclavius, also *Düstūr-nāme-i Enweri*, ed. Mikrimin Khalil, Istanbul 1928 and this editor's *Medhal*, Istanbul 1930) is sometimes supplemented by the later historiographers (Sa'd al-Dīn, 'Alī, Müneddjim-Başı). The Byzantine historians (Phrantzes, Ducas, Chalcondyles), however, give a far clearer survey of this period so far as it came under their attention, while documents from Venice, Genoa and Rome throw light on the diplomatic activities provoked by the advance of the Turks in Europe. Ibn Hādjar al-'Askalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr fī Anbā' al-'Umr*, contains also a biography of Murād I. Further the historical works of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga, and H. A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1916, p. 110 sqq.; C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, Gotha 1918. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MURĀD II, sixth ruler of the Ottoman Empire, was born in 806 (1403—1404) and ascended the throne in May 1421, when he arrived in Adrianople some days after his father Muḥammed I's death; his decease had been kept secret on the advice of the vizier 'Iwaḍ Pasha until the new sultān's arrival. As crown prince he had resided at Maghnisa, and he had taken part in the suppression of the revolt of Simawna Oghlu Badr al-Dīn. Immediately after his accession he had to face the pretender known in Turkish history as Dözme Muṣṭafā [q. v.] and his ally Djunaid [q. v.]. Both were supported by the Byzantine emperor Manuel and at first were successful in the European part of the empire. Bāyazid Pasha, sent from Brusa, was defeated and killed in the battle of Sāzlı Dere (between Seres and Adrianople) and the allied Greek forces took Gallipoli. Then Murād himself had to face them in Asia; he suc-

ceeded in sowing discord between Muṣṭafā and Djunaïd and defeated the first in the battle of the bridge of Ulubad. Then Murād went over, with the help of ships from the Genoese colony of New Phocæa (Yeñi Foça), recovered Gallipoli, after which he entered Adrianople and killed the pretender. In 1422 he began a siege of Constantinople; this siege was raised, either by the effect of Byzantine gold (through the intermediary of the græcophil vizier İbrāhīm Paşa) or as a result of the rise of a new pretender in İznik in the person of Murād's younger brother Muṣṭafā. The latter was at last betrayed by his former supporter İlyās Paşa and killed. Then followed a struggle with Djunaïd, who had established himself again at Aidin, but surrendered at last in 1425, after which he was killed. Murād was now at peace with all his European neighbours and vassals; the Emperor Manuel had died in 1424 and was followed by John Palæologos, with whom peace was concluded. Several towns had been taken in the meantime in Morea, and Wallachia paid tribute. In Anatolia there had been a conflict in 1423 with İsfendiyār of Sīnūb, ending with the acquisition of a part of his territory by Murād; after 1425 the Ottoman power was confirmed in Teke and Monteshe and the Karamān Oghlu İbrāhīm, who tried to take the already Ottoman Adalia, had to retire and made peace. In eastern Anatolia Yürkeğ Paşa subdued the Turkomans round Tokat and Amasia and of the region of Djaniğ. In 1428 there began difficulties on the Hungarian frontier. The most noteworthy exploit of this period was however the capture of Saloniki (Selanik; q. v.) in March 1430; after the Greeks had sold this town to Venice in 1427; Murād had never given up the plan of avenging that transaction. Peace with Venice soon followed.

Occasionally the Turks had taken several fortresses in Epirus and Albania, but their interest began more and more to concentrate on the north-western regions, where George Brankovitch ruled as vassal over Serbia. With the latter peace was renewed in 1432 and his daughter Mara was given to Murād, but the Turkish raids continued in Serbia as well as far into Hungarian territory. In 1438 the Turks made, together with Serbians and Wallachians, incursions in Hungary (capture of Semendra); in 1440 they beleaguered Belgrad in vain and in 1442 Turkish troops under Mezîd Bey laid siege to Hermannstadt. Here they suffered a heavy defeat by John Hunyadi, who in the coming years was to act as champion of Hungary and Christian Europe. He was the leader, in 1443, of a big crusading army including Serbians, Poles and Germans; the Turks were thrown back at Nish, after which Sofia was taken. The campaign ended with a heavy defeat of the Turks at Jalowaz, between Sofia and Philippopolis. In the same year Murād had to oppose again the Karamān Oghlu, who supported the Christian allies. But the peace with Hungary, concluded in July 1444 at Szeged, though advantageous to Hungary, maintained the former frontiers of the Ottoman political influence; only Wallachia became tributary to Hungary.

After this peace, which was to last ten years and seemed to Murād a guarantee for the future, he abdicated in favour of his son Muḥammad, leaving with him Khalil Paşa, son of İbrāhīm Paşa (who had died of the plague in 1429) and Khusrav Molla [q. v.] as councillors. He retired

himself to Maghnisa, but had to come back when, in September of the same year, the Hungarians, flouting the peace treaty, were preparing a new crusade. They marched south of the Danube to Varna; here the army of Murād inflicted on them a crushing defeat, in which King Ladislas of Hungary was killed. Again Murād II went back to Maghnisa, but in the following year a Janissary revolt broke out in Adrianople and it was the vizier Khalil who invited Murād to return a second time, as the young Muḥammad did not seem to be able to face the situation.

During the last six years of his reign Murād led again several campaigns in the Balkan peninsula. In 1446 an action was undertaken against the Palæologoi in the Morea (destruction of the Hexamilion, capture of Corinth and Patras); in 1447 against Albania, where the activity of Skander Beg [q. v.] had begun in 1443; in 1448 he faced again a Hungarian invading army, which was beaten on the plain of Kossowa; and in 1450 he was again in Albania (siege of Croja). In that year Constantine Palæologos became, by the grace of Murād II, the last Byzantine Emperor, after the death of John. Shortly afterwards, in the first days of February 1451, Murād died at Adrianople. He was buried in Brusa at the side of his mosque (cf. Aḥmad Tewhîd, in *T.O.E.M.*, iii. 1856).

His reign was of extraordinary importance for the future political and cultural development of the Ottoman Empire. After the first critical years he continued his father's work of consolidation. His aim was mainly to live on peaceful terms with the vassal princes, of whom the ruler of Sīnūb and the despot of Serbia gave their daughters to Murād. This peaceful policy was in concordance with his character; the Byzantine historians and other Christian sources describe him as a truthful, mild and humane ruler. His most influential viziers were not yet the renegades of later times; they belonged to the old families that had supported the cause of Murād's forefathers and were becoming a kind of hereditary nobility: İbrāhīm Paşa and Khalil Paşa of the Djandarlı Oghulları (F. Taeschner and P. Wittek, in *Isl.*, xviii. 92 sqq.), Hâdjîdî 'Iwâḍ Paşa (Taeschner, in *Isl.*, xx. 154 sqq.), the sons of Timurtash, of Ewrenos and others. The mystical tradition was strong in his surroundings, as is proved by the great influence of a man like the Shaikh Amîr Bukhārî; other shaikhs came to his court from Persia and Mesopotamia. This determined also the direction which the classical Ottoman literature was to take in following centuries. Murād II was the first Ottoman prince whose court became a brilliant centre of poets, literary men and Muḥammadan scholars [see *TURKS*, B, iii.]. But also to non-Islāmic envoys and visitors Murād's court seemed a centre of culture (cf. Jorga, i. 464 sqq., which description applies principally to Murād II). Amongst the sultān's buildings a mosque in Brusa (cf. H. Wilde, *Brusa*, p. 51) and one in Adrianople (the Üç Şerfeli Djami'), are notable and some large bridges. His army organisation is well known from a full description by Chalcondylas.

Bibliography: The older Turkish sources: Neshrî (Haniwaldanus), 'Ashîk Paşa Zāde, Urudj, Rûhî, Anonymus Giese, are completed by the Byzantine historians Phrantzes (who himself played a part in the diplomatic history of the time), Ducas and Chalcondylas, and also by

the later Ottoman authors Sa'd al-Dīn, 'Āli and Münedjdjim Bāshī. A curious contemporary description is that of an unknown captive from Mühlenbach in Transylvania (captured 1438) in his *Tractatus de moribus conditionibus et nequitia Turcorum* (cf. K. Foy, in *M.S.O.S.*, iv., v.).

General later descriptions of Murād II's reign in the works of von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i.; Zinkeisen, i. and Jorga, i.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MURĀD III, twelfth ruler of the Ottoman Empire, was born on the 5th Djumādā I 953 (4th July 1546; *Sidjill-i 'othmāni*, i. 76) as son of the later sultān Selīm II and the *khāṣṣekī* Nūr Bānū. He arrived at Constantinople on Dec. 21st, 1574, after Selīm II's death and reigned until his death on January 16, 1595 or a few days later. His reign is not characterized by great conquests in Europe. The peaceful relations with Austria were officially maintained; peace was several times confirmed (in 1575 and 1584) by a new treaty and by extraordinary Austrian embassies. Nevertheless there were continual Turkish raids into Austrian territory, especially in Croatia in 1578 — where even a new sandjak was formed — followed by triumphal processions in the capital, which the Austrian envoys were forced to witness. It was only in 1593 that a formal war broke out, in which the then grand vizier Sinān Pasha took the town of Raab (1594). The relations with Venice were of the same kind as with Austria; notwithstanding several serious naval collisions peace was maintained, mainly through the influence of Murād's *khāṣṣekī* Şāfiye (of the family of Baffa) and the Kapudan Pashas, who were Italian renegades. In the Danube principalities the never ending dynastic disputes went on; this was also the case in Transylvania. Even Poland was considered more or less as an Ottoman tributary vassal state; the Polish king, Stephan Bathory, owed his crown to the sultān's protection and after his death (1587) the new king Sigismund began to reign by the grace of Murād. The Porte had to intervene several times in the disturbances caused by Polish cossacks in Moldavia and the Tatar Khānate and by Tatar incursions in Poland. In the Crimea the Ottoman intervention was even stronger, because the Persian war necessitated in 1581 and 1583 expeditions by the way of Kaffa and the Crimea against Dāghistān and Transcaucasia.

The most outstanding military exploit of the Ottoman Empire during Murād III's reign was the war with Persia, which lasted from 1577 to 1590. Persia passed, after Shāh Tahmāsp's death in 1576, through serious inner troubles. This gave the Turks a favourable opportunity of enlarging their territory. Between 1577 and 1584 the chief theatre of the war was Georgia; Lala Muştafā Pasha won the battle of Lake Čaldir (August 9, 1578), after which the princes of the small Georgian kingdoms became nominally Ottoman vassals, while several towns, like Tifis and Shākī, came under direct military occupation. In 1579 the town of Karş was fortified. That same year Sinān Pasha became ser-asker on the Georgian front. The completion of the conquests confronted the Ottoman armies with serious difficulties, especially after Simon, the former king of Kartli, had come back from exile in Persia. This made necessary the already mentioned expedition by the way of the Crimea in 1581 under Özdemiş 'Othmān Pasha

who was joined in 1583, by the same way, by Dja'fer Pasha; they came back to Constantinople again via the Crimea and 'Othmān Pasha was received with great honour by the sultān after his return, although it would seem that the real aim of the expedition — a junction with the Turkish forces of the south — was not reached, owing to the combined efforts of the people of Georgia and Shirwān (cf. W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, London 1932, p. 157). The second phase of the Persian war began with the taking of Tabriz in 1585 by 'Othmān Pasha, followed by other successes on Persian territory (Gandja in Transcaucasia and Nihāwend). In 1587 Shāh 'Abbās I ascended the throne; soon afterwards there began peace negotiations, ending in a peace treaty (March 21, 1590) which left Georgia, Shirwān, Karabāgh, Tabriz and Luristān to the Ottoman Empire. One of the peace conditions was that the Persians should give up most of their anti-Sunnite religious practices.

During Murād III's first years Muḥammad Pasha Soḳolli [q. v.] had continued to administer the huge Empire as grand vizier, but his once unquestioned authority began to wane under the influence of the sultān's courtiers like Shemsī Pasha and the defterdār Uweis; an influential personality also was the Khwādja Sa'd al-Dīn — the historian — and the eunuch Ghazanfer Agha. Home and foreign politics were influenced also by Murād's mother Nūr Bānū and the already mentioned *khāṣṣekī* Şāfiye (Baffa), who used as a powerful agent outside the palace the Jewess Kira (Chierazza in the Italian sources). Soḳolli's confidants were relegated from the capital (as the *nishānđji* Feridūn) or executed (like Michael Cantacuzenos). But he was still grand vizier, when he was murdered on October 11, 1579. After him the grand vizierate was changed no less than ten times under Murād III. Sinān Pasha, already mentioned, held the office three times; 'Othmān Pasha, appointed in 1585, after his return from Dāghistān, died eight months afterwards. As the sultān, though well-intentioned, was too weak himself to direct a consistent policy, — as he acknowledged himself according to 'Āli (cf. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 567) — all kinds of abuses gradually began in this epoch, especially in the administration of the fiefs [cf. TIMĀR] and the enrolling of the Janissaries; they are summed up in Koči Bey's *Risāla*. This sultān's reign witnessed for the first time revolts of the Janissaries directed against the imperial diwān itself. The first mutiny, in April 1589, was caused by depreciation of the coinage and could be appeased only — as so often afterwards — by the sacrifice of the lives of high officials. In 1592 there was a similar Sipāhī revolt. More than one provincial rebellion had to be subdued by force; the most celebrated expedition was that of Ibrāhīm Pasha, the later *dāmād* and favourite of Muḥammad III, to Egypt and Syria in 1585; in Syria he persecuted severely the Banū Ma'an, the leaders of the Druses, but very soon afterwards the successful career of Fakhr al-Dīn [q. v.] began.

Murād's reign can be characterized as the beginning of the internal weakening of the Ottoman power. The sultān did not possess the strong personality of his grand father; his amorous tendencies were much encouraged by his mother and his wife Şāfiye, and he had far more than a hundred

children. Besides he was inclined to mysticism; he protected mystic poets and himself wrote poems under the *takhalluṣ* Murādī, besides a mystical treatise called *Futūḥāt al-Ṣiyām* (Hādjdī Khalifa, N^o. 1003). It is possible that he was in sympathy with the repeated outbursts of Muḥammadan fanaticism that occurred during his reign and led to the conversion of several churches in the capital into mosques, amongst them the church of the Greek Patriarchate. These actions caused violent but vain remonstrations from the representatives of France and other Catholic powers. The outward splendour of the court was extravagant; the festival of the circumcision of his son Muḥammad, in June 1582, seems to have surpassed all similar ceremonies in the Ottoman history (description by Leonclavius).

Bibliography: The Turkish contemporary sources are the historical works of ‘Āli (a *Nusrat-nāme* of ‘Āli is dedicated to the Georgian campaign), Pečewī, Selānikī, Ṣolāḳ Zāde and Hasan Bey Zāde; Na‘īmā and the *Fedhileke* of Hādjdī Khalifa begin with the year 1001 of the hidjra (October 1592). Contemporaneous western sources are the *Relazioni* of the Venetian barlo’s, the diary of Gerlach; further v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. and the historical works of Zinkeisen, iv. and Jorga, iii.; E. J. W. Gibb, *H.O.P.*, iii. 170 sqq. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MURĀD IV, fifth son of sulṭān Aḥmad I, and seventeenth ruler of the Ottoman Empire, was born 28th Djumādā I 1021 (July 27, 1612) and called to the throne as a result of the mutiny of the Janissaries and Sipāhis, which had forced Muṣṭafā I to abdicate, on September 11, 1623. When the lives of Murād and his brothers were in danger, they had been hidden by Khalil Pasha. But even after his enthronement Murād IV’s position was far from strong. The turbulent and continuously mutinying Janissaries and Sipāhis were the real masters of the situation and the seven grand viziers that succeeded each other between the accession and 1632 were more or less dependent on the momentary wishes of those militias. The young sulṭān and his mother Kösem [q. v.] were at first unable to restore the authority of the government, and more than once they were constrained to sacrifice a high official to the mutinous soldateska, amongst them the grand vizier Hāfiz Pasha [q. v.] in February 1632. Gradually the old experienced statesmen of ‘Othmān II’s time regained their influence, and sometimes the sulṭān was able to suppress unreliable officials, as already in April 1624 by the execution of the grand vizier Kemānkesh ‘Ali Pasha [q. v.], but it was only in 1632 that he became real master of the situation; in that year he had the grand vizier Redjeb Pasha — until that time one of the most influential men at court — executed, after which began Murād IV’s personal reign of terror.

During this period from 1623—1632 the Asiatic affairs of the Empire required all the available energy of the Porte. In 1623 Baghdād had fallen after many atrocities into the hands of the Persians as a result of the intrigues of the Turkish *su bashī* Bekir; Mōsul also became Persian, and the Anatolian army under Hāfiz Pasha was powerless. Abāza Pasha [q. v.] was still in revolt at Erzerüm; in 1624 an agreement was reached with him, but only in 1628 the grand vizier Khosrew Pasha

forced him to surrender, after which Abāza played a part as governor of Bosnia and of Silistria. In the meantime several vain efforts were made to recover Baghdād, by Hāfiz Aḥmad Pasha in 1626, and by Khosrew Pasha [q. v.] in 1630.

From 1632 Murād IV prepared with incredible energy the mobilisation of all the country’s resources for the war against Persia, where Shāh ‘Abbās I had died in 1627. He suppressed with great cruelty the rebellious movements among the Janissaries and reduced their number by not applying the *dewshirme* for twelve years. New and more reliable troops were formed from the *āḳebedjis*, *bostandjis* and especially the *segbāns* (*seymens*). The necessary funds were procured by drastic financial measures, amongst them the confiscation of large fortunes. Every attempt at opposition was cruelly suppressed; in 1633 even the Shāikh al-Islām Akhī-Zāde Ḥusain was executed. In October 1633 an army under the new grand vizier Tabanī Yaṣī Muḥammad Pasha left Constantinople, but that year and the following no important military operations took place. The Kapudan Pasha Dja‘far, however, was successful in suppressing the power of the Druse Amir Fakhr al-Dīn [q. v.] and bringing him alive to Constantinople. In 1635 Murād himself left the capital, joined the grand-vizier’s army in Erzerüm and conquered Eriwan (August 1635). Then the undefended Tabriz was taken and destroyed, after which the sulṭān returned. In the following year the Persians recaptured Eriwan. Finally, in 1638, Murād took the field for the second time with the grand vizier Ṭaiyār Muḥammad Pasha; Baghdād was taken by them in December 1638, and thousands of Shī‘is were massacred. This was the end of the Persian war; in 1639 a peace was concluded, which left Baghdād to Turkey and Eriwan to Persia.

In comparison with the events in Asia, European affairs were of secondary importance. The peace with Austria was several times renewed (1625 at Gyarmath and 1627 at Szön) although predatory raids from both sides never ceased. Serious trouble was caused in 1624 by the appearance of Cossack ships in the Bosphorus; they were defeated only in 1626. Another hotbed of unrest was the Crimea, where from 1624 till 1628 the Porte had to suffer against its will the Khān Muḥammad Girāy and his brother Shāhin Girāy, who even took Kaffa for a time. After 1628 the Tatar Mirzā Kāntemir (or Kāntimur), chief of the Noghays, became the most powerful man in the khānate; his continual incursions caused serious conflicts with Poland (peace restored in 1634) and in Moldavia. At last Kāntemir was executed at Constantinople in 1637.

The peaceful relations with Venice and the western sea powers continued; in 1624 the capitulations had been renewed, but as the Porte was without authority over the Barbary states of Algiers and Tunis, England, Holland and France concluded separate treaties with their rulers in order to avert as much as possible the damage done to their trade by the ships of the corsairs. In 1638 a more serious battle took place in the Adriatic between the Venetian fleet and Barbary corsairs; at first Murād ordered the massacre of all Venetians in his Empire, but in 1639 peace was restored. In Constantinople the ministers of Holland (Haga) and England (Roe) intervened successfully in the

troubles between the Porte and the Greek Patriarchate.

Murād IV died on February 9, 1640 and was buried in the türbe of the mosque of his father Aḥmad; he was the last warlike sultān of the Empire; by his energy he restored for some time its military authority, but his reforms did not last after him. Still a separate *ḵanūn-nāme* bears Murād IV's name. He was a man of considerable physical strength and of high personal erudition and he liked the company of poets. His attachment to the poet Tiflī [q. v.] is famous in literary tradition. The poet Nef'ī [q. v.] on the other hand was executed by his order. On verses written by Murād cf. Gibb, *H.O.P.*, iii. 248 sqq. He had four sons, all of whom died young; at his death there was only his brother Ibrāhīm to take the succession. His brothers Bāyazīd and Sulaimān were killed by his order during the Eriwan campaign, and later also his brother Kāsim. In course of time Murād had become ever more ferocious, and he is said to have sworn in 1639 that he would subdue all his Christian neighbours (Jorga, iv. 1).

Bibliography: The chief Turkish sources are Na'imā, Pečewī and Kara Čelebi Zāde's *Ravḡat al-Abrār*. Further the continuation of 'Aṭāyī's biographical work by 'Ushāḳi-Zāde (*G. O. W.*, p. 259); Ewliyā Čelebi's *Siyāhat-nāme* is also particularly rich in information about the reign of Murād IV. Of Western contemporary sources must be mentioned the Venetian *Relazioni* and the correspondence of Sir Thomas Roe and Cornelius Haga (*Rijks geschiedkundige Publicatiën*, x.; *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantischen Handel*, 1590—1660, II, 's Gravenhage 1910). Later treatments of this period in the general works of von Hammer (v.), Zinkeisen (iv.) and Jorga (iii.).

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MURĀD V, Ottoman Sultān from May 31 till Sept. 7, 1876. He was born on Sept. 21, 1840 as son of Sultān 'Abd al-Maǧǧid and was deprived of all influence on public affairs during the reign of his elder brother 'Abd al-'Azīz, who had the plan of altering the succession in favour of his own descendants, so as to deprive Murād of his rights. Murād was called to the throne by the coup d'état of the recently established cabinet, of which Midḥat Pasha [q. v.], Muḥammad Rušḥī and Ḥusain 'Awnī were the leading members. By deposing Sultān 'Abd al-'Azīz they hoped to eliminate the influence of reactionary elements who were opposed to their schemes of reform and they expected to find an ally in Murād. In the night from 30th to 31st May 1876 Murād was induced with some difficulty to proceed to the Seraskerate in Constantinople, where he received the homage of the troops and the high dignitaries. He confirmed the cabinet in office. Very soon afterwards took place the suicide of the deposed sultān (June 5) and the murder of the ministers Ḥusain 'Awnī and Rušḥīd Pasha during a cabinet meeting in Midḥat's house (June 15). These events seem to have been fatal to the mental equilibrium of the new sultān, who, already in the night of his accession, had shown signs of abnormal nervous excitement. He was unable to appear before his people at the *selāmīk*, nor could the sword-girding ceremony (*ḵil'āḍ alayī*) be applied to him. Midḥat Pasha and his friends, although fearing that a new

change of ruler might endanger their plans, had to arrange another deposition; they had the sultān's health examined by a number of physicians and, on their report, obtained a *fatwā* from the *Shāikh al-Islām* Ḥasan Ḵhair Allāh Efendi, authorizing Murād's deposition (September 1). His younger brother 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II became sultān and Murād went to live in the Čiraghan Palace, where he died on August 29, 1904. His confinement during 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's reign continued to excite speculation as a yet unsolved mystery and was occasionally represented as one of the crimes of the Ḥamīdian regime.

Bibliography: Keratry, *Mourad V, prince, sultan, prisonnier d'état 1840—1876*, Paris 1878; Djemaleddin Bey, *Sultan Murad V, the Turkish Dynasty Mystery 1876—1895*, London 1895; Tewfik Nūr al-Dīn, *Sultān 'Azīzīn Ḵal'ī we-Intiḥārī*, Constantinople 1324; Aḥmad Ṣā'ib, *Ta'riḵ-i Sultān Muḥammad Ḵhāmīs*, Cairo 1326; Ḥusain Hifzī, *Sultān Murād Ḵhāmīs we-Sebeb-i Ḵal'ī*, Constantinople 1326; 'Othmān Nūrī, *'Abd al-Ḥamīd Thānī we-Dewr-i Saltanatī*, Constantinople 1327, i. 30 sq., 91 sq.; Ali Haydar Midhat, *Life of Midhat Pasha*, London 1903.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MURĀD PASHA, Turkish grand vizier under Aḥmad I, was a Croatian by birth and was born about 1520. He served the empire as military commander and later as *wālī* in different provinces (Egypt, Yaman, Anatolia) and was made prisoner by the Persians in the battle of Tabriz (Sept. 1585), where Čiḡhāle's army was defeated. In 1601 he was pasha of Budin and in 1603 commander-in-chief on the Hungarian front. In these posts he repeatedly conducted for the Porte peace negotiations with Austria. He was the chief negotiator of the peace of Zsitvatorok (Nov. 11, 1606). A month afterwards (Dec. 11, 1606), after the execution of Derwish Pasha in Constantinople, he was appointed grand vizier, being then already about 80 years of age.

As grand vizier Murād Pasha became particularly famous by his relentless persecution and repression of the many rebellions in the Asiatic provinces. In 1607 he defeated the Kurd Džānbulād [q. v.] in North Syria (battle of Urudj Owāsī in Oct. 1607). After having passed the winter in Aleppo, he succeeded in crushing the forces of the arch-rebel Kālander Oghlu at the pass of Göksum in Cappadocia (July 1608), where he decided the battle by his personal courage. Then he pursued from Siwās the rebel Maimūn and defeated him near Baiburt. His habit of throwing the captured rebels into pits dug for that purpose brought him the name of *Koyudju Murād Pasha*. Notwithstanding the sultān's order — provoked by his enemies in the capital — that he should proceed immediately against Persia, he returned in December to Constantinople, where he was received with great honours. Poets celebrated his achievements against the rebels. In 1609 Murād Pasha went to Scutari for the Persian campaign, but he went no further that year, because he wished first to deal with two remaining dangerous rebels: Muselli-Čaush in İč İli and Yūsuf Pasha in Aidin. By false propositions of reconciliation these two were at last induced to surrender and afterwards killed. Murād Pasha had to make use more than once of his personal influence with the sultān to restrain the latter's impatience before his plans had succeeded.

On the other hand, the sultān had to protect several dignitaries against the personal hatred of the terrible old man. In 1610 the grand vizier at last marched to Persia and destroyed Tabriz; then he went to Erzerūm, from where he began long and extended negotiations with Shāh 'Abbās. Before the following year's campaign had begun, he died (August 5, 1611). He was buried in a *türbe* near the *medrese* he had founded in the quarter Weznedjiler in Constantinople.

By his successes in restoring the internal order of the empire Murād Pasha is considered as one of the most able grand viziers; the historians give ample proofs of his sound judgment of persons and situations. To his initiative is due a compilation of the *kānūns* regulating the *timār* administration (G. O. W., p. 141).

Bibliography: 'Othmān Zāde, *Hadīkat al-Wuzarā'*, p. 55; the historians Na'imā, Pečewi, Ḥadjdji Khalifa (*Fedhlike*) and Hasan Beg Zāde. Mostly after them von Hammer, G. O. R., iv.; Zinkeisen, iv.; Jorga, iii. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MURĀD SŪ. [See AL-FURĀT.]

MURĀDĀBĀD. [See MORĀDĀBĀD.]

MURĀDĪ, *takhalluṣ* of Murād III [q. v.] and Murād IV [q. v.].

MURCIA (Ar. *Mursiya*), a town in the S. E. of Spain, 140 feet above sea level in the centre of the famous *huerta de Murcia* ("gardens of Murcia") watered by the river Segura (Ar. *Wādī Shakūra* [q. v.] or *Wādī 'l-abyaḍ*, "the white river"). The area of Murcia has a large population: over 150,000, although the town in the strict sense has barely 30,000. Murcia is the capital of the province of the same name and the see of a bishop; it has also a university. Its port, 40 miles to the south on the Mediterranean coast, is Cartagena, the *Ḳarṭājīanna* or *Ḳarṭājīannat al-Khulafā'* of the Arabs.

The situation of Murcia in the centre of very fertile gardens, forming an island of vegetation in a bare country poorly endowed by nature, had been noticed already by the Arab geographers who give more or less long accounts of it. Abū 'l-Fidā', for example, says that it was like Seville for the number of its groves and parks (*muntasahāt*), among which he mentions the famous al-Rushāḳa.

Murcia in the Umayyad period was the capital of a province or *kūra* which bore the name of Todmīr [q. v., iv. 805]. This name which is connected with the name of Theodemir, a Visigothic chief of the region at the time of the Muslim conquest, was also applied to the town of Murcia itself, from the time when it supplanted Orihuela [q. v.] as the chief town of the region. Indeed almost all the Arab authors who speak of Murcia agree in saying that it was a comparatively recent foundation; it was built by order of the Umayyad emīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān II al-Ḥakam about the year 210 (825), according to the *al-Rawḍ al-miṣṭār* in 216 by the governor Djābir b. Malik b. Labid.

The land of Todmīr and with it of course Murcia was much involved in the civil wars provoked by the rivalry of the Yamanīs and the Muḍarīs of Spain in the period of the independent emirs of Cordova. In the reign of 'Abd Allāh (275-300 = 888-912), a rebel, the renegade Daīsām b. Ishāk, rose there with the connivance of the famous agitator Ibn Ḥafṣūn [cf. Umayyads II]. He ruled independently all the province

of Todmīr until the emīr of Cordova sent to suppress him in 283 (896) an army led by his uncle Hishām b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam and the general Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Abī 'Abda. Daīsām was defeated between Aledo and Lorca and the latter town besieged. The country was only definitely pacified and restored to the central power in Cordova in the reign of the caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān III and his successor al-Ḥakam II.

During the events which ended in the break up of Umayyad Spain, Murcia became, like the majority of the great towns of the Peninsula, the capital of a little independent state. At first in the hands of the "Slavs" [cf. ṢAḲĀLIBA] Khairān and Zuhair, along with Almeria and Jaen, the principality of Murcia was then for some time attached to the kingdom of Valencia, in the reigns of 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Amir and his son 'Abd al-Malik al-Muzaḥfar. The governor who then ruled Murcia was Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Ishāk Ibn Tāhir; when he died in 455 (1063) after amassing a considerable fortune, he was succeeded by his son Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad who soon proclaimed himself independent and repudiated the authority of the Valencian dynasty.

The principality of Ibn Tāhir soon aroused the covetousness of the minister of al-Mu'tamid [q. v.] Ibn 'Abbād, king of Seville, and an expedition was sent against Murcia with the help of an independent lord of the district, Ibn Rashīk. Ibn Tāhir was taken prisoner and shut up in Montegudo, but escaping, he reached Valencia where after acting as adviser to al-Ḳādir Ibn Dhī 'l-Nūn [q. v.] and having almost succeeded him, he finally died in 508 (1119). The conquest of the kingdom of Murcia by Ibn 'Ammār in the name of the 'Abbāsids took place in 471 (1078), but it was only nominal and it was Ibn Rashīk who exercised the real power instead of Ibn Tāhir.

The kingdom of Murcia was one of the first districts of the Peninsula to be conquered by the Almoravids. Murcia was taken for Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn [q. v.] in Shawwāl 484 (Nov.-Dec. 1091) by the Lamtūnian general Ibn 'Ā'isha who next took Denia and Játiva. Ibn 'Ā'isha remained governor of Murcia; he was replaced later by Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Tiflīwī, then by a brother of the sultān 'Alī b. Yūsuf, Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm.

A general rising against the Almoravids took place in Spain in the beginning of the xth century and gave rise to the formation of a new series of kingdoms of "taifas". Murcia therefore between 1145 and 1147 was in the hands of two rival leaders, 'Abd Allāh b. Iyād and 'Abd Allāh b. Faraj, until the Valencian ruler Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sa'īd Ibn Mardaniṣh seized it and took up his residence there. This individual, who was of Spanish origin (cf. above, ii., p. 403), soon became the powerful ruler of all S. E. Spain, between Valencia and Almeria, and instituted a series of fruitful alliances with the Christian rulers of Catalonia, Aragon and Castille. He was for long able to resist the attacks of the first Almohads 'Abd al-Mu'min [q. v.] and Yūsuf [q. v.], and it was only after his death in 567 (1172) during the siege of his capital Murcia that his kingdom passed finally to the Mu'minid sovereigns.

From the fall of the Almohad empire in Spain until its conquest by the Christians Murcia had

a very troubled existence. It was in turn the residence (from the beginning of the xiiith century) of princes of the family of the Banū Hūd of Saragossa: Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Mutawakkil, the latter's uncle, Muḥammad, Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Wāṭṭik, then it passed to the Naṣrids of Granada to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī Ibn Ashkīlūla. For details of the obscure history of this period see the monograph by Gaspar Remiro quoted below. According to Ibn al-Abbār (cf. M. Bencheneb, *Notes chronologiques sur la conquête de l'Espagne*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1923, ii. 73), Murcia was surrendered to the Christians by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Hūd, son of the governor, on Thursday 10th Shawwāl 640 (April 2, 1243). But if we may believe the Christian chronicles it was in February 1266 that Don Jaime of Aragon took definite possession of Murcia.

Bibliography: al-Idrisī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. and transl. Dozy and de Goeje, p. 194—236; Abū 'l-Fidā', *Takwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 178—256; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 497; Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyārī, *al-Rawḍ al-ni'fār*, art. *Mursiya*; *Akhbār ma'dj-mū'a*, Ibn al-Kūṭīya, *Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, *passim*; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ii. and iii., *indices*; all the historians and biographers of the Muslim west; European writers: A good monograph has been written on Muslim Murcia by M. Gaspar Remiro, *Historia de Murcia Musulmana*, Saragossa 1905. Cf. also Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, 2nd ed., *index*; do., *Recherches*, *passim*; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la España Musulmana*, p. 57, 82, 88; A. Prieto Vives, *Los Reyes de Taifas*, Madrid 1926; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leyden—Paris 1931, p. 96 *sqq.*; do., *L'Espagne musulmane du X^eme siècle*, *Institutions et vie sociale*, Paris 1932, *index*; E. Tormo, *Levante* (Guias Calpe), Madrid 1923.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MURDĀDH (P.), the fifth month of the Persian solar year running from July 19 to Aug. 18 (*Murdādh māh*). *Murdādh* is also the name of the seventh day of each month (*Murdādh rūz*); it is the last of the series of the days which are called after the Amesha Spentas. *Murdādh* (Pehlevi *amurdāth* "immortality") forms with *Khurdādh* [q.v.] (Pehlevi *khurdāth* perfection) an indivisible pair and the days which bear these names come together. They denote a pair of archangels, of whom *Murdādh* has charge of the gifts of the earth on which the life of man depends. The seventh day of the month *Murdādh* on which the names of the day and of the month are the same is called *Murdādhgān*.

Bibliography: al-Birūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, p. 42, 43, 70, 221; Geiger-Kuhn, *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii. 638, 675 *sqq.* (M. PLESSNER)

AL-MURDĪJĀ, name of one of the early sects of Islām, the extreme opponents of the Khāridjites [q.v.]. The latter thought that a Muslim by committing a mortal sin becomes a *kāfir*. The *Murdjī'a*, on the other hand, were of opinion that a Muslim does not lose his faith through sin. This doctrine led them to a far-reaching quietism in politics; according to their doctrine, the *imām* who was guilty of mortal sins did not cease to be a Muslim and must be obeyed. The *ṣalāt* performed behind him was valid.

Occidental and Oriental explanations of the name show considerable divergencies (cf. e.g. Sale, *Preliminary Discourse*, p. 229 *sq.*; Goldziher, *Richtungen der islam. Koranauslegung*, p. 179; v. Kremer, *Gesch. d. herrschenden Ideen*, p. 20; Houtsma, *Strijd over het dogma*, p. 34). It seems to me that the origin of the name must be sought in the term *irdjā'*, in this way that *Murdjī'a* meant adherents of the doctrine of *irdjā'* ('Abd al-Kāhīr al-Baghḍādī uses the term for their doctrine) and that this term goes back to verse 107 of sūra ix. The context of this verse not only explains the term *irdjā'*, but may also give an insight into the evolution of the ideas of the *Murdjī'ites*. In the preceding verses Muḥammad makes a distinction between two groups among the Madinese who had forsaken him in the expedition to Tabūk [q.v.]: some had shown *niṣāḥ* without penitence; they were to receive punishment in this and in the other world (verse 102). Others had shown penitence (*tawba*); they were left to Allāh's mercy (verse 103). The third group, who had not made penitence, were left in suspense (*murdjā'ūna*, or, according to a different reading, *murdjawnā*).

The situation in Madina after the expedition to Tabūk was generalised by later sects. As a matter of fact, the third group mentioned in the passage discussed — viz. sinners who did not show penitence — was relegated to Hell by the Khāridjites. In opposition to this, the *Murdjī'ites* taught the doctrine of *irdjā'* mentioned in sūra ix. 107 and therefore they were called *Murdjī'a*, i.e. the adherents of the doctrine of respite or hope; for this the term *irdjā'* means; the variants *murdjā'ūna* and *murdjawnā* are irrelevant in this respect.

In the course of time the doctrine of the *Murdjī'a* assumed a double aspect. Their chief thesis was the indelible character of faith, in opposition to the Khāridjites. Their second thesis was of an eschatological nature: where there is faith, sins will do no harm. On account of the latter doctrine they were called the adherents of promise (*ahl al-wa'd*), in contra-distinction to the Mu'tazila [q.v.] who were called the adherents of threats (*ahl al-wa'id*). So the doctrine of *irdjā'* had acquired a triple aspect — which accounts for the divergent explanations of the name —, viz. the doctrine of faith bearing an indelible character, an indulgent attitude towards sinners in the Muslim community, and a hopeful prospect for them in the Last Judgment.

These are the chief tenets of the *Murdjī'a* as they appear to us as well as to later Muslim writers such as al-Shahrastānī. Earlier authors enumerate a number of divergencies among the different groups of *Murdjī'ites*. Al-Ash'arī mentions their variety of opinion regarding faith, unbelief, sins, *tawhīd*, interpretation of the Qur'an, eschatology, mortal and venial sins, forgiveness of mortal sins, the impeccability of the Prophets, punishment of sins, the question whether there were infidels among the early generations of Islām, redress of wrongs, the beatific vision, the nature of the Qur'an, the *quidditas* of Allāh, His names and *ṣifāt*, predestination.

'Abd al-Kāhīr al-Baghḍādī mentions three groups of *Murdjī'a*: a. those who taught *irdjā'* regarding faith and free-will; to this group belonged Ḥaillān Abū N-rwān al-Dimashqī, Abū Shāmīr, Muḥammad b. Abī Shāhib al-Baṣrī; b. those who taught *irdjā'* regarding faith and compulsion (*djabr*); c. those who gave faith the pre-eminence before works and

belonged neither to the adherents of the doctrine of free will nor to those of predetermination; to the latter group belonged the followers of Yūnus b. 'Awn, Ghassān, Abū Thawbān, Abū Mu'adh al-Tawmānī, Bishr b. Ghaiyāth al-Marīsī [q. v.]. The followers of Ghassān reckoned Abū Ḥanīfa as one of their friends, not, however, quite rightly, according to al-Baghḍādī. That Abū Ḥanīfa shared the general views of the Murdjī'a, appears from his (unedited) letter to al-Battī, which is preserved in a MS. in the library of Cairo.

Although al-Baghḍādī mentions a *ḥadīth* in which the Murdjī'a are cursed, the high esteem in which Abū Ḥanīfa stood as a dogmatist and as a doctor of the law would be in itself sufficient proof of the fact that the "sect" was not too eccentric. As a matter of fact, their political quietism was largely practised by orthodoxy itself. As regards eschatological punishment, the *Fikḥ Akbar*, ii. (art. 14) rejects the Murdjī'i doctrine of our good deeds being accepted and of our sins being forgiven, Allāh being free to punish the sinner or to grant him forgiveness. — The same 'aḳida, however, shares the Murdjī'i doctrine of the constancy of faith (art. 18).

Bibliography: M. Th. Houtsma, *De strijd over het dogma in den Islām tot op al-Ash'ari*, Leyden 1875, p. 34 sqq.; I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islām*, Heidelberg 1910, Index, s. v. Murdschī'a; A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, General index, s. v. Murdjītes; al-Ash'ari, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyin*, ed. Ritter, Sтамбул 1929, i. 132 sqq.; 'Abd al-Qāḥir al-Baghḍādī, *Kitāb al-Farḳ bain al-Firāḳ*, ed. Muḥ. Badr, Cairo 1328, p. 190 sqq.; al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milāl wa 'l-Nihāl*, ed. Cureton, p. 103 sqq.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Fiṣal*, ii. 112 sqq.; iv. 44 sqq., 204 sqq.; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, x. 29; Muir, *The Life of Moḥammad*, 3rd ed., Edinburgh 1914, p. 431.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

MURGHĀB. [See MERW AL-SHĀHIDJĀN.]

MURĪD, novice, the term applied during his period of preparation to one who wishes to enter a derwish order [ṬARIQA; q. v.; cf. also DERWISH] or a guild [ṢINF; q. v.]. The task of the murid and his obligations to his master (*shaikh*, *pir*) and to his ideal and their mystic and erotic foundations have been often and fully discussed, so that it is here sufficient to give a reference to the most important literature of modern times, which will guide one to the sources themselves. In the wider application of the word murid has become a term for mystic in general.

Bibliography: the articles mentioned and SHADD; H. Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens* (Türk. Bibl., xvi., 1913); R. Hartmann, *al-Kuschairis Darstellung des Sūfismus* (Türk. Bibl., xviii., 1914); *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, ed. Sprenger, s. v.; Asín Palacios, *El Islām cristianizado*, 1931, esp. p. 145-158.

(M. PLESSNER)

AL-MŪRIYĀNĪ, ABŪ AIYŪB SULAIMĀN AL-KHŪZĪ, vizier of the caliph al-Manṣūr. When the governor of Fārs Sulaimān b. Ḥabīb al-Muhallabī in the Umayyad period had the future caliph al-Manṣūr, who was accused of embezzling state funds, flogged and intended to treat him with still greater indignity, the latter was saved by Abū Aiyūb al-Mūriyānī who was Sulaimān's secretary. According to another story, al-Manṣūr purchased him as a young boy and sent him in

some capacity to his brother, the caliph al-Saffāh, who was so pleased with him that he at once took him into his service and retained him there after his manumission. Al-Mūriyānī was in any case appointed vizier by al-Manṣūr in succession to Khālīd b. Barmak. He had a great influence over the caliph; in 153 (770) however, he was arrested with his brother and the latter's sons and deprived of all his property. According to some, his crime was that he had embezzled a large sum received from al-Manṣūr to make a district in Khūzistān arable and deceived the caliph when he came to inspect it by making the place look as if it were cultivated. According to others, he had a son of al-Manṣūr murdered. He died in prison in 154 (770/1). — The nisba al-Mūriyānī comes from Mūriyān, a town in Khūzistān.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), No. 275 (transl. de Slane, i. 595 sq.); Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 468; Ṭabari, ed. Leyden, iii. 370, 372; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj* (ed. Paris), vi. 165 sq.; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), v. 466 sqq.; Ibn al-Tiḡṭāḳ, *al-Fakhri* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 236-239. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

MURSAL (A.), part. pass. IV from *arsala* "to send". As a technical term it denotes a. an apostle of Allāh; b. traditions of which the *isnad* is defective in a certain sense; cf. ḤADĪTH, iii. c.

AL-MURSALĀT, title of sūra lxxvii., after the first verse: "By those which are sent by Allāh, following one another in a continual series". According to some interpreters a certain group of angels is meant here; according to others, however, the mursalāt are the verses of the Qur'ān. See the commentaries on the Qur'ān on sūra lxxvii. i.

MURSHIDĀBĀD, district in the Presidency Division of Bengal; area 2,143 sq. m.; pop. 1,372,274, of whom 713,152 are Muslims. The public offices are at Barhāmpūr, but the old capital is at Murshidābād, which before Murshid Kuli's appointment was known as Makhsūsābād or Makhsūdābād. The district is mainly agricultural, and produces much rice, jute, etc., and is famous for its mangoes. The silk industry was formerly of great importance, but has now much declined. The district played a very prominent part in the history of Bengal, and is full of historical sites though Plassey is now outside its borders. The history of Calcutta and of the English in Bengal is intimately connected with Murshidābād. But the Nawābs are no longer of political importance.

Bibliography: J. H. T. Walsh, *History of Murshidabad District*, London 1902; Purna Ch. Mazumdar, *Musnud of Murshidābād*, Murshidābād 1905; Ghulām Ḥusain al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Siyar al-Muta'akkkihīn*, translated by Muṣṭafā, a French renegade, in 1789; Ghulām Ḥusain of Mālḍa, *Riyāḍ al-Salāṭīn* (Bibl. Ind., text and translation); reference may also be made to Anquetil Du Perron's account of his travels, to Mrs. Sherwood's *Autobiography*, Bishop Heber's *Journal*, and to Macaulay's *Essays*; *Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the Hon. East India Company, 1812*; *Census of India, 1911*, vol. v., parts i. and ii.; *Imperial Census of India*, vol. xviii.; W. W. Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. ix.; Rev. J. Long, *The Banks of the Bhāgmatī* (Calcutta Review); S. C. Hill, *Bengal in 1756-1757* (Indian Records Series). (H. BEVERIDGE)

AL-MURTAḌĀ AL-SHARĪF ABU 'L-KĀSIM 'ALĪ B. AL-ṬĀHIR DHĪ 'L-MANĀQĪB ABĪ AḤMAD AL-ḤUSAIN B. MŪSĀ B. MUḤAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM B. MŪSĀ AL-KĀZIM B. DJĀ'FAR AL-ŠADIḲ B. MUḤAMMAD AL-BĀKIR B. 'ALĪ ZAIN AL-'ĀBIDĪN B. AL-ḤUSAIN B. 'ALĪ B. ABĪ ṬALĪB, 'ĀLAM AL-HUDĀ, Arab author born in 355 (966), died in 436 (1044) as *Nāḥib* of the 'Alids in Baghdād. Of his works, which are detailed in Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der Hds. in Berlin*, N^o. 16, we still have the following: 1. His principal work *Ghurur al-Fawā'id wa-Durar al-Kalā'id bi 'l-Muḥāḍarāt*, usually called briefly *al-Durar wa 'l-Ghurur*, which he finished on the 22nd Djumādā I 413 (Aug. 24, 1022) is an *adab* book which to the discussion of verses of the Qur'an and traditions adds numerous philological and lexicographical notes and extensive references to poets and is divided into 80 (82) *madjālis*, lith. Tihrān 1273, 1277, pr. Cairo 1325 as the *Kitāb al-Amālī*; 2. *Kitāb al-Šāfi*, a defence of the imāmate of the Twelvers against the *Mughnī* of the Mu'tazili chief kaḏī of the Šhāfi'is in Raiy Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Djabbār b. Aḥmad al-Asad-ābādī († 415 = 1024), along with an abbreviation of the year 432 (1040) by Shaikh al-Tūsī entitled *Talkhīṣ al-Šāfi* printed in one volume Tihrān 1301; 3. *Irshād al-'Awāmm* in a collected volume Tihrān 1304 (s. E. G. Browne, *A Year among the Persians*, p. 554); 4. *al-Dharī'a ilā Uṣūl al-Sharī'a*, Brit. Mus. Or. 5581 (*Descriptive List*, N^o. 21); 5. *al-Masā'il al-Nāsiya* in the collected volume *al-Djāwāmi' al-fikhiya*, Tihrān 1276; 6. *al-Intiṣār*, on the differences between the Šhā'a and the other *madhāhib*, lith. Bombay 1315 (s. Goldziher, *Vorl. über den Islam*, p. 271); 7. *al-Shihāb fi 'l-Shaib wa 'l-Shabāb*, pr. Stambul (Djāwā'ib) 1302 in a *Madjmū'a*, Tihrān 1272 (s. Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, ii., p. xxi., lvi.).

He is also regarded by some as the author of the *Nahḍ al-Balāgha*, a collection of reputed sayings of 'Alī, which others (so always in Yemen, according to MSS. of the Ambrosiana, see *R.S.O.*, iii. 574) attribute to his brother al-Raḍī Abu 'l-Ḥusain Muḥammad, born in 359 (969), d. 406 (1015) [s. vol. iv., p. 354 sq.]; lith. Tabriz 1247, Tihrān 1271, Cairo n.d., Bairūt 1885 with commentary by Muḥammad 'Abduh (d. 1905), Cairo 1290, 1328, with footnotes by Muḥammad Ḥasan Nā'il al-Marsafī, 1925. Commentaries on it were written by: 1. his contemporary 'Alī b. al-Nāṣir al-Ḥusainī entitled *I'tām Nahḍ al-Balāgha*, s. *Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Buhār Library*, N^o. 413, ii.; 2. 'Izz al-Dīn Abū Ḥamid 'Abd al-Ḥamid b. Hibat Allāh b. Abī 'l-Ḥadīd al-Madā'inī, d. 655 (1257) [*G.A.L.*, i. 249—282], Bombay 1304; Tihrān 1270, 2 vols., 1281, 10 vols.; Cairo 1330, 20 vols.; 3. Kamāl al-Dīn Miṭham b. 'Alī b. Miṭham al-Nadīrānī in 776 (1374), *Fikris*, Cairo, iv., b. 60; 4. 'Imād al-Dīn Yahyā b. Ibrāhīm b. Yahyā al-Djāhḥāfi (s. Brit. Mus. Suppl., N^o. 1228, iv.; his *Diwān* in Munich, Glaser, N^o. 104) in the Ambrosiana, C 7, s. *R.S.O.*, vi. 1304; 5. (Persian) Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Ḥasan al-Zawāri in the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp I (930—984 = 1524—1576); s. Story, *Pers. Literature*, i. 14; 6. (Persian) the latter's contemporary Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Ilāhi al-Astarābādī, s. Ivanov, *Cat. As. Soc. Bengal*, N^o. 1107. The book was also several times translated into Persian e.g. by 'Alī b. Ḥasan al-Zawāri about 647 (1249) entitled *Rawḍat al-Abrār*, s. *Catalogue Browne*, p. 10; by Faṭḥ Allāh b.

Shukr Allāh al-Kāshānī (d. 978 = 1570; according to the *Kashf al-Hudūd*, p. 143 in 997 = 1589) entitled *Tanbih al-Ghāfilin wa-Tadhkirat al-'Arīfin*, s. Rieu, *Brit. Mus.*, N^o. 18, 1120—1121; Ivanov, *Cat. As. Soc. Bengal*, ii. 372; *Cambridge Suppl.*, N^o. 1342; Asāfiya, ii. 1608, N^o. 185.

While the authorship of the *Nahḍ al-Balāgha* must remain open the anthology *Taif al-Khayāl* is to be ascribed to our author and not with Derenbourg, *Cat. Escur.*, N^o. 348 to his brother, as in the preface he quotes his own work mentioned under N^o. 7. He and not his brother as in the article SHARĪF PASHA is to be credited with the *Madjāsāt al-Kur'an*, which Ḥādjdji Khalifa N^o. 11377 ascribes as *al-Madjāsāt* to al-Raḍī and he is probably also the author of the *Kitāb al-Madjāsāt al-nabawiya*, also ascribed to al-Raḍī and extant in a manuscript in the British Museum (s. *Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, p. 137, N^o. 2) and was printed at Baghdād in 1328. This also holds of the *Kitāb Ma'ānī al-Kur'an*, there quoted but now lost. The Turkish commentary on the *Diwān* ascribed to 'Alī also credits him with the authorship.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o. 454; Cairo ed., i. 243; al-Bākhārī, *Dumyat al-Ḳaṣr*, p. 75; Tusy, *List of Shia Books*, p. 472. (C. BROCKELMANN)

MURTADD (A.), "one who turns back", especially from Islām, an apostate. Apostacy is called *irtidād* or *ridda*; it may be committed verbally by denying a principle of belief or by an action, for example treating a copy of the Qur'an with disrespect.

1. In the Qur'an the apostate is threatened with punishment in the next world only; the "wrath of God" will fall upon him according to a Sūra of the latest Meccan period (xvi. 108 sq.) and severe punishment (*adhāb*) "except he did it under compulsion and his heart is steadfast in belief". Similarly it is written in the Medina Sūra iii. 80 sqq.: "... This is the punishment for them, that the curse of Allāh, the Angels and of men is upon them for all time (82); the punishment shall not be lightened for them and they shall not be granted alleviation, (83) except for those who later repent and make good their fault, for Allāh is forgiving and merciful. (84) Those who disbelieve after believing and increase in unbelief, shall not have their repentance accepted; they are the erring ones. (85) Those who are unbelievers and die as unbelievers, from none of them shall be accepted the earth-full of gold even if he should wish to ransom himself with it; this is a painful punishment for them and there will be no helpers for them" (cf. also iv. 136; v. 59; ix. 67). Sūra ii. 214 is to be interpreted in the same way although it is adduced by Šhāfi' as the main evidence for the death penalty: "... He among you who falls away from his belief and dies an unbeliever — these, their works are fruitless in this world and the next, and they are the companions of the fire for ever".

2. There is little echo of these punishments in the next world in the Traditions (cf. Ibn Mādja, *Hudūd*, bāb 2; Ibn Ḥanbal, i. 409, 430, 464 sq.; v. 4, 5). Instead we have in many traditions a new element, the death penalty. Thus Ibn 'Abbās transmits an utterance of the Prophet: "Slay him, who changes his religion" or "behead him" (Ibn Mādja, *Hudūd*, bāb 2; Nasā'i, *Tahrim al-Dam*,

bāb 14; Tayālīsī, N^o. 2689; Mālik, *Aḳḏiya*, tr. 15; cf. also Bukhārī, *Istīṭābat al-Murtaddīn*, bāb 2; Tirmidhī, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 25; Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 1; Ibn Ḥanbal, i. 217, 282, 322). According to another tradition of Ibn 'Abbās and 'Ā'isha, the Prophet is said to have permitted the blood to be shed of him "who abandons his religion and separates himself from the community (*Ḍjamā'a*)" (Bukhārī, *Ḍiyāt*, bāb 6; Muslim, *Ḳasāma*, tr. 25, 26; Nasā'ī, *Tahrim al-Dam*, bāb 5, 14; *Ḳasāma*, bāb 6; Ibn Māḏja, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 1; Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 1; Tirmidhī, *Ḍiyāt*, bāb 10; *Fitan*, bāb 1; Ibn Ḥanbal, i. 382, 444). But there was no agreement from the first on the nature of the death penalty; thus 'Ikrima (d. 106 = 724) and Anas b. Mālik (d. 91 = 710) criticise 'Alī for having burned apostates (Bukhārī, *Istīṭābat al-Murtaddīn*, bāb 2; Tirmidhī, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 25; Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 1; Ibn Ḥanbal, i. 217; according to a variant the reference is to Zindīks or Zuṭī, who served idols; Nasā'ī, *Tahrim al-Dam*, bāb 14; Ibn Ḥanbal, i. 282, 322). According to a tradition of 'Ā'isha's, apostates are to be slain, crucified or banished (Nasā'ī, *Tahrim al-Dam*, bāb 11; *Ḳasāma*, bāb 13; Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 1).

On the question whether the apostate should be given an opportunity to repent, traditions differ. According to one tradition of Abū Burda (d. 104 = 722), Mu'adh b. Ḍjābal refused to sit down until an apostate brought before him had been slain "in accordance with the decision of God and of his apostle" (Bukhārī, *Maḡhāzī*, bāb 60; *Istīṭābat al-Murtaddīn*, bāb 2; *Aḳḏam*, bāb 12; Muslim, *Imāra*, tr. 15; Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 1; Ibn Ḥanbal, v. 231). In the same tradition in Abū Dāwūd however, it is added that they had tried in vain for 20 nights to convert the apostate. The caliph 'Omar is also represented as disapproving of this proceeding with the words: "Did you then not shut him up for three days and give him a round loaf (*raghīf*) daily and try to induce him to repent. Perhaps he would have repented and returned to obedience to God. O God! I was not there, I did not order it and I do not approve; see, it was thus reported to me" (Mālik, *Aḳḏiya*, tr. 15). There are also traditions according to which God does not accept the repentance of an apostate (Ibn Ḥanbal, v. 2 *sqq.*) and others according to which even the Prophet forgave apostates (Nasā'ī, *Tahrim al-Dam*, bāb 14, 15; Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 1; Ibn Ḥanbal, i. 247; Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, iii. 223).

3. *a.* In the Fīḡh there is unanimity that the male apostate must be put to death, but only if he is grown up (*bāligh*) and compos mentis (*'āqīl*) and has not acted under compulsion (*mukhtār*). A woman on the other hand is imprisoned, according to Ḥanafī and Shī'ī teaching, until she again adopts Islām, while according to al-Awzā'ī, Ibn Ḥanbal (Tirmidhī, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 25), the Mālikīs and Shāfi'īs (cf. *Umm*, i. 131, where Shāfi'ī vigorously attacks Abū Yūsuf who is not mentioned by name) she also is put to death. Although this punishment is not properly *ḥadd* (cf. thereon Shāfi'ī, *Umm*, vii. 330, 20-22) it is regarded as such by some jurists, as it is a question of a *ḥaḳḳ Allāh* (cf. e.g. Sarakhshī, *Siyar*, iv. 162); therefore the execution of the punishment lies with the imām; in the case of a slave however, the *mawlā* can carry it out, as with any other *ḥadd* punishment. Execution should be by the sword. According

to the above traditions, apostates must sometimes have been tortured to death. The caliph 'Omar II had them tied to a post and a lance thrust into their hearts (Abū Yūsuf, *Ḳharāḏī*, p. 112). Bāḏjūrī expressly forbids any form of torture, like burning, drowning, strangling, impaling, flaying; according to him, Sulṭān Baibars (708-709 = 1308-1309) was the first to introduce torture (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschriften*, ii. 198). Lane (*Manners and Customs*, ch. iii., near the end) records the case of a woman who had apostatised and was led through the streets of Cairo on an ass, then strangled in a boat in the middle of the Nile and thrown into the river. [The throwing of the corpse into the Nile was already usual in Cairo in the Fāṭimid period; cf. Mez, *Renaissance d. Isl.*, p. 29]. In quite recent times followers of the Ḳāḏyānī or Aḡmadiya sect in Afghānistān were stoned to death (*O.M.*, v. [1925], 138). In former Turkish territory and Egypt as well as in Muslim lands under European rule since the middle of the sixteenth century, under European influence the execution of an apostate on a ḳāḏī's sentence has been abolished, but we still have imprisonment and deportation (cf. Isabel Burton, *The inner Life of Syria*, London 1875, i. 180 *sqq.*); but nevertheless renegades are not sure of their lives as their Muslim relatives endeavour secretly to dispose of them by poison or otherwise. Occasionally modern Islāmic writers (Aḡmadiya movement) endeavour to prove that Islām knows of no death penalty for apostasy; the Indian apologist Muḡammad 'Alī lays great stress on the fact there is not once an indication of the death penalty in the Ḳur'ān (Zwemer, *The Law of Apostasy, in Islām*, p. 17, 37 *sq.*, London 1924; *O.M.*, v. [1925], 262).

I should like here to call attention to an agreement which is probably not accidental. As in Islām, in addition to apostasy, unchastity and unnatural vice (even by stoning are punished by death) according to both Shāfi'īs and Mālikīs, as well as blaspheming God or a prophet and magic, we find in Islām all crimes punished by death which in the Mishna (*Sanhedrin*, vii. 4) are threatened with stoning.

b. Whether attempts at conversion must be made is a question of *ikhtilāf*. A number of jurists of the first and second (viith and viiith) centuries deny this (as do the Zāhiris) or like 'Aṭā' (d. 115 = 733) make a distinction between the apostate born in Islām and one converted to Islām; the former is to be put to death at once (so also the Shī'īs). Others insist on three attempts at conversion (relying on Sūra iv. 136; cf. Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, v. 193 *sq.*) or have him in the first place imprisoned for three days (cf. above 2). According to others again one should await the round of the five times of prayer and ask him to perform the *ṣalāt* at each; only when he has refused at each is the death punishment to be enforced. If however he repents and professes Islām once more, he is released (cf. thereon Shāfi'ī, *Umm*, i. 228; Abū Yūsuf, *Ḳharāḏī*, p. 109). In later times *istitāba* was always applied.

c. Apart from the fact that apostasy deprives the murtadd of burial with Muslim rites it has certain civil consequences. The property of the murtadd is *fai'* according to Shāfi'ī and the Mālikīs; if the fugitive murtadd returns penitent, he is given back what remains (cf. *Umm*, i. 231 *sqq.*, where Shāfi'ī opposes the contrary Ḥanafī view). Others, especially later Shāfi'īs, regard the rights

of ownership of the apostate as suspended (*maw-kūf*) and regard him as one who is under guardianship (*maḥdīr*); only if the fugitive apostate dies in the *dār al-ḥarb*, does his property become *faī* (Shirāzī, *Muḥaddḥab*, Cairo 1343, ii. 240; cf. Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, vii. 355). Among the Ḥanafis and Shāfiʿis the estate is allotted by the qāḍī to the legal heirs (cf. also the traditions in Dārimī, *Farāʿid*, bāb 40), the *mudabbār* and *umm walad* are set free, even when the apostate escapes into the *dār al-ḥarb*, for this is equivalent to his death. If he comes back penitent, however, he receives of his property what still exists; the heirs however are not liable for compensation. — The marriage of the murtadd is void (*bāṭil*). Of his legal undertakings the *istilād* is effective (*nāfiḍ*), i. e. the *umm walad* becomes free; the *kitāba* also continues. Other legal activities, like manumission, endowment, testament, sale are suspended (*maw-kūf*) according to Abū Ḥanifa; according to Abū Yūsuf they are effective as in the case of a penitent in good health, according to Muḥammad al-Shaibānī however only as in the case of an invalid, i. e. they cannot deal with more than one third of the estate. In the case of the female apostate however, they are always effective. If the apostate makes such legal arrangements after his flight into the *dār al-ḥarb*, they are invalid (Sarakhṣī, *Siyar*, iv. 152; cf. also Abū Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, p. 111). But since according to Shāfiʿī and Mālik his whole estate becomes *faī*, such legal arrangements are invalid; only the manumission of a slave remains suspended until his possible return penitent; in the case of his death also this slave becomes *faī* (cf. however above the view of later Shāfiʿis).

He is punished for crimes committed before apostasy, if he returns penitent; for crimes committed during *ridḍa*, no notice is taken of the *ḥukūkh Allāh* (i. e. no *ḥadd*) but only of the *ḥukūkh al-ʿibād*, and he must for example pay the *diyya* (Sarakhṣī, *Siyar*, iv. 163, 208 sq.; cf. Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, i. 231).

Bibliography: In addition to the books on Tradition and Fiqh see especially: Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, Cairo 1321, i. 227—234; v. 51; vii. 330 sqq.; 355; Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, Cairo 1302, p. 109—112; Sarakhṣī, *Sharḥ al-Siyar al-kabir*, Ḥaidarābād 1336, iv. 146—219; Dabūsī, *Taʿsis al-Nazar*, Cairo n. d., p. 22; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, Halle 1890, ii. 215 sq.; Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, Rom 1926, i. 131—134; Zwemer, *The Law of Apostasy in Islam*, London 1924, German transl., Gütersloh 1926.

(HEFFENING)

MŪSĀ, the prophet Moses of the Bible.

1. In the Qurʾān. Muḥammad regards Mūsā as his predecessor, his model, and believes he had already been foretold by Mūsā (vii. 156); his religion is also Mūsā's religion (xlii. 11). Mūsā is also conceived in Muḥammad's image. Charges are brought against him similar to those made against Muḥammad he is said to want to pervert people from the faith of their fathers, (x. 79); he practises magic (xxviii. 18). Mūsā and Hārūn seem rather to be sent to the stubborn Pharaoh than to the believing Israelites. Revelation is granted him: *tawrāt*, *kitāb*, *furqān*, *ṣuḥuf* (ii. 50; xxi. 49; liii. 37; lxxxvii. 19), illumination, instruction and guidance. The picture of him is made up of Biblical, Haggadic and new elements. Mūsā is exposed, watched by his sister,

refuses the milk of other nurses and is suckled by his own mother. Coming to the assistance of a hard pressed Israelite he kills an Egyptian but repents of this crime to which Satan had tempted him. He is pursued and escapes to Madyan. At a well there he waters the flocks of the two daughters of a *shaikh*. One of them invites him home modestly. He receives her as his wife at the price of 8—10 years service. This preliminary history is told in Sūra xxviii. 1—28; the mission itself is often mentioned.

Mūsā receives from the burning bush in the holy valley of Ṭuwan (xx. 12; lxxix. 16) orders to take off his shoes, the message to Pharaoh, the signs of his mission, the rod, the snake, the hand that becomes white. His speech is difficult to understand (xliii. 52); Hārūn accompanies him as *wazīr* (xx. 30; xxv. 37). Pharaoh reproaches Mūsā with ingratitude, saying he had been brought up by them (xxvi. 17). Pharaoh assembles his magicians but their rods are devoured by Mūsā's. The magicians profess their belief in God and are mutilated in punishment (vii. 106—123; xx. 59—78; xxvi. 36—51). Pharaoh wishes prayers to be offered to him as God, orders Hāmān to build him a tower so that he can reach the God of Mūsā (xxviii. 38; xl. 38). Mūsā performs nine miracles (xvii. 103; xx. 59—78; xxvii. 12). These are: 1. the rod and snake; 2. white hand; 3. deluge; 4. locusts; 5. lice; 6. frogs; 7. blood; 8. darkness; 9. dividing the sea (cf. e. g. Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 485).

Mūsā spends 30 and 10 nights with God (vii. 138). He brings instruction and admonition on the tablets. In his absence Sāmīrī makes the lowing golden calf (vii. 146; xx. 79—98). Mūsā breaks the tablets. He desires to see God. God crumbles the hill to dust (vii. 139). Israel fears war and has to wander 40 years in the wilderness (v. 24—29). Mūsā's enemies, Qārūn (Korah), Pharaoh and Hāmān, perish (xxix. 38).

Some details differ from the Biblical story. Instead of Pharaoh's daughter, it is his wife who rescues the infant; instead of seven shepherdesses Mūsā assists two. Instead of ten plagues, Muḥammad speaks of nine miracles. Mūsā strikes twelve springs out of the rock, one for each tribe (ii. 57, a memory of the twelve springs of Elīm, Exodus xv. 27). The divergence is greater when Hāmān is made minister to Pharaoh. Then there are new features: Mūsā repents of having slain the Egyptian. Mūsā sees the burning bush at night and desires to take a brand from its fire for his house (xx. 10; xxviii. 29). Pharaoh's magicians die for their belief in God.

The following seems to originate in Haggada: God forbids the infant to be suckled by an Egyptian mother (xxviii. 11). In the Haggada Moses is offered to all Egyptian suckling mothers; but the mouth that is to speak with God cannot imbibe anything impure (*Sōṭa*, 12^b). That God tilts the mountain over Israel (ii. 60, 87; vii. 170) is explained from the Haggada: Israel hesitated to accept the Tora and God tilted Sinai over them: Tora or death (*Sabbath*, 80^a; *ʿAboda Zara*, 2^b). The turning of the sabbath breakers into apes (ii. 61; iv. 50; v. 65; vii. 166) recalls the Haggada in which the builders of the tower of Babel become apes (*Sanhedrin*, 109^a). Qārūn is represented as an exceedingly rich man the keys of whose treasure can hardly be carried by many strong men (xviii. 76, 79); the Haggada

says that Korah found a hidden Egyptian treasure; 300 mules carried the keys of his treasury (*Pesachim*, 119^a; *Sanhedrin*, 110^a; Pal. *Sanh.*, x. 27^d; Ginzberg, *Legends*, vi. 99, 560). — The Qur'anic story of a believer at the court of Pharaoh who wants to save Mūsā is not quite clear (xl. 29). Ought we to compare Jethro in the Haggada who advises clemency at Pharaoh's court? (*Sōṭa*, 11^a; *Sanhedrin*, 106^a; Ginzberg, v. 392, 21; v. 412, 101).

The story of Mūsā accompanying a wise man on a journey seems without parallel (xviii. 59—81). The attempt is often made to distinguish this Mūsā of Khadir as Mūsā b. Manasse from Mūsā b. 'Imrān [cf. the article *KHADIR*].

2. Mūsā in post-Qur'anic legend. The histories of the prophet (especially Tha'labi's) supplement the Qur'anic story with much from the Bible, Haggada and folklore.

Much is added from Haggada. Pharaoh's sick daughters are cured as soon as they touch Moses's cradle. *Exodus Rabba*, i. 23 makes Pharaoh's daughter be cured of leprosy. — The infant Mūsā scratches Pharaoh's chin. Pharaoh wants to slay him. On the intercession of Āsiya he tests him by putting gold and jewels on one side and burning coals on the other. Mūsā reaches for the gold but Gabriel directs his hand to the burning coal. Mūsā puts his burned hand on his tongue and therefore becomes a stammerer (Ginzberg, v. 402, 65; Hamilton, *Zeitschr. f. germanische Philologie*, xxxvi. 125—159).

Elements of other legends are woven into the legend of Mūsā. The Ibrāhīm-Namrūd legend supplies the following features: Pharaoh frightened by dreams persecutes the infants; Mūsā is hidden from the assassins in the burning oven but the fire becomes cool and does him no harm. Pharaoh orders prayers to be offered to himself as to a god, has a tower built, shoots an arrow against heaven; the arrow comes back blood-stained and Pharaoh boasts he has slain God (Tabari, i. 469). — From the story of Jacob and Laban come the following: Mūsā serves 8—10 years for his wife (xxviii. 27). His father-in-law offers him the spotted lambs born in his flock and the ewes for the watering troughs bear spotted lambs (Tha'labi, p. 112). There are frequent references to a pious Egyptian woman who is martyred by Pharaoh with her seven children, the youngest of whom is still at its mother's breast (in Tha'labi, p. 118, 139); this is of course modelled on the martyr mother of the Maccabees.

There are many fanciful embellishments, e.g. the miracle of the snakes, the plagues, the scenes on the Red Sea; Moses's rod in particular plays a great part. It came from Paradise; Ādam, Hābil, Shīth, Idris, Nūh, Hūd, Šālih, Ibrāhīm, Ism'īl, Ishāk and Ya'qūb had previously used it (Kisā'i, p. 208). In Tabari (p. 460 *sq.*) an angel brought the rod. Mūsā obtained it from his wife; his father-in-law quarrels with him about its ownership and an angel decides in favour of Mūsā. It is a miraculous rod and Tha'labi (p. 111—116) in particular relates the wonders it performs. It shines in the darkness; it gives water in a drought, and placed in the ground it becomes a tree bearing fruit; it produces milk and honey and fragrant scent; against an enemy it becomes a double dragon. It pierces mountains and rocks; it leads over rivers and sea; it is also a shepherd's staff

and keeps beasts of prey from the herds of Moses. When Mūsā was asleep on one occasion the rod slew a dragon, on another occasion seven of Pharaoh's assassins.

The varied Biblical, Haggadic, legendary and fairy tale features in the Islāmic legend of Mūsā are thus blended into a very full picture and in Tha'labi form a regular romance.

Bibliography: Sūra ii. 48—130; vii. 101—160; x. 76—88; xx. 8—93; xxvi. 9—65; xxviii. 2—76; xl. 24—56 and the commentaries thereon; Tabari, ed. Leyden, i. 414—449; Tha'labi, *Kisāṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1325, p. 105—156; Kisā'i, *Kisāṣ al-Anbiyā'* ed. Eisenberg, p. 194—240; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, Būlak, i. 61—78; Abr. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed . . .*, 1902², p. 149—177; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 153—185; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, p. 141—143; R. Basset, *1001 Contes, Récits et légendes arabes*, iii. 67, 85; D. Sidersky, *Les Origines des Légendes musulmanes dans le Coran et dans la Vie des Prophètes*, Paris 1933, p. 73—103; J. Walker, *Bible Characters in the Koran*, p. 84—111. (BERNHARD HELLER)

MÜSÄ B. NUŞAIR B. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ZAID AL-LAKHMĪ (or AL-BAKRĪ) ABU 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN, Arab governor, conqueror of the western Maghrib and of Spain. He was born in 19 (640); his father had been in the immediate entourage of Mu'āwiyā [q. v.]. Mūsā was at first appointed by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik to collect the *kharāj* at al-Baṣra, but having been suspected of embezzlement, he fled and took refuge with the caliph's brother, the governor of Egypt 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān; the latter took Mūsā to Syria to the caliph who fined him 100,000 dinārs. 'Abd al-'Azīz provided half of this sum for Mūsā and brought him to Egypt where he gave him the governorship of Ifrīkiya which had been previously held by Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān. The various chroniclers are not agreed as to the date of his appointment to the office but it possibly took place in 79 (698) or the following year.

Mūsā and his troops thereupon entered on a career of successful conquest which ended in the consolidation of Arab power in Ifrīkiya and in the conquest of the rest of north Africa and of Spain. Here we give only the most essential details. Assisted by his son 'Abd Allāh al-Marwān he sent successful expeditions against Zaghwān and Saḍjūma and reduced the Hawwāra, the Zanāta and the Kutāma. The Berbers taking refuge in the west of the Maghrib, Mūsā decided to bring them to subjection; confirmed in his office by 'Abd al-Malik's successor al-Walid, he continued his advance to Tangier and Sūs [q. v.] and returned to Ifrīkiya leaving as his deputy in the Maghrib his freedman Ṭāriḳ [q. v.]. The latter in 92 (710—711) invaded Spain and Mūsā anxious about and at the same time jealous of the progress made by his lieutenant crossed himself in the following year leaving his son 'Abd Allāh as governor of Ifrīkiya. Landing at Algeciras in Ramaḍān 93 (June—July 712) with his other son 'Abd al-'Azīz, he refused to take the same route as Ṭāriḳ and taking the towns of Sidona (*Shadhūna*; q. v.), Carmona, Seville and Merida, he was on his way to Toledo when Ṭāriḳ came to meet him and was bitterly reproached by his master. Mūsā b. Nuṣair then continued his march and completely subjugated the north of Spain from Saragossa to Na-

varre. In 95, he left Spain with immense booty, leaving his son 'Abd al-'Azīz as governor; he reached Kairawān at the end of the year and continued by land to Syria in a triumphal procession of Arab chiefs and Berber and Spanish prisoners. The caliph al-Walid then near his end urged him to hurry while his brother and heir presumptive Sulaimān, eager to appropriate the vast wealth brought by Musā, tried to delay him. He arrived in Damascus shortly before the death of al-Walid and when Sulaimān assumed power he at once displayed his hatred of the conqueror. Regarding Musā b. Nušair's stay in Syria before his death in 98 (716—717), the Arab historians give a number of details which are obviously of quite a legendary character.

Bibliography: All the Muslim chroniclers who deal with the conquest of Africa and Spain deal more or less fully with Musā b. Nušair. We may mention among the more important: Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, Yale Univ. Press, 1922; Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, *Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, ed. Ribera; *Akhbār maǧmū'a*, ed. Lafuente y Alcántara; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, i. and ii.; Ibn al-Aṭṭir, *Kāmil*, etc. — Biographical notes on Musā b. Nušair are given by Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, iii. 475; Ibn al-Farāǧī, *Ta'riḫ 'Ulamā' al-Andalus*, in *B. A. H.*, viii., No. 1454; al-Dabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis*, in *B. A. H.*, iii., No. 1334; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥullat al-siyarā*, ed. Dozy, (*Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes*, Leyden 1847—1851), p. 30—32. Cf. also Fournel, *Les Berbers, Étude sur la conquête de l'Afrique par les Arabes*, Paris 1857—1875; Saavedra, *Estudio sobre la invasión de los Arabes en España*, Madrid 1892; Dozy, *Hist. des Mus. d'Espagne*, new ed. Leyden 1932, i. 121.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MUSĀ ĆELEBI, one of the younger sons of the Ottoman sultān Bāyazīd I. According to some sources he was younger than his brother Muḥammad I [q. v.], who is generally considered as the youngest. Musā had been taken prisoner in the battle of Angora (1402) and was left by Timūr in custody with the Germiyan Oghlū Ya'kūb Beg. The latter sent him afterwards to his brother Muḥammad in Amasia, and for some time he became Muḥammad's helper in the re-establishment of Ottoman power in Anatolia; he is even said to have driven their brother 'Isā from Brusa, though the current opinion is that Muḥammad went there himself. When, in 1404, their eldest brother Sulaimān Ćelebi appeared in his turn in Brusa, Musā first opposed him in the name of Muḥammad and went afterwards, with the latter's consent, to Europe, where he hoped to make an end of Sulaimān's reign with the aid of Mirče of Walachia and Stephan of Serbia. At first this enterprise failed through a defeat inflicted on Musā near the walls of Constantinople. Sulaimān resided in Adrianople. Here Musā appeared suddenly in 1411 (or 1410); Sulaimān had to flee and was killed on his way to Constantinople, after which Musā took his place as ruler of the Ottoman territory in Europe, surrounded by the military and political councillors of Sulaimān, as Ewrenos Beg and the Djandarlı Oghlu Ibrāhīm Paṣa. Musā began his short reign with great energy, recovering nearly all the Ottoman possessions in Serbia and Thessaly, and sending raiding ex-

peditions as far as Carinthia. At the same time he adopted a despotic attitude which displeased his entourage and prepared the final victory of his brother Muḥammad. Ibrāhīm Paṣa, sent to Constantinople to exact tribute, went from there to Muḥammad's court (cf. Taeschner and Wittek, in *Isl.*, xviii. 94) and, when Musā soon afterwards began a siege of Constantinople, Muḥammad came to the rescue of the emperor. In this he failed for the moment and he was obliged to return to Anatolia. But in 1413 Muḥammad appeared again in Europe, having found allies in the Serbians. Meanwhile, the Turkish commanders in Serbia and Thessaly were drawn to Muḥammad's side and even the old Ewrenos prepared to leave Musā's cause; his son and other military chiefs went over openly to Muḥammad. The latter approached Adrianople from the north and followed from here Musā's army beyond Philip; polis; then he joined his allies in Serbia and met Musā's army on the plain of Čamurlu, east of Sofia. Here Musā's army was defeated (July 1413) and Musā himself perished in the flight. His corpse was found and buried in the *türbe* of Murād I in Brusa.

Bibliography: The ancient Ottoman chronicles of 'Ashīk Paṣa Zāde, Neshri, Urūdī Beg and *Tawāriḫ-i Āli 'Othmān* (Anonymus, ed. Giese), besides the Byzantine historians Phrantzes, Ducas and Chalcondylas. Further all general Ottoman histories since the *Tādī al-Tawāriḫ*, and the modern works of von Hammer (*G. O. R.*, i.), Zinkeisen and Jorga; Mehmed Zakī, *Maktūl Shehzādelar*, Constantinople 1332, p. 11 sqq.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUSĀ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-HADĪ, an 'Ab-bāsīd caliph. After the death of his father on Muḥarram 22, 169 (Aug. 4, 785) al-Hādī ascended the throne and at once put an end to the influence of his mother al-Khaizurān, by forbidding her to interfere in the slightest in matters of state. When he proposed to exclude his brother Ḥārūn from the succession in favour of his son Dja'far, he met with vigorous opposition from the Barmakid Yahyā b. Khālīd [q. v.]. When the latter boldly persisted in his opposition, he was arrested; but the caliph's plan came to nothing for he died suddenly in Rabi' I 170 (Sept. 786) in 'Isābādh near Baghdad. According to the usual but not at all certain story, he was poisoned or stabbed by his mother's orders. Al-Hādī who was only 26 when he died is described as brave, just, liberal and full of joie-de-vivre. The most important event of his brief reign was an 'Alid rising in Mecca and Medīna. 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, the governor of Medīna, had punished an 'Alid along with some other citizens of the town for drinking wine. As a result the 'Alids rebelled and renounced their allegiance to the caliph. After several days fighting the ringleader of the movement, a descendant of 'Alī called al-Husain b. 'Alī, marched on Mecca where he obtained a number of additional followers. Soon afterwards the pilgrims arrived; at Fakḥkh near Mecca, a battle took place and al-Husain was killed (Dhu 'l-Ḥiǧǧa 169 = June 786). As regards the fighting with the Byzantines, the Muslims under Ma'yūf b. Yahyā invaded Asia Minor where they took much booty.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 193; Ya'kūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 476, 487—491, 515; Balādhuri

(ed. de Goeje), p. 190 sq., 233, 297, 323; Tabarī, iii. 467 sqq., 533—599; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdī* (ed. Paris), vi. 261—287; viii. 294; ix. 44, 51, 66; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), vi. 13—74; Ibn al-Tīktākā, *al-Fakhri* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 254—263; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iii. 208 sqq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 104, 112, 118—121; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 477 sqq.; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*³, p. 465—477; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 193 sq. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN).

MÜSĀ AL-KĀZIM the seventh Imām of the Twelfer *Shī'a*, son of Dja'far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādīq [q.v.], was born about 128 (745) at al-Abwā' [q.v.], the traditional burial-place of Āmina, mother of the Prophet. He grew to manhood in his father's house in Medina and remained there as Imām after the latter's death in 148 (765) without playing any part in politics. In particular he took no share in the great rising of the Hasanid 'Alids which collapsed at Fakhkh in 169 (786). Nevertheless the caliph was suspicious of him. He was perhaps already imprisoned by al-Mahdī. In 179 (795) Hārūn had him brought first to Baṣra and then to Baghdad; he is said to have been released for a time but he died in prison in Raḍjab 183 (Aug.—Sept. 799).

Little attention was paid to Mūsā outside the *Shī'a*, but we find him occasionally, as the *Shī'is* point out, quoted as an authority, for example for a strongly pro-'Alid tradition in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i. 77 infra (cf. al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-Fīdāl*, No. 1835). The *Shī'a* records are more voluminous. He is said to have had the honorific al-Kāzīm "he who restrains his anger" because he returned kindness for injury to an opponent so that the latter came over to him. As evidence of his fitness for the *imāmate* he is reputed to have had a great knowledge of *fiqh* and is thus brought into connection with Abū Ḥanīfa. The chapters on miracles, usual in all biographies of the imāms, credit him with being born with a knowledge of languages, e.g. Ethiopic and the language of birds, in later stories also of "Frankish" to fit a story, modelled on a later Kerbelā' motif, that Hārūn could not find a Muslim to assassinate him and therefore brought Franks, who were so impressed by his nobility that they refused to kill him. Prayers by Mūsā have been handed down; a letter of warning to al-Husain b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, the leader of the Fakhkh rising; letters from prison; a statement of his claims to the *imāmate* against Hārūn through relationship with the Prophet, not through 'Alī like the 'Abbāsids through 'Abbās but through Fāṭima, whom he compares with the mother of Jesus. Considerable portions of the biography are the result of the disputes within the *Shī'a*, even the account of his conception and birth. That his mother was bought from a slave dealer is not disputed; but great pains are devoted to proving she was a virgin. When at the death of his father a group of the Nāwusiya "remained" steadfast to him, the Ismā'īliya [q.v.] and the Fathīya branched off, the claims of Mūsā had to be based on a will of Dja'far, the authenticity of which is as doubtful as that of Mūsā in favour of his son 'Alī al-Riḍā; this was used against the followers of another son Aḥmad, as well as against

the Mamfūra who "remained" by Mūsā himself and a similar party in the Mūsawiya (Mūsā'iya; for details see the writers on heresy, especially al-Ash'ari, *Maḳālāt*, ed. Ritter, Constantinople 1930, p. 25 sqq.). The dispute with the latter groups also explains the very detailed stories of witnesses who had seen Mūsā's corpse. Bitter differences of opinion within the family are revealed by the fact that even Mūsā's son Ibrāhīm for a long time denied his father's death, and also by the fact that Mūsā's brother Ibrāhīm or a nephew 'Alī b. Ismā'īl played the traitor with Hārūn, inciting him by pointing out the great sums which were given to Mūsā as the true caliph by his followers; on the other hand, the incautious acknowledgment of Mūsā's *imāmate* by the theologian Hishām b. al-Ḥakam is made responsible for his capture. — The *kunya* of Mūsā is Abū Ibrāhīm or Abū 'l-Ḥasan, also Abū 'Alī; the statements regarding the number of his children vary between 30 and 60; 37 is the usual figure. Besides his successor 'Alī al-Riḍā some prominence was attained by the partial imām Aḥmad, but more by Zaid, who at the time of the great rising of Abū 'l-Sarāyā in Baṣra, by burning the houses and followers of the 'Abbāsids acquired the name Zaid al-Nār, "Zaid of the fire" (Tabarī, iii. 986), and Ibrāhīm, who on account of similar activities in Ṣan'ā' was called al-Djazzār, "the butcher" (Tabarī, iii. 987); a daughter Fāṭima, who died in Ḳumm, has given to this city in her tomb its most important sanctuary. Mūsā himself was buried in the cemetery of the *Kuraish* in Baghdad, where his grandson, the ninth imām Muḥammad al-Djawād [q.v.], was in time interred beside him; thus arose the twin sanctuaries al-Kāzīmāin [q.v.]

Bibliography: Mufīd, *al-Irshād* (Teheran without date or pagination arranged in the order of the imāms); Ibn Bābūya, *Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā* (MS. Berl. No. 9663), esp. fol. 10b—52a; comprehensive collection of *Shī'is* accounts with references to the sources in Muḥammad Bākir al-Madjlīsī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, xi, Teheran 1303, p. 230—317; Abū 'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Maḳātīl al-Tālibīyīn*, Teheran 1307, p. 172—176; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Bulāḳ 1299, ii. 172 sq. (from al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*); Mas'ūdi, *Murūdī* (ed. Barbier de Meynard), vi. 309 sqq., 329 sq.; E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, Hanover 1927, table D. — As the importance of imāms like Mūsā lies less in their own personality than in the views of the dogmatists upon them, their *vītae* should also be compared: cf. in Kashshī, *Ma'rifat Akhbār al-Riḍāl*, Bombay 1317, section *Aṣḥāb Mūsā b. Dja'far wa-'Alī b. Mūsā*, p. 344 sqq. and also the *vītae* of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, Hishām al-Dhawālīqī, 'Ammār b. Mūsā al-Sābāṭī etc.; and the same names in the alphabetically arranged works of Nadjāshī, *al-Riḍāl*, Bombay 1917; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, Calcutta 1853—1855; Astarābādī, *Manḥadī al-Maḳāl*, Teheran 1306. (R. STROTHMANN)

BANŪ MÜSĀ, more precisely BANŪ MÜSĀ B. SHĀKIR, the usual name for the three brothers Abū Dja'far Muḥammad, Abū 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad and al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā b. ShĀkīr, who made a reputation under the 'Abbāsids from al-Ma'mūn to al-Mutawakkil as mathematicians, astronomers and technicians and also at times played a part in politics. The father is said

to have begun life as a bandit in *Khurāsān*, then to have become an astronomer and geometer. We have no means of testing such stories or learning how a bandit could become an astronomer. If we assume however that *Mūsā b. Shākīr* like *Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwarizmi* joined *al-Ma'mūn's* train in *Khurāsān* as astronomer and astrologist and then came with him to *Baghdād*, we can understand that *al-Ma'mūn* took his three sons, still young, into his service on *Mūsā's* death and had them educated in mathematical sciences by the astronomer *Yahyā b. Abī Manṣūr*. The *Banū Mūsā* thus at a comparatively early age were admitted to that circle of scholars who, by their thorough and expert translations, introduced Greek science to *Islām* and by their own researches laid the foundation for the glorious development of the sciences in the *iii*th (*ix*th) and *iv*th (*x*th) centuries. Attaining fame and fortune, they used their wealth to purchase Greek manuscripts and sent agents into the Byzantine provinces to seek for and purchase books. Of *Muḥammad b. Mūsā* it is related that he met *Thābit b. Qurra* in *Ḥarrān* while on a journey and induced him to settle at the caliph's court. It may be assumed they these scientific expeditions to seek books and scholars did not take place without the caliph's support.

History also records political and literary feuds. A particular enmity is said to have existed between *al-Kindī* and the three brothers, because the caliph *al-Mu'taṣim* did not entrust them but *al-Kindī* with the education of his son *Aḥmad*. The feud went so far that the *Banū Mūsā* are later said to have intrigued against the choice of *Aḥmad* as caliph. This story can only be understood in connection with court intrigues, in which the ambitions of the brothers and the jealousy of the courtiers played the same parts as elsewhere. If all is true that is recorded of the malevolent attitude of the brothers to recognised scholars, little praise can be bestowed on their character. The stories of the huge incomes, especially that of *Muḥammad b. Mūsā* — he is said to have had for a time an annual income of £300,000 — exceed all that even the most liberal caliph could heap upon a scholar.

The works of the *Banū Mūsā* include translations and original works on geometry, astronomy and mechanics. Many of their works are written jointly by two or three brothers, others only by one. *Muḥammad b. Mūsā* is regarded as the most versatile, *al-Ḥasan* the best mathematician, *Aḥmad* as specially interested in mechanical and technical problems. The astronomical and metrological observations of the brothers were probably made mainly in *Sāmarrā*; their tables of observations of the sun are mentioned by *Ibn Yūnus*. *M. Curtze*, *H. Suter*, *E. Wiedemann* and *F. Hauser* have devoted special attention to the editing and elucidation of these works that have survived in Arabic or Latin.

Bibliography: *Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 271; *Ibn al-Kifī*, ed. J. Lippert, p. 315 and 441—443; *Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, No. 718, transl. de Slane, iii. 315; *Caussin de Perceval*, in *N.E.*, 1803—1804; *M. Steinschneider, Die Söhne des Musa b. Shākīr*, in *Bibl. math.*, N.S., i., 1887, p. 44—48, 71—75; *M. Cantor, Ahmed und sein Buch über die Proportionen*, in *Bibl. math.*, N.S., ii., 1888, p. 7; *H. Suter, Das Mathematikerverzeichnis des Fihrist*, in *Abh. z. Gesch. d. Math.*, vi., 1892, p. 24; *H. Suter, Die Mathematiker und*

Astronomen der Araber, *ibid.*, x., 1900, No. 43; *M. Curtze, Der Liber trium fratrum de geometria*, in *Nova Acta Acad. Germ. Nat. curiosorum*, vol. xlix., Halle 1885; *E. Wiedemann, Beiträge*, vi., 1906; x., 1906 and xii., 1907; *F. Hauser, Über das k. al-ḥiyāl der Benū Mūsā*, in *Abh. z. Gesch. d. Naturw. u. d. Med.*, i., 1922; *E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser, Über Trinkgefäße und Tafelaufsätze nach al-Ḥazārī und den Benū Mūsā*, in *Isl.*, viii. 55—93, 268—291; *Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a*, ed. Müller, index; *Ṭabarī*, ed. de Goeje, indices; *Carra de Vaux, Les penseurs de l'Islam*, ii., Paris 1921, p. 140; *Abu 'l-Fidā*, ed. Reiske, ii. 241; *Abu 'l-Faraj, Ta'rikh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, ed. Pococke, Oxford 1663, text, p. 280; transl., p. 183. (J. RUSKA)

MUṢ'AB B. 'UMAIR, a follower of *Muḥammad* of the *Kuraish* family of 'Abd al-Dār. The son of rich parents, this handsome young man had attracted attention by his elegant appearance when *Muḥammad's* preaching made so deep an impression upon him that he abandoned the advantages of his social position to join the despised adherents of the Prophet. Tradition dilates on the contrast between his former luxurious life and later poverty but these, like such stories in general, are somewhat suspicious, although not impossible, since the people in *Muṣ'ab's* time had not yet acquired wealth and could not have been accustomed to luxury.

When his parents endeavoured to prevent him taking part in the worship of the believers, he went with several of the faithful to *Abyssinia* from which he returned however before the *Hijra*. The Prophet thought highly of him and sent him after the first meeting at 'Aḳaba as a missionary to *Medina* where he won a number of followers for *Islām*. According to some traditions, he on this occasion, following the practice of the Jews [see *MUḤAMMAD*], introduced the common Friday *salāt*, which however, as was noted as early as by *Mūsā b. 'Uḳba*, others ascribe to the *Medinese As'ad b. Zurāra*, while others in an effort at harmonising say that *As'ad* conducted the common *salāt* during the absence of *Muṣ'ab*.

At *Badr* and at *Uḥud* he carried the Prophet's banner in memory of the old privilege of the 'Abd al-Dār; he met his death in the latter battle. With what ardour he adopted the new teaching is seen from his attitude to his mother who is depicted as a most lovable character and particularly from his words at the capture of his brother in the battle of *Badr*. His wife was *Ḥanna bint Djaḥsh* of the *Asad*.

Bibliography: *Mūsā b. 'Uḳba*, ed. Sachau, in *S.B. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1904, p. 451; *Ibn Hishām*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 208, 241, 289 *sq.*, 459 *sq.*, 487, 560, 566, 586; *Ṭabarī*, ed. de Goeje, i. 1182, 1214 *sqq.*, 1337, 1386, 1394, 1404, 1425; *al-Wāḳidī*, transl. Wellhausen, p. 49, 68, 79, 106, 114, 135, 143; *Ibn Sa'd*, ed. Sachau, iii/i., 81—86; iii/ji., 139; *Nawawī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 556 *sq.*; *Ibn Ḥadjār al-Asḳalānī, Isāba*, ed. Sprenger, iii. 861; *Wensinck, Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, p. 111 *sq.* (FR. BUHL)

MUṢ'AB B. AL-ZUBAIR, son of the famous *ḥuwārī* of the Prophet, *al-Zubair*, and brother of the anti-Caliph 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair. Handsome, chivalrous, generous to the most foolish prodigality, he resembled his elder brother 'Abd Allāh and the family of the *Zubair*s only in his bravery and in fits of severity in exacting punish-

ment which bordered on barbarity. He began his military career at the beginning of the caliphate of Marwān I by a badly planned invasion of Palestine. Later sent as governor to Baṣra by his brother 'Abd Allāh, he soon found himself called to the help of the people of Kūfa, tired of the yoke of Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubad [q. v.]. He began by putting to flight the army brought against him by the redoubtable Ṭhaḳafī agitator and then besieged him for four months in the citadel of Kūfa. On the death of Mukhtār, Muṣ'ab ordered several thousands of his followers to be executed and by this savage act made as many enemies as the victims had relatives. He was less successful against 'Ubad Allāh b. al-Ḥurr [q. v.] who had been sent into the 'Irāk to stir up a counter-revolution in favour of the Marwānids. A similar attempt at Baṣra by the Umayyad Khālīd b. Asid failed. But by proceeding with great severity against Khālīd's followers Muṣ'ab alienated the most influential personages in the city.

Soon he found he had to defend the 'Irāk which was directly threatened by the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik; troops were massed at Bādjumaira. Muṣ'ab awaited the Syrian army here and then retired to Dair al-Djathālīk [q. v.]. His position soon became critical for the Baṣran troops refused to follow him. The best troops of the province were far away with Muḥallab, engaged in an interminable campaign against the Khārīdjīs. The Zubairid's troops displayed only moderate enthusiasm. His officers tired of his iron hand were prepared to betray him and entered into negotiations with 'Abd al-Malik. The Marwānid was not stingy in his promises. He also tried to negotiate with Muṣ'ab, who learning of the perfidy of his followers rejected all offers and decided to die like a brave man. Among his followers Ibrāhīm b. al-Aṣhtar alone fought vigorously in the battle; the others folded their arms during the fighting or went over to the Syrian ranks. 'Abd al-Malik offered Muṣ'ab his life for the last time with the government of the 'Irāk, but in vain. Thrown from his horse, the Zubairid received the coup-de-grâce from an avenging Bakrī, 'Ubad Allāh b. Zabyān. This took place about the middle of Djumādā I (October) of 72 (691). 'Abd al-Malik wept for him and ordered his poets to commemorate his heroic end. Muṣ'ab's great generosity earned him numerous eulogies from poets. He is also famous for the fact that he had in his harem the two most independent and haughtiest women of the time, belonging to the most undoubted aristocracy of Islām, 'Ā'isha bint Ṭaḥa [q. v.], the second *ḥuwārī* of the Prophet, and Sukaina, granddaughter of 'Alī; feminine types, remarkable in spite of their frivolity for having bravely tried to fight against the degradation of their sex in Muslim society.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), i. 1330; ii. 59, 60, 118, 340—349, 481, 576, 592—593, 602—603, 662—678, 688, 716—727, 531—535, 740—745, 748—753, 764—765, 670—680, 783—822, 830—831, 1064—1072, 1260, 1266, 1466; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ii. 138, 139; iii. 103—104, 122; viii. 85, 138, 178; x. 54—57; xiii. 33, 38, 42; xiv. 84, 166—172; xvii. 262—266; xx. 10; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf* (ed. Ahlwardt), p. 3—4, 8, 10, 16—19, 23—24; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, (ed. Barbier de Meynard), v. 240—142, 247—49; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* (Cairo), iv. 123—124, 137, 139; H. D. van Gelder, *Moḥṭār de valsehe profet*, Leyden 1888, p. 125 sq. (H. LAMMENS)

AL-MUSABBIḤĀT, name of sūra's lvii., lix., lxi., lxii., lxiv. as a group, after the first word of each of them, *sabbaḥa* or *yusabbiḥu*. The name is old, cf. Muslim, *Zakāt*, trad. 119.

MUSĀFIRIDS (Kangari or Sallāri), a dynasty of Dailamī origin which came from Tārom [q. v.] and reigned in the fourth and fifth centuries of the Hidjra in Ādharbāidjān, Arrān and Armenia.

Its coming to power was one of the manifestations of the great movement of Irānian liberation which formed a kind of interlude between the end of Arab domination and the first Turkish invasions. While in Khurāsān and Transoxania this movement culminated in the rule of the Sāmānids [q. v.], in western Persia and Mesopotamia its standard-bearers were the Dailamīs and to a smaller extent the Kurds (cf. V. Minorsky, *La domination des Dailamites*, Paris 1932).

The Musāfirids and the Djūstānids. According to a genuine document quoted in Yāqūt (iii. 148—50), the Kangari family only comes into history after seizing the famous stronghold of Shamīrān in the district of Tārom [q. v.] which was under Kāzwin. The Kangaris have therefore to be distinguished from the ruling family of Dailam, i. e. the Djūstānids of Rūdbār, of whom seven are known from between 189 and 316 (805—928), while members of the family can be traced till 434 (1042). We know that Muḥammad, son of Musāfir, the eponym of the dynasty (whose real Irānian name must have been Aswār; cf. Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ix. 16), had married Kharāsūya, daughter of the Djūstānid Djūstān III (from 250 until after 300). From such alliances the names peculiar to the ruling family of Dailam (Djūstān, Wahsūdān, Marzubān) became popular among the Musāfirids. In 307 (919) Muḥammad killed his wife's uncle 'Alī b. Wahsūdān to avenge the death of his father-in-law Djūstān b. Wahsūdān. Henceforth there was a breach between the two families. The last Djūstānid took refuge with the Dailamī chief Asfār (lord of Raiy and Kāzwin) who sent the Ziyānid Mardāwīdj against Muḥammad but instead of fighting they joined forces and Mardāwīdj slew Asfār. Muḥammad was an important ruler and Mus'ir b. Muḥalhil speaks with praise of his buildings at Shamīrān (1,850 houses) on which 5,000 workmen were employed (the ruins of Shamīrān have been described in Brugsch, *Reise d. preuss. Gesandtschaft*, 1862, ii. 471—472) but he was a difficult character and did not agree even with the members of his own family.

The two branches of Musāfirids. In 330 (941) his sons Marzubān and Wahsūdān by arrangement with Kharāsūya, seized Shamīrān and shut their father up in a fortress, after which the dynasty broke up into two branches: Wahsūdān remained in the hereditary fief of Tārom, while Marzubān extended his power over Ādharbāidjān, eastern Transcaucasia and some districts of Armenia.

The fourth generation of the Musāfirids consisted of the sons of Marzubān: Djūstān, Ibrāhīm, Naṣir and Kay Khusrāw, and of the sons of Wahsūdān (330—355): Ismā'il, Nūḥ and Ḥaydar (?)

Marzubān. This ruler (330—346 = 941—957) is the most important figure in the dynasty. After the death in 314 (926) of the Sādjīd [q. v.] Yūsuf, Ādharbāidjān became the scene of the struggle between the Khārīdjī Kurd Daisam b. Ibrāhīm and Lashkarī b. Mardi, a native of Gilān, whom the Ziyārid Wushmagīr supported alternately

Lashkarī died in Armenia and Daisam was betrayed by his vizier Abu 'l-Kāsim 'Alī b. Dja'far who had come to an arrangement with Marzubān for both were *bāṭinī* (Ibn Miskawaih, ii. 32). Marzubān occupied Ardabil and Tabriz and finally Daisam surrendered to Marzubān and received from him a castle in Tārom. Marzubān extended his territory northward as far as Darband. In 332 (943—944) the Russians (*Rūs*) came by the Caspian and the river Kur and took the capital of Arrān [q.v.], Barda'a [q.v.], in spite of the resistance of the subjects of Marzubān. At the same time, the Hamdānids of Mawṣil had conceived designs on Ādharbāidjān and Marzubān had to deal with a force under Abū 'Abd Allāh Ḥusain b. Sa'id b. Ḥamdān and the Hadhbānī Kurd Dja'far b. Shakūya, which had reached Salmās [q.v.] but was soon recalled to Mawṣil by Nāṣir al-Dawla. On the other hand, the Russians, decimated by disease and harassed by the Muslims, beat a retreat (cf. the sources on the Russian invasion including the Armenian historian of the tenth century, Moses Katankatvatzi, in Dorn, *Caspia*, St. Petersburg 1876; the text of Ibn Miskawaih, ii. 62—67, was translated with commentary by Yakubowski in the *Vizant. Vremennik*, Leningrad 1926, xxiv., p. 63—92).

A new danger arose in the south-east of the lands of Marzubān when in 335 (946) the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla occupied Raiy (disputed by the Sāmānids and Ziyārids). Marzubān filled with wrath at the Būyids decided to attack them in 336. But Rukn had time to get reinforcements from his brothers. In 338 (949) Marzubān, defeated near Ka-zwīn, was besieged in the castle of Sumairam (in Fārs).

The fugitives from his army gathered round his father Muḥammad and occupied Ardabil while Wahsūdān remained in Tārom. Muḥammad soon gave dissatisfaction to his captains and was shut up by Wahsūdān in his castle at Shisagān (?). Rukn al-Dawla sent to Ādharbāidjān Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāk, the former governor of Tūs [q.v.], who had deserted the Sāmānids. Wahsūdān released Daisam in the hope that he would be able to organise resistance. Daisam who had time to take Ardabil, was defeated by Ibn 'Abd al-Razzāk but the latter deserted by the intrigues around him returned to Raiy in 338 (949). Daisam reoccupied Ardabil but the advance of 'Alī b. Mīshkī, a supporter of Marzubān, forced him to seek shelter with the Artsrunids of Waspurakan [cf. wān].

In the meanwhile by an ingeniously planned coup, Marzubān escaped from Sumairam and recovered all his strongholds and treasures (in 342). After a long series of adventures which brought him to Mawṣil, Baghdad and Aleppo, Daisam in 344 (955) collected a force and read the *khutba* at Salmās in the name of the Hamdānid of Aleppo Saif al-Dawla. Marzubān quickly put down a rising in Darband and later drove Daisam back, who once again sought refuge with the Artsrunids who handed him over to Marzubān under threats from the latter.

In an important passage, Ibn Ḥawqāl, p. 251—255, gives the list of the tributaries of Marzubān compiled by his minister Abu 'l-Kāsim (in 344). The names include those of the lords of Shīrwān, Abkhāz (? uncertain name of a district north of Shīrwān; cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 174: *Abkhān), of Shakki [q.v.], of 𐌎𐌌𐌎, of Djurzān wa-Saghiyān (Gurziwān and Saghiyān to the west of Shīrwān), of Vayots-dzor (district of Siunie), of

Ahar and Warzaḡan (N. E. of Tabriz), of Khizān (N. of Bākū?), as well as the Artsrunids, Bagratids and the princes of Khačen (west of Barda'a).

Wahsūdān and his nephews. Marzubān died in Ramaḡān 346 (Dec. 957) and while bequeathing the power to his brother Wahsūdān forgot to cancel his first will by which his sons Djūstān, Ibrāhīm and Nāṣir were to succeed him in succession.

The commanders of the fortresses would not surrender them to Wahsūdān who returned to Tārom in disgust. Djūstān b. Marzubān was recognised by his brothers but was only interested in his harem. Marzubān's old general Djūstān b. Sharmazan set up in Urmiya [q.v.] and won to his side Ibrāhīm, with whom he occupied Marāgha.

In 349 (960) the grandson of the caliph Muktafi Ishāk b. 'Isā rebelled in Gilān and took the name of Mustadjir bi 'llāh. Djūstān and Ibrāhīm became reconciled and defeated the rebels at Muḡān [q.v.].

Wahsūdān began intriguing among his nephews and detached Nāṣir from Djūstān but the quarrel was of short duration. Under assurances from Wahsūdān, Djūstān with his mother and Nāṣir came to Tārom but were thrown into prison. Wahsūdān sent his son Ismā'īl to Ādharbāidjān. Ibrāhīm who was ruling Armenia (Dwin) made a move in 349 or 350 which gave Wahsūdān an excuse to massacre his prisoners. Ismā'īl soon afterwards died at Ardabil after which Ibrāhīm reoccupied Ādharbāidjān and laid Tārom waste while Wahsūdān sought refuge in Dailam. Meanwhile Wahsūdān's general Sharmazan b. Mīshkī, however, succeeded in defeating Ibrāhīm and the latter, abandoned by all his soldiers, sought refuge with his brother-in-law Rukn al-Dawla, who had married a daughter of Marzubān (355 = 966).

Rukn al-Dawla with his usual chivalry heaped favours on Ibrāhīm and sent to Ādharbāidjān his famous minister Ibn al-'Amīd (Ustādh Ra'īs) who reinstated Ibrāhīm and subjected the Kurds and Djūstān b. Sharmazan to him. Ibn al-'Amīd who was much impressed by the wealth of Ādharbāidjān proposed to Rukn al-Dawla to annex this province but his master recalled him to Raiy, saying that he did not wish to be accused of coveting the inheritance of one who had sought his protection. After the return of Ibn al-'Amīd matters went badly and from the allusions in Ibn Miskawaih we know only that Ibrāhīm was deposed and imprisoned (probably about 369 = 979, the year in which the *Tadjārib al-Umam* stops).

The end of the Musāfirids. In the Muslim sources the situation in Ādharbāidjān till 420 is obscure but the statements of the Armenian historian Stephen Asotik, *Hist. Universelle*, part ii., book iii., transl. by Macler, Paris 1917, ch. 11, 12, 18, 19, 29, 38 and 41, enable us to fill the gaps. According to Kasrawī, in 369 (979) Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān was dispossessed of his lands in Ādharbāidjān by the Rawwādi family (on which see the articles MARĀGHA, MARAND, TABRİZ and Kasrawī, *op. cit.*, ii.). The son of Ibrāhīm Abu 'l-Haidjā (the "Abihadj Delmastani" of Asotik) retained Dwin [q.v.] and on the invitation of king Mushel of Kars in 982—983 made an expedition into Armenia where he desecrated the churches. This Abihadj later lost all his lands to his neighbour Abutluḡ of Goṭṭh (i. e. Abū Dulaf Shaibānī, lord of Ordūbād). He later wandered in Georgia and Armenia and even visited the Byzantine emperor

Basil II; he was killed by his servants at Ukhtikh (Olti). Finally another Abhadj, son of Rovd, amir of Atrapatakan (Abu 'l-Haidjā b. Rawwād of Ādharbāidjān), took from Abū Dulaf "the towns of Salar and after sacking Gōthn marched on Dwin, seized this town and demanded from the Armenians the arrears of tribute" (Asotik, ch. xviii.). King Smbat II hastened to accede to the demand. The Rawwādids thus gained possession of the remainder of the possessions of the Musāfirids of whom they claimed to be the successors. There is no reason to connect the Arab-Kurd Rawwādids with the Musāfirids, who were of Dailamī origin, although there may have been intermarriage between the two families.

The Tārom branch. After the disappearance of the descendants of Marzubān, Tārom, the original fief of the dynasty, alone remained in their hands. Wahsūdān had extended his power over the adjacent districts of Zandjān, Abhar and Suhraward (the latter name is usually mutilated in the sources). A *ḡaṣīda* of Mutanabbī (Kasrawī, *op. cit.*, i. 45) dated probably in 354 suggests that Rukn al-Dawla drove Wahsūdān from Tārom for a time, but his family had remained there, for from Yāqūt, iii. 148—150 we learn that in 379 (989) the Būyid Fakhr al-Dawla took Shamirān from the young son of Nūh b. Wahsūdān, whose mother he married (the child's name was probably Djustān; cf. Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arib*, ii. 308).

In 387 (997) after the death of Fakhr al-Dawla, Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān b. Ismā'īl b. Wahsūdān seized the fortress of Sardjīhān and Tārom. In 411 (1020) even Kāzwin was in his hands (cf. *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, in *G. M. S.*, p. 58). When Maḥmūd of Ghazna had taken Raiy, he sent against him the Dailamī Kharamīl. After the return of Maḥmūd to Khurāsān (420), his son Mas'ūd attacked Ibrāhīm but only captured him by a stratagem. Sardjīhān, however, remained in the hands of Ibrāhīm's son. In 427 (1037) we find the "sālār of Tārom" in his fief again.

Nāsir-i Khusrāw who was in this region in 437 (1045), speaks in high terms of the lord of Shamirān Djustān (b.) Ibrāhīm whose title was "Marzubān al-Dailam Djl-i Djlān Abū Šālih, Mawlā Amīr al-Mu'minin".

Under 454 (1062) Ibn al-Athīr records the visit of Tuḡhril to Tārom, where he imposed a tribute of 100,000 dīnārs on Musāfir, who is the last Musāfirid known. From Yāqūt's words we may conclude that the Ismā'īlis of Alamūt put an end to the rule of the family when they dismantled Shamirān.

Bibliography: Cf. the articles MARĀGHA, MARAND, TĀROM, TABRIZ, URMĪYA. The principal source is Ibn Miskawaih, ed. Amedroz and Margoliouth (abridged in Ibn al-Athīr, viii.—ix). The *Ta'rikh Ādharbāidjān* of Ibn Abi 'l-Haidjā al-Rawwādī (cf. Šafādī, in *J. A.*, 1912, xix, March, p. 249, and Hādjdjī Khalīfa, ii. 107) has not yet been found. Cf. also Münedjdjim Bashi, *Šaḡā'if al-Akhhār*, i. 505.

Sauvaire, *Sur quelques monnaies... de M. de l'Ecluse*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1881, p. 380—398 (résumé of Ibn al-Athīr; description of a dirham struck at Ardabil in 343 in the names of "Sālār Abū Maṣṣūr" [? perhaps Wahsūdān] and "Malik al-Mu'ayyad Marzubān b. Muḥammad Abū Naṣr", and of a dīnār struck at Marāgha in 347 in the names of Ibrāhīm and Djustān, son of Marzubān); Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 1895, p. 441;

Marquart, *Notes on... Mayyafāriqin*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 170—176; Sir E. D. Ross, *On three Muhammadan Dynasties in Northern Persia*, in *Asia Major*, 1925, ii./2, p. 212—215 (cf. also Sir E. D. Ross, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1924, p. 617—619); Huart, *Mosāfirides de l'Ādharbāidjān*, in *A Volume... presented to E. G. Broune*, Cambridge 1922, p. 229—256; R. Vasmer, *Zur Chronologie d. Gasta-niden und Sallāriden*, in *Islamica*, 1927, iii./2, p. 168—186; Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie*, Hanover 1927, p. 180; Saiyid Aḥmad Kasrawī, *Pādshāhān-i gumnām*, Teheran, i., 1928, and *passim*, ii.—iii., 1929—1930 (a very good book analysing all the Muslim and even some Armenian sources); Markwart, *Die Entstehung d. armenischen Bistümer*, in *O. C.*, xxvii./2, N^o 80, Rome 1932, p. 150—151 (recognises the identity of the Rawwādīs of Tabriz and Marāgha). (V. MINORSKY)

MUSAILIMA (a contemptuous diminutive from Maslama, which is the form of his name given in Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 443, 5; Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 422 ult.; cf. Ṭalāḡa [q. v.] for Ṭalḡa), a prophet of the Banū Ḥanīfa in Yamāma contemporary with Muḥammad. His genealogy is variously given but always contains the name Ḥabīb; his *kunya* was Abū Ṭhumāma. According to the usual account, he appeared as a prophet soon after the death of Muḥammad, after having visited the latter in Medina with a deputation. There is however another tradition according to which he began his prophetic career before Muḥammad did, and D. S. Margoliouth has given very cogent reasons for accepting this. According to Ibn Ishāq (Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 200), Muḥammad's enemies reproached him with having obtained his wisdom from a man of Yamāma named Raḥmān. Now we have ample evidence (Wakīdī, transl. Wellhausen, p. 28; Ṭabarī, i. 1935, 14; Balādhuri, p. 105; Baghawī on Sūra xxv. 61) that Musailima, who preached in the name of Raḥmān, was himself called Raḥmān. Further the story recurring in all traditions that Musailima proposed to the Medinese prophet a division of authority or a transfer of his power to him on his death (a similar story is told of the Ḥanīfa chief Hawdhā) becomes more intelligible if this prophet already occupied in Yamāma a position similar to that of Muḥammad in Medina. It is also worthy of note that the prophetic utterances attributed to Musailima recall the earliest Meccan sūras with their short rhyming sentences and curious oaths and have no resemblance at all to the later Medinese sūras. In particular the fact that all the Banū Ḥanīfa followed him into battle against the Medinese shortly after the death of Muḥammad shows that he must have been active for a considerable time and was no upstart imitator of Muḥammad. That the latter was the usual method of explaining the "liar" Musailima, is readily intelligible, nor is it to be wondered at that orthodox tradition could not deny itself the pleasure of depicting his relations with the Tamīm prophetess Sadjāḡ [q. v.] in the most scurrilous fashion. Fortunately however, the otherwise little reliable Saif gives quite a different story, which although influenced by later ideas (Musailima in order to gain followers reduces the five daily ṣalāts to three; he has a *mu'adhdhin* and a *muḡīm*; he tries in vain to imitate Muḥammad's miracles etc.), gives a picture of him which is in the main correct and we can agree with Wellhausen that his utterances have a distinctly Yamāma

colouring. According to Saif's account, he must have been considerably influenced by Christianity for he speaks of the kingdom of heaven and of him who will come from heaven. Like several other men of the time in Arabia of deep religious feelings he favoured asceticism. He forbade wine and marital intercourse after the birth of a son. It is interesting that Palgrave on his journey into Najd found a number of sayings still current under Musailima's name; unfortunately he did not trouble to record them so that we cannot compare them with what is recorded of his utterances in literature. This rival community in the heart of Arabia meant a serious danger to the young faith of Islām. Therefore when the first attempts to repress it had failed, Abū Bakr sent his ablest leader Khālīd b. al-Walīd against Musailima and the Banū Hanīfa. A battle was fought at 'Akrabā' [q. v.] in 12 A. H. which at first went against the Muslims, but Khālīd's superior strategy finally prevailed and Musailima and many of his followers fell martyrs for their faith. The battle was unusually fierce and the Muslims also suffered heavily, among the fallen being a number of the best authorities on the revelations of Muḥammad.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 945 sq., 964 sq., 971, 996 sq.; al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 86 sqq.; Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 1737—1739, 1748—1750, 1795—1797, 1871, 1880, 1915—1921, 1929—1957; Ibn Kūtaiba, *Kitāb al-Ma'arīf*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 206; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, in *B. G. A.*, vii. 275, 284 sq.; Baihaqi, *Kitāb al-Maḥāsīn*, ed. Schwally, p. 32; Muir, *Annals of the Early Caliphate*, p. 31, 38—46; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv. 102, 115, 156 sq.; vi. 15—19; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii. 450 sq., 635—648, 727—738; Hirschfeld, *New Researches*, p. 25; D. S. Margoliouth, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 485 sqq.; against him Lyall, *ibid.*, p. 771 sq.; Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, i. 382. (FR. BUHL)

MUSALLĀ (A.), part. pass. II of *ṣ-l-w*, place where the ṣalāt is performed on certain occasions. When Muḥammad had fixed his abode in Madīna, he performed the ordinary ṣalāt's in his dār, which was also his masjid (not in the sense of temple). The extraordinary ṣalāt's, however, were performed on a place situated southwest of the city in the territory of the Banū Salima, outside the wall, northeast of the bridge on the wādī, where at present the street from the suburb al-'Anbariya reaches the market-place Barr al-Munākha (cf. Burton, *Personal Narrative*, plan opp. i. 256; picture of the muṣallā as well as of the mosque of 'Umar situated on the place, opp. i. 329; al-Batānūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāziya*, 2nd ed., plan of Madīna opp. p. 252; part of the Barr al-Munākha, *ibid.*, opp. p. 264; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. II/i., opp. p. 72).

On this spot the ṣalāt was performed on the 1st Shawwāl and on the 10th Dhu 'l-Ḥijjja (Ṭabari, i. 1281, 1362). On the latter day the ṣalāt was combined with the slaughtering of two spotted rams (Bukhārī, *Aḍāḥi*, bāb 6). On the two days of festival Muḥammad and his followers on their way to the muṣallā were preceded by Bilāl who bore the spear ('anaza; q. v.).

It is also said that the ṣalāt for rain was held on the muṣallā (copious data in Tradition, cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, s. v. Rain; and do., *Moham-*

med en de Joden, p. 141). Further it is related that the service for the dead was performed on this spot (Bukhārī, *Djanā'iz*, bāb 4, 61; Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden*, p. 140). Finally the muṣallā is mentioned as the place where executions took place (Bukhārī, *Ṭalāk*, bāb 11; Ṭabari, i. 1903). The sacred character of the place appears in the fact that menstruating women were taught to avoid it (Bukhārī, *Ḥaid*, bāb 23). According to Caetani (A. H. I, § 55, note 3; cf. A. H. 2, § 24, note 1), the muṣallā was used more frequently.

It was not only in Madīna but in a large number of other places that the rites mentioned, or some of them, were performed on a muṣallā. According to al-Nawawī (commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, ii. 296), this was the practice of most of the capitals. The custom prevails up to the present day. According to Doutté, the North-African muṣallā is used for the rites of the 10th Dhu 'l-Ḥijjja. It is a large threshing-floor, with a wall provided with a *miḥrāb*; there is also an elevated place for the *khaṭīb*. This is the form of the muṣallā in many towns of Morocco.

To the doctors of the law it was questionable whether the festival ceremonies should be performed on the muṣallā or in the mosque. There was divergency of opinion on this point, even within the *madhhab*'s (Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī, *Tanbih*, ed. Juynboll, p. 41, where "the field" (*al-ṣaḥrā'*) is mentioned side by side with the mosque; Zirkānī, comm. on the *Muwatta'*, i. 328; Khalīl b. Ishāq, *Mukhtaṣar*, Paris 1318, p. 33 sq.; al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, ii. 296).

Wensinck has conjectured that even in pre-Islāmic times rites of several kinds were performed on an open area, threshing-floor, muṣallā or the like. The connection between all those rites and the special place is sought by him therein, that they had a special connection with the fertile earth, of which the threshing-floor and the like were symbols.

Bibliography: Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, A. H. 2, § 7, 24, note i., 67, 91, 101; A. H. 6, § 19; A. H. 11, § 55, note 3, 159a; Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, transl. Schaefer, Leipzig 1930, p. 205, 233; R. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage...*, London 1857, i. 378; Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden 1908, p. 25, 138—142; do., *Handbook of Early Muh. Tradition*, s. v.; do., *Rites of Mourning and Religion*, in *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, N. R., vol. XVIII/i., p. 1 sqq.; Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1908, p. 462; Samhūdī, *Khulāṣat al-Wafā'*, Cairo 1285, p. 187 sqq.; Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der Stadt Medina*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, ix., separate ed., Göttingen 1860, p. 127 sqq.; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ii. 89; al-Ya'kūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 47; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-Khamīs*, ii. 14; Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, iii. 104, 703; iv. 51 (poetic references); Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *mosellay*. (A. J. WENSINCK)

MUSAWĪ. [See MECCA, ii. 4.]

AL-MUSAWWIR. [See ALLĀH II.]

MÜSH, town in Western Armenia near the southern bank of the Murād Şu (Arsanias), some 70 km. as the crow flies to the west of Khilāt. In pre-Muḥammadan times it was the principal town of the district of Tauran (Hübschmann, *Idg. Forsch.*, xvi. 326; J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires Historiques et Géographiques sur l'Arménie*, i., Paris 1818, p. 102). In Islāmic times the name Ṭarūn

(as spelled by Yāqūt, iv. 534) is sometimes used for the town itself as in Ṭabarī, iii. 1408 (cf. J. Markwart, *Süd-Armenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, p. 354). The tradition of the Armenian historians connects the foundation of Mūsh with Muṣḥet Mamikonean, the ancestor of the powerful, originally non-Armenian family of the Mamikoneans, who lived in the ivth century A. D. To him is ascribed the construction of a castle, the ruins of which are still visible on one of the hills that dominate Mūsh. This town itself is situated at the mouth of a mountain gorge and before it extends, as far as the river, a large fertile plain, the "plain of Mūsh". During the first centuries after the Muḥammadan conquest, Mūsh remained a centre of Armenian national life; from 825—851 it was the residence of the Bagratid Bagrat. After the abduction of this prince to Baghdād in 851, the inhabitants revolted and killed the Muḥammadan governor Yūsuf b. Abī Sa'īd al-Marwānī (Ṭabarī, iii. 1408 sq.). Later on it was part of the vassal kingdom of the Bagratids. Occasionally it was occupied by Muḥammadan adventurers, as in the days of Saif al-Dawla (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 408) in 353 (964). About this time the name Mūsh appears for the first time in Islāmic geographical literature (al-Maḳḍisī, p. 150). In Saldjūḳ times the influence of Islām became stronger; the atabegs of the Armanshāh dynasty disputed the territory of Khilāt and Mūsh with the Urtukids and even the Aiyūbid Nadīm al-Dīn laid siege to Mūsh in 604 (1207) (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 169, 180), and in 625 (1228) Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārizmshāh was master of the country; in that year a battle was fought by him and lost on the plain of Mūsh against the Saldjūḳ ruler of Erzerūm (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 314; Djuwainī, *Tārīkh-i Dīhān-gushā*, ii. 181). This accounts for the ruined state of the town in the middle of the xvth century (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī). After the Mongol period Mūsh was raided by Timūr in 1386, when he invaded the possessions of the Kara Ḳoyunlu (Sharaf al-Dīn, lix. 419). In 1473 the power of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan was definitely broken in Armenia and from that time on Mūsh belonged to the Ottoman Empire. At that time the population of its surroundings was already strongly mixed with Kurds and Turcomans. The direct authority was exercised by Kurdish local chieftains, who, in the ruling system of the Empire, were subordinated, as sandjaḳ begs, either to the pasha of Bitlis or to that of Wan. At the beginning of the xixth century ruled the Kurdish *mīrmīrān* Emin Pasha, who was deposed in 1828—1829 (Ritter, x. 676 and *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, i. 426). In the middle of that century, Mūsh became the chief town in the *merkez ḥazā* Mūsh, in the *sandjaḳ* Mūsh in the *wilāyet* of Bitlis, and in the Turkish republic it is a *ḥazā* in the *wilāyet* of Bitlis. The population of the town (some 5,000 inhabitants) was, until the Great War, half Armenian and half Muḥammadan; one of the Armenian churches had been converted in 979 (1571) into a mosque, according to an inscription (Ritter). The environs of Mūsh had also a mixed population, where, however, ancient Christian sanctuaries had long continued to exist, such as the monastery of Surb Karapet, called by the Turks Çaḳılı Kilise and described by Ewliya Çelebi.

During the Armenian troubles in the last years of 'Abd al-Ḥamid II's reign, in 1905, there began

in Mūsh a revolutionary movement of Armenian tashnakists, which brought about an intervention of the Kurds and a suppression by government troops, in which the population suffered much. In the Great War the Russian advance in Armenia had gone as far as Mūsh, when, in accordance with the treaty of Brest-Litowsk (1917), the Russian troops retired in 1918, leaving this part of Armenia again in Turkish possession.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 682; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 392—393; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, p. 106; Ḥādjdī Khalīfa, *Dīhān-numā*, ed. Constantinople, p. 416; Ewliya Çelebi, *Siyāhat-nāme*, iii. 228; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x., Berlin 1843, p. 662 sqq., 676 sqq.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i., Paris 1841, p. 551, 575. (J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-MUSHABBIHA. [see TASHRIH.]

MUŞHAF (A.), Ethiopic loanword (cf. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 49 sq.; the forms *mişhaf* and *maşhaf* occur also; according to some grammarians they are less correct, especially the latter), c o d e x, or, according to the definition of Arabic lexicographers, leaves (*ṣuḥuf*, plural of *ṣahifa*), when they are bound together between two covers. In the tradition on the redaction of the Ḳur'ān [q. v.] by Hudhaifa b. al-Yamān during 'Uthmān's caliphate, it is said indeed, that the collection of leaves that had been made by Zaid b. Thābit at 'Umar's instigation, was copied and arranged into *maşāḥif*. These were sent to all regions (as standard copies); the *ṣuḥuf* were restored to 'Umar's daughter Ḥafsa, in whose possession they had been ever since her father's death. Other *ṣuḥuf* were annihilated as often as occasion offered itself (Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-Ḳur'ān*, bāb 3; 'Ilm, bāb 7; *Dīhād*, bāb 12; *Tafsīr*, sūra 9, bāb 20; *Aḥkām*, bāb 37; Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, sūra 9, trad. 19).

From the time of the redaction of the Ḳur'ān under 'Uthmān *maşāḥif* are frequently mentioned in Arabic literature. In a tradition on 'Amr b. al-ʿĀs's well known stratagem during the battle of Siffin it is said that a huge *muşhaf* from Damascus was tied to the points of three lances (al-Dīnawarī, *Kitāb al-Aḥbār al-tiwāl*, ed. Girgass, p. 201 sq.; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳāt Siffin*, Bairūt 1921, p. 350; cf. p. 353); in other traditions "copies of the Ḳur'ān" in several numbers are mentioned (e.g. Ṭabarī, i. 3329).

In a tradition on the *ṣalāt* it is assumed that in the mosque of Madīna the *muşhaf* had a fixed place (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 95; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 263, 264); nowadays this place is by the *dikka* (cf. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, chap. Religion and Laws; and *supra*, art. MASJID, I, D, f.).

It is said that 'Ā'isha had a *muşhaf* copied for her private use by her mawlā Abū Yūnus (Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, sūra 2, trad. 29; cf. Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-Ḳur'ān*, bāb 6).

Maşāḥif were taken into the field by Muslim soldiers (cf. Tirmidhī, *Hudūd*, bāb 28; Abū Dāwūd, *Dīhād*, bāb 135); this practice met, however, with objections (cf. Bukhārī, *Dīhād*, bāb 129; Muslim, *Imāra*, trad. 92, 93), founded on the fear that they might fall into impure hands. For a similar reason persons impure in a ritual sense were prohibited from touching *maşāḥif*, save in a special cover (*ʿallāka*; Bukhārī, *Ḥaid*, bāb 3).

Bibliography: The lexicons, s. v.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

MUSHİR (A.), councillor, Turkish pronunciation *müşhîr* and *müşhûr* (modern orthography *müşür*) with meaning "Marshal". *Mushîr* literally means "one who points out, advises". Cf. also the article **MUSTASHĀR**.

According to some authorities, *mushîr* was at first (before the 'Abbāsids) the title of the ministers (later *wazīr*; q. v.) or secretaries of state (*kātib*). So at least we are told by Ibn al-Ṭīṭakā' (ed. Derenbourg, p. 206; transl. Amar, p. 244). Khālil al-Zāhirī (ed. Ravaisse, p. 106 and 114) says that "formerly" an official to whom he gives fourth rank in the hierarchy, which shows he clearly distinguishes him from the *wazīr*, bore the title of *mushîr*. We seem however to have very little other information about this dignitary. On the other hand, the word *mushîr* in a non-technical sense is often found along with *wazīr* of which it sometimes seems to be a doublet or synonym (cf. Makrizi, ed. Wiet, iv., fasc. i., p. 20 and 74; Nöldeke, *Die Erzählungen vom Mäusekönig und seinen Ministern*, Göttingen 1879, p. 53: *mushîr nāsiḥ*, *wazīr nāsiḥ*).

We may note however that this older and broader conception did not survive. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the *wazīr* is, it is true, an "assistant" to the sovereign, but to his predecessor Māwardī (*Les statuts gouvernementaux*, transl. Fagnan, p. 43 sqq.) the *wazīr* is not the adviser of the *imām* but his delegate.

If Ibn al-Ṭīṭakā's statement is correct we must see a survival of this older state of affairs in the usage of the Mamlūk chancellery where we find among the honorific *laqābs* of the *wazīr* that of *mushîr al-dawla* (or *al-saltāna* or *al-mulūk wa 'l-salāṭīn*). Cf. Kalkaşhandī, vi. 70.

The, same usage, which perhaps came from the Saldjūks, is still more clearly established in the Ottoman chancellery. We actually find the word *mushîr* among the *alqāb* of the Turkish *wazīr* (*vezîr*) and almost at the head of the formula, which shows its importance: *düstūr-i mükerrem*, *müşhîr-i mufakkkham*, *nizām ül-'alem* etc. Whence in the epistolary style the epithets *müşhîrî* and *müşhîrâne* used along with *düstūrî* and *düstūrâne* or *khidivî* and *khidivâne* to designate all that belongs to an official of the rank of *vezîr*.

Mahmūd II in creating the principal ministries naturally thought of again giving a real value to this title of *mushîr*, which he gave to the principal ministers, and in the reign of his successor 'Abd al-Madjīd "the privy council (*medjilis-i khāṣṣ*, a regular council of ministers) consisted of the grand vizier, the *sheikh al-islām*, eleven *mushîr* and three officials of the first rank" (Bianchi, *Le premier annuaire impérial de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1848, p. 7; Bianchi translates *mushîr* by "councillor or under-secretary of state" and has been followed by Barbier de Meynard in his *Supplément*, the references in which should be taken with this reservation). In 1250 (1834—1835) the title of *mushîr* was given to the new *nāzir* of the Interior (*mülkiye nāzirî* = the former *ket-khūdā*) and of Foreign Affairs (*khāridiye nāzirî* = the former *re'is ül-küttāb*; cf. Luṭfi, v. 29). The *zabtiye müşhîrliyi* was created in 1262 (1846) (Luṭfi, viii. 87).

Mahmūd II also created the post of *beylerbeyi vezîr* or chief of the imperial guard, who bore the title *mushîr-i 'asākîr-i khāṣṣe* (*paṣha*), an officer who took rank after the *ser'asker* or War Minister

(Hammer, *Hist. de l'Emp. Ott.*, xvii. 188 and 189). This title was soon to be contrasted with that of *mushîr-i 'asākîr-i shāhāne* by the other troops (Luṭfi, v. 28).

The ministers did not long bear the title of *mushîr* which gave place to *nāzir*, but the former of these titles, perhaps under the influence of the word "marshal", which it more or less resembles, became a special military title. It became the highest rank in the army, corresponding to vizier in the civil service and of *kaşasker* in the religious hierarchy. At first the title *redîf-i manşûre müşhîrî* (cf. Luṭfi, v. 68, 74) was given to the *wālîs* of certain provinces, or simply *mushîr* of such and such a province (*ibid.*, p. 165 sqq.; vi. 102, 103; vii. 70). This corresponded to the demarcation of the army corps.

The number of *mushîr* or "marshals" soon increased and in the reign of 'Abd al-Hamīd II, there were 39 in 1890 and in 1895, 31 (see the *Salnâme-i 'askerî* of the years 1306 and 1311). Those who had the right to this title were the *ser'asker*, the *topkhāne-i 'amire müşhîrî* or "grand master of artillery", the *sarây müşhîrî* or "grand master of the Palace" (replacing the old *çavuş-bashi*, according to Aḥmad Rāsim, *Ta'riḥ*, i. 156 and 186), the *khāṣṣe müşhîrî* (as under Mahmūd II), the commanders of the seven army corps (*kol ordu*), the heads of the army services, the aides de camp to the sultān (*yāwer-i ekrem*). The only duty of five of the *mushîr* was to superintend the ceremony of the Selāmlık (*selāmlık resm-i 'ālisine me'mûr*). The officer in charge of the police station (*merkez*) of Beshiktash, near the Yıldız Kiosk, was also a *mushîr* (*M.S.O.S.*, vii., 1908, part 2, p. 40). Instead of *sarây müşhîrî* the more usual phrase was *mā-beyn mushîr* (Luṭfi, vii. 62).

The honorific form of address for a *mushîr* was *dewletli* (*dewletlî*) *efendim hazretleri*. In the plural the Persian form *müşhîrān* or with epithet *müşhîrān-i 'izām*. The name of the office is *müşhîrîyet* or *müşhîrlik*, more rarely *müşhîrî* (Luṭfi, v. 91).

The title of *mushîr*, which has been borne by Muṣṭafā Kemāl Paṣhā himself, has survived in the Turkish republic but there is at present only one *mushîr* in office, the Chief of the General Staff, Fewzî Paṣha.

In Khedivial Egypt they stopped at a stage where the influence of the reforms of Mahmūd II was still felt. The *rutbet mushîr* there was down to the present reign exclusively the highest grade of officers but without distinction between military and civil offices. It was also in theory a civil rank (*rutba mulkiya*) to which all the princes of the khedivial house had a claim.

In Persian the title *mushîr* has been rarely used. Cf. however the case of the *mushîr ed-dowle* (cf. the similar title above) borne by an aide-de-camp of Naṣr al-Dīn Shāh (Feuvrier, *Trois ans à la Cour de Perse*, p. 135—136).

Bibliography: Cf. J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, Cairo 1930, index, s. v. *mouchîr*; M^{me} Kibrizli-Mehemet-Pacha, *30 ans dans les Harems d'Orient*, Paris 1875, p. 126 (description of a ceremonial presentation of a *mushîr*'s firmān); on the word *mushîrîye* in actual use in Damascus, cf. Saussey, *Les mots turcs dans le dialecte arabe de Damas*, in *Mél. de l'Inst. fr. de Damas*, i., 1929, p. 117.

(J. DENY)

MUSHRIK. [See **SHIRK.**]

AL-MUSHTARĪ, the planet Jupiter, Pers. *Hurmīd* < *Aurmazd* (*Ahura-mazdāh*). The name of the planet is in Sumerian *Shulpa'e*, later also *Mulu-babbar* "the white star" (= *Μολοβαβάρ* in Hesychos; cf. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Heidelberg 1925, ii. 404); in the later Accadian period it is always identified with the numen supremum Marduk (Biblical Merodach). In Hebrew it is called *Šedek*, in Greek — just as among the Babylonians, as the symbol of the highest deity — *δ τοῦ Διὸς ἄστρον*. As a synonym of al-Mushtarī we find (e.g. in Ḥadīth) the name *Barḍīs* (cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vii. 323).

The Arab astronomers, like Pythagoras and Ptolemy, put Jupiter in the sixth sphere (*falak*) from within i.e. the third from without. On the interior it adjoins the outer surface of the sphere of Mars and on the exterior the inner surface of the sphere of Saturn. The following table gives the least, mean and greatest distance of Jupiter from the centre of the earth, expressed in radii of the earth, as given by al-Battānī (*Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, ch. 50), al-Farghānī (*Complatio*, ch. 21), Ibn Rusta (*Kitāb al-Aʿlāk*, ed. de Goeje, p. 18–20) and Abrahām bar Hiya (*Sphaera mundi*, ch. 9), as well as the Hindu values given by al-Bīrūnī from the compilation by Yaʿqūb b. Ṭarīk of the year 161 A.H., and the modern figures for these distances:

	least distance (perigee)		mean distance		greatest distance (apogee)
al-Battānī	8,022 rad. of the earth	10,473	rad. of the earth	12,924	rad. of the earth
al-Farghānī	8,876 "	11,640 ^{1/2}	"	14,405	"
Ibn Rusta	8,820 "	11,503 ^{1/2}	"	14,187	"
Bar Hiya	8,000 "	10,200	"	12,400	"
Hindu					
(al-Bīrūnī)	8,019 ^{1/21} "	10,866 ^{2/3}	"	13,714 ^{2/7}	"
Modern	92,500 "	122,250	"	152,000	"

The radius of the earth is here estimated at 3,250 (al-Battānī, al-Farghānī and Bar Hiya) and 3,818 Arab miles respectively (Ibn Rusta) while, according to al-Bīrūnī, the Hindus give it as 1,050 farsakh = 3,150 Arab miles (1 Ar. m. = 1,973 metres; cf. Nallino, *Il valore metrico del grado di meridiano*). The true geocentric distances of the planet Jupiter are actually about 11^{1/2} times greater than given by al-Battānī for example. It should however be pointed out that the relation of 37:23 or 11^{1/8} for the greatest and least observed apparent diameter taken by this scholar, with the help of which the distance of the apogee was calculated from the estimated distance of the perigee at 8,022 radii of the earth agrees remarkably well with the modern estimate. The apparent diameter of Jupiter at the mean distance is given by al-Battānī as 1^{1/12} of the diameter of the sun. From this and the mean distance he calculates the true diameter of Jupiter at 4^{1/3} diameters of the earth (= 82^{2/3} radii), and its volume at 81 times that of the earth (i.e. [4^{1/3}]³). The true values are 2.56 (i.e. 170 times larger): diameter of Jupiter = 11.14 diameters of the earth, volume = 1,380 times the volume of the earth.

Following Ptolemy (*Almagest*) al-Battānī gives the greatest observed northern (geocentric) latitude as 2° 4', the greatest southern as 2° 8'. On the other hand, he points out (ch. 31 and 45) that he found the length of the apogee of the eccentric circle from his observations to be about 8° smaller (in 879 A.D., 164° 28') than was to

be expected from the *Almagest*, taking into account the precession.

The movement of Jupiter is as in the *Almagest* represented to be through four circles ("spheres", *aftāk*) (cf. al-Battānī, *Op. astr.*, ch. 31). The astronomical tables take for its mean daily sidereal motion the value of 5'. Its period of sidereal revolution is given by al-Qazwīnī (*Āthār*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 26) at 11 years, 10 months, 15 days.

Al-Mushtarī in astrology. Al-Mushtarī is the ruler (*rabb*) of the *Buyūt al-Rāmi* (Sagittarius, night-house) and *al-Ḥūt* (Pisces, day-house), also night-ruler of the 1. *Muthallatha* (*Triguetrum*), which consist of *al-Ḥamal* (Aries), *al-Asad* (Leo) and *al-Rāmi* (Sagittarius), whose ruler by day is the sun, and finally companion (*rafiq*) of the 3 *Muthallatha*. It has its *Sharaf* (exaltation) in the 15° of *al-Saraḥān* (Cancer), its *Hubūṭ* in the 15° of *al-Djady* (Capricornus). According to al-Qazwīnī (i. 22), "the astrologers call al-Mushtarī the larger star of fortune", *al-Sa'd al-akbar*, because its good influence surpasses that of Venus; they attribute to it numerous happy states and the greatest good fortune. The idea that the planet Jupiter is a star of good fortune is general among other peoples also; we also find it in Babylonia, India and China. For further details of the part played by Jupiter in Arab astrology see the works of Abū Ma'shar.

Bibliography: See that of the articles 'UTĀRID and MINṬAQA. (W. HARTNER)

MUSĪQĪ or موسيقا or موسيقى as it was

written in the West (al-Fārābī, *Ihsā' al-ʿUlūm*; Schiaparelli, *Vocabulista in Arabico* = Latin *musica*), is the name given to the science of music. It is a post-classical word derived from the Greek *μουσική*, and was already current at the time of Ishāk al-Mawṣilī (d. 236 = 850) [q.v.]. In the *Mafātiḥ al-ʿUlūm* (11th = xth century) *mūsikī* is one of the four mathematical sciences. Its author says: "As for *mūsikī*, its meaning is the [science of the] composing of melodies (*alḥān*). It is a Greek word, and it is named the *nutrib*. And the composer of the melodies is the *mūsikūr* or *mūsikār* (p. 236)". The contemporary Ikhwān al-Safā' say (i. 87): "*Mūsikī* is *ghinā'*, and the *mūsikār* is the *mughannī*, and the *mūsikāt* (*mūsikāriyya* in Dieterici) is the instrument of music (*ghinā'*". 'Ilm al-mūsikī was the name given by the Arabs to the Greek or mathematical theory of music as distinct from 'ilm al-*ghinā'* which was the Arabian practical theory, as we know from the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and Yaḥyā b. 'Alī b. Yaḥyā b. Abī Maṣṣūr (d. 300 = 912). The latter tells us (Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 236v) of the "disagreement between the masters of Arabian *ghinā'* and the masters of [Greek] *mūsikī*". Of course, the Arabs and Persians possessed a theory of music long before they became influenced by the translations made from the Greek

at the end of the iith (viiith) and beginning of the iiith (ixth) century.

The Pre-Islāmic System. The source of both Persian and Arabian theory of music was an older Semitic one which had influenced, if it had not been the actual foundation of Greek theory (cf. Farmer, *Hist. Facts* . . ., p. 123). No Persian or Arabic technical nomenclature of a theory of *mūsīkī* (i.e. speculative theory) has come down to us from pre-Islāmic times, although it must have existed. Al-Fārābī (d. 339 = 950) describes a musical instrument, still used in his day, called the *ṭunbūr al-baghdādī* or *al-mizānī*, the frets (*dasātīn*, a Persian word) of which gave a "pre-Islāmic scale" (Kosegarten, *Lib. cant.*, p. 89; *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*). It was a quarter-tone scale which was arrived at by dividing a string into forty equal parts. The idea could be traced to Eratosthenes (Ptolemy, *Harm.*, ed. Wallis, ii. 14) but probably was of far greater antiquity (Farmer, *Influence of Music*, in *Proceedings, Musical Association*, 1926, p. 121). Although al-Fārābī's instrument did not actually give the following scale, yet the theoretical division mentioned above would produce a scale which, expressed in cyclic cents, would register:

Fret	Nut	2nd	4th	6th	8th	10th
Cents	0	89	182	281	386	498

J. P. N. Land was of opinion that the later Pythagorean lute scale of the Old Arabian School was derived from the system of the *ṭunbūr al-baghdādī*. It is more likely however, that there was an earlier lute scale than that of the Old Arabian School, as has been hinted elsewhere (Farmer, *Hist. of Arabian Music*, p. 70). This was a one-octave scale fixed by the accordatura (*taswiya*) C-D-G-a, the frets of which gave the following scale:

Cents	0	204	408	498	702	906	1110	1200
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For a discussion of this scale see Farmer, *An Old Moorish Lute Tutor*, p. 27; do., *Hist. Facts* . . ., p. 310.

The Old Arabian System. In the ith (viith) century we get definite glimpses of a theory in the music of the Arabs and Persians. We read of a certain Ibn Misḍjaḥ [q.v.] (d. ca. 97 = 715) who had learned Persian music (*ghināʾ*) and accomplishments in playing (*ḍarb*), and had received instruction from Byzantine (*rūmī*) barbiton players (*barbaṭīya*) and theorists (*usṭūkhūsiya* = *σχοιχειραταί*). These borrowings from abroad he incorporated into a system which came to be recognized throughout the peninsula (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, iii. 84). We are told however, that Ibn Misḍjaḥ rejected from Persian and Byzantine methods what he found to be "alien to Arabian music" (*ghināʾ*). This would appear to show, as Land once pointed out (*Remarks*, p. 156), that these foreign importations "did not supersede the national music, but were grafted upon an Arabic root with a character of its own". We know that about the same time, or perhaps slightly later (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, i. 98), that the Arabs adopted the Persian lute in the place of their own instrument. This latter, as we have seen, gave a one-octave scale based on the accordatura C-D-G-a, whilst the Persian lute was tuned in fourths thus: A-D-G-c, which enabled the performer to attain (with a shift) the double octave. Yet only the highest and the lowest strings of their old lute needed to be altered, and these were given the Persian names of *sīr* and

bamm, whilst the second and third strings retained their old Arabic names of *mathnā* and *mathlath*. The new accordatura of the lute brought about a change in the scale (*ṭabaqa*) as the following distribution of the frets shows (Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 237). The lute with the Arabs was the basis of all "theory", just as the lyre was with the Greeks.

FRETS

STRINGS

	<i>Bamm</i>	<i>Mathlath</i>	<i>Mathnā</i>	<i>Zīr</i>
<i>Mutlaḥ</i> (Open string)	0	498	996	294
<i>Sabbāba</i> (1st Finger)	204	702	1200	498
<i>Wustā</i> (2nd Finger)	294	792	90	588
<i>Bīnšīr</i> (3rd Finger)	408	906	204	702
<i>Khīnšīr</i> (4th Finger)	498	996	294	792

Nevertheless, this scale did not satisfy everyone, and we find that the Persians introduced a new *wustā* fret at 303 cents, whilst later a famous musician at Hārūn's court named Zalzal [q.v.] (d. 175 = 791) adopted a fret at 355 cents, half-way between the new Persian *wustā* fret and the *bīnšīr* fret. By the time of Ishāḳ al-Mawṣilī (d. 236 = 850) these Persian and Zalzal frets seem to have created such confusion that this musician attempted to recast the lute scale in its old Pythagorean mould, which, we are told, he did without recourse to Euclid or a solitary book of the "Ancients" as the Greeks of old were called (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, v. 52—53; *ʿIqd al-farīd*, iii. 188). His reform appears to have been successful in ʿIrāq and lasted there until the ivth (xth) century (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, i. 2; *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, i. 98). Elsewhere however, the Persian and Zalzal notes continued in favour, as we know from al-Fārābī (Kosegarten, *Lib. cant.*, p. 85) and the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, p. 239. A century later, whilst the Persian note of 303 cents had disappeared, that of Zalzal was still popular (Ibn Sīnā, *Shifāʾ*, India Office MS., fol. 173v).

There is but little preserved of the writings of the theorists of the Old Arabian School. Whether the books of Yūnus al-Kātib (d. ca. 148 = 765) [q.v.] and the more famous al-Khalīl (d. 175 = 791) [q.v.] on music (*nagham* and *ikāʾ*) dealt with these theories we know not since they have perished (*Fihrist*, p. 43, 143). A similar fate appears to have overtaken the music books of ʿUbad Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (d. ca. 300 = 912), ʿAlī b. Hārūn b. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā b. Abī Maṣṣūr (d. 352 = 963) and Sulaimān b. Aiyūb al-Madīnī (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, v. 45; *Fihrist*, p. 144, 148). Beyond the sparse information given in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and the *Murūdī* of al-Masʿūdī (viii. 89 sq.), we have only the *Risāla fi ʿl-Mūsīkī* of Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā b. Abī Maṣṣūr (d. 300 = 912) to depend on, since the *Kitāb al-Lahw wa ʿl-Malāḥī* of Ibn Khur-dādhbih (d. ca. 300 = 912) [q.v.] is in private hands (*Hilāl*, xxviii. 204).

Although we read that Ishāḳ al-Mawṣilī made his calculations by *ḥisāb* (Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī, fol. 237v), yet the Old Arabian School, so far as we know from Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā, did not adjust the

frets of the lute (*ʿūd*) or pandore (*ṭunbūr*) by this method. Their rule for fixing the frets was based on tuning a note with its octave or, as they termed it, its *ṣiyāh* or *dīf*, although the latter term shows that they recognized the interval ratio 1 : 2. When the Greek scholiasts came to deal with the theory of music all this was changed.

The Greek Scholiasts. By the middle of the ixth (ixth) century, the effects of the writings of the ancient Greeks on music, which had been translated into Arabic, began to be felt. Among these treatises were Aristotle's *Problems* and *De anima*, the commentaries of Themistius and Alexander Aphrodisiensis on the latter, two works by Aristoxenus — including the *στοιχεῖα* it would seem, the two books on music attributed to Euclid, a treatise by Nicomachus, presumably the lost book, and the *Harmonics* of Ptolemy, all or most of which had been translated by the first half of the ivth (xth) century at least, as we know from al-Fārābī (*Fihrist*, p. 266, 269, 270; Ibn al-Kifṭī, p. 65; al-Maḥḥārī, *Anal.*, ii. 87; *ʿIqd al-farāid*, iii. 186; *B. G. A.*, vii. 128; *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, i. 102; and Farmer, *Greek Theorists of Music in Arabic Translation*, in *Isis*, xiii., p. 325).

The *ʿilm al-mūsikī* now became one of the courses of the *ʿulūm riyaḍiyya* or *quadrivium*, and was studied by most savants at this period although later a few fought shy of the subject probably, as in Western Europe (Farmer, *Hist. Facts* . . . , p. 184), because it was too abstruse (Ibn Khallikān, iii. 471). The early scholiasts dealt with the theory of sound (*ṣawt*), intervals (*abʿād*), genres (*adīnās*), species (*anwāʾ*), systems (*djumūʿ*, *djamāʿāt*), mutation (*intikāl*) and composition (*taʿrif*), after the manner of the Greeks, and from the above order we see that Euclid influenced them in this respect. To this was added rhythm (*īkāʿ*). All this was of immense value to Arab theorists and their later copyists, the Persians and Turks. Instead of the old method of describing intervals according to their frets they were now given definite names and recognized by ratios. The octave became *al-kull* ("the whole"), whilst the fifth, fourth, and ditone were given identical names in Arabic. The tone was variously known as the *ṭanīn*, *ʿawda* or *mudda*. The semitone or *nusf ṭanīn* was recognized in its two forms, the *infiṣāl* or *ἁπορρομή*, and the *baḥiya* or *faḍla* which was the *λείμμα*, whilst the quarter-tone was the *irḥḥāʾ*. In some ways the Scholiasts were slavish and diffuse in what they borrowed, although in others they were eclectic. On the question of the physical bases of sound however, and their treatment of musical instruments, they pushed ahead of their masters.

The first to take advantage of the newly-found treasures of the "Ancients" was al-Kindī (d. 260 = 874) [q. v.]. Seven treatises on music theory appear under his name (*Fihrist*, p. 255—257; Ibn al-Kifṭī, p. 370; Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, i. 210), and four of them would seem to have survived (Farmer, *Hist. of Arabian Music*, p. 127; do., *Some musical MSS. identified*, p. 91). Three of them are at Berlin (Ahlwardt, *Verz.*, Nrs. 5503, 5530, 5531): *Risāla fī Idjzāʾ khabarīya al-Mūsikī*, *Risāla fī ʿl-Luḥūn*, and another without title. The fourth, the *Risāla fī Khubr Taʿlif al-Aḥwān*, is in the British Museum (Or. 2361), and is probably later than the others. In the latter we see the author's indebtedness to Euclid and Ptolemy. He had written a *Risāla fī Kismat al-Ḳanūn*, presumably Euclid's *Sectio*

canonis. He uses a one-octave alphabetic (*abjad*) notation which was an improvement on Greek methods, but his pointing the way to a reform of the scale was probably of greater import to the Arabs. By introducing a fifth string on the lute, so as to reach the double octave without recourse to the shift, he obtained the Complete System (*djamʿ al-ʿaṣam*: Ptolemy's *σύνστημα τέλειον*). To accomplish this a fret called the *mudjannab* had to be introduced at 114 cents between the *muṭlaḥ* and the *sabbāba* fret, which in itself created another problem, and eventually led to frets being tried between the *muṭlaḥ* and the above *mudjannab* at 90 cents and between the *wusṭā* and *binṣir* frets at 384 cents. Here was the germ of the *limma*, *limma*, *comma* scale of the later *ṭunbūr al-khurāsānī*, the forerunner of the Systematist scale.

After al-Kindī, we have a gap of a century in actual documents. There are names of theorists in abundance but their works have not survived. Al-Kindī's two disciples, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sarakhsī (d. 286 = 899) and Maṣṣūr b. Ṭalḥa b. Ṭāhir, contributed works on the theory of music, the former writing six (*Fihrist*, p. 117, 149, 261). More important perhaps, were the three books of Ṭābit b. Qurra (d. 288 = 901) [q. v.], as well as those of Muḥammad b. Zakariyā al-Rāzī (d. 320 = 932) [q. v.] and Kustā b. Luḡā (d. ca. 320 = 932) [q. v.] (*Fihrist*, p. 276, 295; Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, i. 309; *Kitāb al-Aghām*, viii. 54; Ḥādjdī Khalīfa, v. 161). The greatest of all the scholiasts however was al-Fārābī (d. 339 = 950) [q. v.] (Ibn al-Kifṭī, p. 277; Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, ii. 134; Steinschneider, *al-Fārābī*). Although we lack two of his books on music, the *Kalām fī ʿl-Mūsikī* and the *Kitāb fī Iḥṣāʾ al-Iḥṣāʾ*, yet his greatest work, the *Kitāb al-Mūsikī al-kabīr*, has been preserved. This treatise, so he tells us, was written because he found an "incompleteness" in what had been handed down from the Greeks. It has been called "the most important treatise on the theory of Oriental music" (cf. vol. ii. 54), but it probably deserved to rank as one of the greatest works that had been written on music. His treatment of the physical and physiological principles of sound and music is certainly an advance on the Greeks, whilst he was the first to devote a detailed study to musical instruments, a subject on which nothing has come down to us from the Greeks. Al-Fārābī was a good mathematician and physicist, and that enabled him to do justice to what the Arabs called the *ʿilm al-naẓarī* or speculative theory, even to not repeating the errors of the Greeks (Farmer, *Hist. Facts* . . . , p. 292—293). Yet he was something more. He was a practical musician and could appreciate the art as well as the science, which was more than Themistius could do, as al-Fārābī himself mentions. As a performer with a reputation (Ibn Khallikān, iii. 309; *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, i. 85) he could bring the *ʿilm al-ʿamalī* or practical art to bear upon the discussions. So whilst he was more thorough than the Greeks in handling the physical bases of sound, he could also make valuable contributions to physiological acoustics, i. e. the sensations of tone, a question which the Greeks left practically untouched.

By the time of al-Fārābī further additions had been made to the scale. The principle by which the Persian and Zalzalīan *wusṭā* frets at 303 and 355 cents had been determined, was also applied to the insertion of corresponding *mudjannab* frets,

between the *muṣṭaḥ* and the *sabbāba*, at 145 and 168 cents, with the result that there were now three *muḍjannab* frets known respectively as the Ancient, Persian and Zalzalīan, whilst the one at 114 cents had disappeared. Here is the fretting of the lute in al-Fārābī's day:

	FRETS		STRINGS				
			<i>Bamn</i>	<i>Matkātā</i>	<i>Matnā</i>	<i>Zir</i>	<i>Ḥadd</i>
<i>Muṣṭaḥ</i>			0	498	996	294	792
<i>Ancient muḍjannab</i>			90	588	1086	384	882
<i>Persian muḍjannab</i>	145	643		1141	439	937	
<i>Zalzalīan muḍjannab</i>	168	666		1164	462	960	
<i>Sabbāba</i>	204	702		1200	498	996	
<i>Ancient wuṣṭā</i>	294	792		90	588	1086	
<i>Persian wuṣṭā</i>	303	801		99	597	1095	
<i>Zalzalīan wuṣṭā</i>	355	853		151	649	1147	
<i>Binṣir</i>	408	906		204	702	1200	
<i>Khinṣir</i>	498	996		294	792	90	

Al-Fārābī also noted the scale of the *ṭunbūr al-khurāsānī* proceeding by a *limma*, *limma*, *comma*, which doubtless was prompted by al-Kindī's speculations. It became the parent of the later theory of the Systematist School. In describing the scales of the *rabāb* or *rebec* he shows one that gave the just minor third (316) and just major third (386).

The next great writer after al-Fārābī was Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Buzdjānī (d. 388 = 998) [q.v.], the most eminent of the Arabic writers on mathematics. His book on rhythm (*ṭiḳā*) has unfortunately disappeared, although its importance has been testified to (*Bibl. Ind.*, 1849, p. 93). The contemporary encyclopædists, the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* in their *Rasā'il*, and Muhammad b. Aḥmad al-Khwarizmi in his *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, also deal with the theory of music. The latter does not break fresh ground although his work is helpful in controlling others. The former, however, are of considerable import because of their able and lucid treatment of acoustics. Here is an instance. According to Helmholtz (*op. cit.*, p. 10), musical tones are distinguished by their force, pitch, and quality, and the force of a musical tone, he says, increases and diminishes with the extent or so-called amplitude of the oscillations of the particles of the sounding body. Preece and Stroh refused to accept this definition and pointed out that loudness does not depend upon amplitude of vibration only, but upon the quantity of air put in vibration (*P. R. S.*, xxviii., p. 366). The *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* had already enunciated this opinion. "Hollow bodies" they say, "like vessels . . . will resound for a long time after they are struck, because the air within them reverberates time after time until it becomes still. Consequently, the wider the vessels are, the greater the sound, because more air is put in vibration" (i. 89). They also recognized the spherical propagation of sound (i. 88), which was an improvement on the Aristotelian *De audibilibus* (802, a) which said that "the direction of sound follows a straight line" (cf. Vitruvius, *De arch.*, v. 3).

The next writers whose works have been spared us are Ibn Sīnā (d. 428 = 1037) [q.v.] and Ibn Zaila (d. 440 = 1048). Two treatises on music stand to the credit of Avicenna, as he was known in Europe, and they are contained in the *Shifā'*

(India Office MS., 1811) and the *Nadīāt* (Bodleian MS. Marsh, 521) (Ibn al-Kifī, p. 413; Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, ii. 2; cf. Casiri, i. 271). Unlike al-Fārābī, the *shāikh al-ra'is* was not a practical musician, yet his biographers claim that he dealt with questions on the theory of music which were neglected by the Greeks. He is scientific and philosophic in his approach, and even critical at times, but he displays little of that originality that is so apparent in his other writings. Ibn Zaila was his disciple and echoed his opinions, although some fresh details emerge when dealing with the practical art. He quotes from al-Kindī on the question of rhythm, and is useful on that account.

Egypt also contributed its quota of music theorists, two outstanding writers being Ibn al-Haiṭham (d. 430 = 1039) [q.v.] and Abu 'l-Ṣalt Umaiya (d. 528 = 1134). Ibn al-Haiṭham appears however to have written commentaries on both the *κατατομή κανόνος* and the *Εισαγωγή ἀρμονική* of Euclid (Ibn al-Kifī, p. 168; Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, ii. 90). Although there were several Arabic commentaries on Euclid's *Canon* not one appears to have survived. Yet we have two at least in Hebrew whose authors probably depended on Arabic works. One of these was Moses N . . . Levy (Halevy) who quotes Shem Ṭob b. Isaac Shafrūt, and the other was Isaiah b. Isaac (*Beth oṣar haṣṣpharōt*, Year i., xxix., xxxi.). The *Risāla fi 'l-Musīkī* by Abu 'l-Ṣalt was probably of some importance since it is quoted by Jewish writers (Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, ii. 52; Ahlwardt, *Verz.*, No. 5536 [5]; P. Duran, *Grammar*, Vienna 1863, p. 37). In Syria we have Ibn al-Naḳkāsh (d. 574 = 1178), Abu 'l-Hakam al-Bāhilī and his son Abu 'l-Maḍjīd Muḥammad (d. 576 = 1180), and 'Alam al-Dīn Ḳaiṣar (d. 649 = 1251), all of whom were interested in music theory (Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, ii. 144, 155, 162, 181; Ibn Khallikān, iii. 471), whilst further East we have such names as Ibn Man'a (d. 551 = 1156), 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Ṣaḥī al-Dīn (vith = xiith century?), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606 = 1209) [q.v.], and Naṣir al-Dīn al-Tūsī (d. 673 = 1274) [q.v.] (Ibn Khallikān, iii. 467; Bodleian MS. Ouseley, No. 117; Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2972; Paris Bibl. Nat. MS., Arabe, No. 2466). In the West, the two theorists of consequence are Ibn Bādjja (d. 532 = 1138) [q.v.] whose book on music enjoyed the same reputation in the West as that of al-Fārābī in the East (al-Maḳkārī, *Anal.*, ii. 125), and Ibn Rushd (d. 594 = 1198) [q.v.] whose commentary on Aristotle's *De anima* reveals that lucidity of treatment in the section dealing with the phenomena of sound that made him so famous on other questions.

The Systematist School. After Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zaila, the most thorough exposition of the theory of music, so far as existing documents show, was made by a musician in the service of the last Caliph of Baghdad, named Ṣaḥī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Fākhīr (d. 692 = 1294) [q.v.], the author of two estimable works, the *Risālat al-Sharafiya* and the *Kitāb al-Adwār*, which almost every subsequent writer in music uses as his principal authorities. A later theorist, 'Abd al-Qādir b. Ḡhaibī, frankly admitted that Ṣaḥī al-Dīn was the fountain head in music theory, whilst a modern has called him "the Zarlino of the Orient" (Kiesewetter, p. 13), and many commentaries have been penned on his theories. Ṣaḥī al-Dīn was no mean physicist, and he attacks both al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā when

he finds that their terms and definitions are inexact. Much of it may be mere quibbling over verbal niceties, but it redounds to his credit that he realized that in a science we must start off with terminological exactitudes. Like al-Fārābī, he was a practical musician, and the reform of the scale, which must be attributed to him (cf. Helmholtz, p. 280), was possibly due to this fact. The Greek scholiasts had done much to stabilize Arabian music theory, yet anomalies still existed. The most notable was the Zalzalīan *wusfā* note at 355 cents together with its attendant sixth at 853 cents. These did not conform to the scholiasts' scale which produced a succession of fourths (cf. Helmholtz, p. 281). It was to remedy this defect, it would seem, that Šafī al-Dīn laid down a new theory of the scale in which the octave was divided into seventeen intervals in the succession of *limma*, *limma* and *comma*, which enabled him to embrace the fractious Zalzalīan notes of 355 and 853 cents by close approximations which worked out at 384 and 882 cents. This scale, which has been considered "the most perfect ever devised" (Parry, *Art of Music*, 1st ed., p. 29), gave consonances purer than our scale of equal temperament can afford us (Riemann, *Catechism of Musical History*, i. 65). It is no wonder therefore that Helmholtz has considered the theory of the Systematist School so "noteworthy in the history of the development of music" (p. 283). Here is the scale of Šafī al-Dīn:

	FRETS		STRINGS			
	<i>Bamm</i>	<i>Makhlaṭh</i>	<i>Makhnā</i>	<i>Zūr</i>	<i>Ḥadd</i>	
<i>Muṭlaḳ</i>	0	498	996	294	792	
<i>Zaid</i>	90	588	1086	384	882	
<i>Mudjannab</i>	180	678	1176	474	972	
<i>Sabbāba</i>	204	702	1200	498	996	
<i>Persian wusfā</i>	294	792	90	588	1086	
<i>Zalzalīan wusfā</i>	384	882	180	678	1176	
<i>Binzīr</i>	408	906	204	702	1200	
<i>Khinzīr</i>	498	996	294	792	90	

After the fall of Baghdād (654 = 1256), the hub of culture moved further East, and the writings of the Systematist School have to be sought as much in Persian as in Arabic. Most of this literature has been preserved. Kuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 710 = 1310) [q. v.], who devoted a valuable *ḍjumla* to the "science of music" in his *Durrat al-Taḍjī* (Brit. Mus., MS. Add. 7694), was the first of these writers in Persian. He was followed by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-ʿAmulī (viiith = xivth century), whose *Nafʿis al-Funūn* also has a section on music (Brit. Mus., MS. Add. 16827). Another xvth century Persian work deserving of mention is the *Kanz al-Tuḥaf* (Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361). More important were the four works of ʿAbd al-Kādir b. Ghāibī (d. 839 = 1435) [q. v.], entitled the *Djāmiʿ al-Alḥān*, with its two epitomes the *Maḳāṣid al-Alḥān* and the *Mukhtaṣar al-Alḥān* (Bodleian MSS., Marsh, N^o. 282, Ouseley, N^o. 264, 385), and the *Sharḥ al-Adwār*. A fifth work, the *Kanz al-Alḥān*, the most precious of all since it contained noted music, has disappeared. Ibn Ghāibī depends on al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, and Šafī al-Dīn, but is by no means servile. What he adds to our knowledge of the music of his day concerns the practical art. Both his son and his

grandson were theorists, and their works still exist, the *Naḳāwat al-Adwār* and the *Maḳāṣid al-Adwār* (Nūri ʿUṭhmāniya Library, Nrs. 3646, 3649). They were in the service of the Turkish sultāns, who were now patronising this class of savants, and we find two theorists, Khidr b. ʿAbd Allāh and Aḥmad Ughlū Shukrullāh, writing in Turkish, the latter translating the *Kitāb al-Adwār* of Šafī al-Dīn (Lavignac, N^o. 2978). They were eclipsed, however, by two Arabic writers, the author (fl. 855—886 = 1451—1481) of the *Muḥammad b. Murād Treatise* (Brit. Mus., MS. Or. 2361), and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamid al-Lādiqī (fl. 886—918 = 1481—1512), the author of the *Risālat al-Fathāya* (Brit. Mus., MS. Or. 6629). Al-Lādiqī is the last writer to deal in an appreciable way with the speculative theory of music which had been suscituated by the Scholiasts (cf. Kiesewetter, p. 88). As for the author of the *Muḥammad b. Murād Treatise*, we have in him an able mathematician who places the *Arithmāṭikī* of Nicomachus and Ibn Sīnā under contribution. He is replete with argument and carefully examines the statements of his predecessors on questions of accoustics. We find him saying that he had put certain theories to practical test and found them wanting. He gives divisions of the string other than those laid down by Šafī al-Dīn.

The contemporary encyclopædias also contain a section on music, the most noteworthy being the *Durr al-Naṣīm* (Vienna MS., NF., N^o. 4) or *Irshād al-Kāṣid* (Bibl. Ind., 1849) of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Akfānī (d. 749 = 1348), the *Maḳālid al-ʿUlūm* (Brit. Mus., MS. Or. 3143) attributed to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Djurdjānī (d. 816 = 1413), and the *Ummūdhādī al-ʿUlūm* (Vienna MS., N. F., N^o. 7) of Muḥammad Shāh Čelebi b. Muḥammad al-Fanārī (d. 839 = 1435). To al-Djurdjānī may also be ascribed the *Sharḥ Maw-lānā Mubārak Shāh*, the most thorough and illuminating commentary on the theories of Šafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʿmin, and the most strikingly original treatment of the physical and physiological rudiments of sound (Brit. Mus., MS. Or. 2361). After the close of the ixth (xvth) century, treatises on the ʿilm al-musīkī are rare. Writers abound who profess to deal with it, but actually they are only concerned with the practical art. If any ʿilm is displayed in these later books it is the ʿilm al-nudjūm, and authors fill their pages with astrological tables linking up the twelve *buyūt* of the heavens with the twelve *maḳāmāt*, and so forth. Many treatises are written in verse, a form which, however much it may attract the pure *adab* lover, is scarcely suitable in dealing with a science. The author of one of these however, Šams al-Dīn al-Šaidāwī al-Dhahabī (or al-Dimashqī), is worthy of attention by reason of his use of a stave for the purpose of a musical notation, a device which may be traced to the year 1200 at least (Bodleian MS., Marsh, N^o. 82; Paris Bibl. Nat. MS., Arabe, N^o. 2480). In the West, treatises on the theory of music are scarcer still. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 809 = 1406) [q. v.] gives a glimpse of what was taught under this heading in his day (*Prolog.*, ii. 410), but actual works are rare. A certain ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fāstī wrote a treatise in 1650 entitled the *Kitāb al-Djūmīʿ fī ʿilm al-Musīkī wa ʿl-Ṭubāʿ* (Ahlwardt, *Vers.*, N^o. 5521), but its author borrows his theory from older authorities (Farmer, *An Old Moorish Lute Tutor*, p. 14).

The Modern School. The chief feature of this school is the so-called quarter-tone system, and its most important theorist is Mikhā'il Mushāka (d. 1888) [q. v.]. The system was not invented or introduced by him as Parisot thought (*Rapport*, p. 21) because Mushāka himself tells us that it existed before his day (*M. F. O. B.*, vi. 52, 105). Nor can we say that the sixteenth century was the period of its origin (cf. Lachmann, *Grove's Dict. of Music*, iii. 576) since we know that it was practised in the xviii century as Baron de Tott (La Borde, i. 436-439), Toderini (i. 243) and Murat (Fétis, ii. 363) have shown. Nor can it be traced in a MS. mentioned by Villoteau, as Land suggested (*Recherches*, p. 77-78), because this work can be identified with a MS. entitled *al-Shādīyara dhāt al-Akmām* (Brit. Mus., MS. Or. 1535) in which there is no mention of the quarter-tone theory. How did the system originate? Dr. Lachmann holds that it was due to the needs of transposition (*Grove's Dict. of Music*, iii. 567). On the other hand, Collangettes avers that in actual practice (for the lute is no longer fretted) it is simply the Systematist scale to which several smaller intervals have been added (p. 419). Some of the technical terms used in the system are of Persian origin such as those for the quarter-tone, three quarter-tone, and tone, *nīm* 'araba, *tik* 'araba, and *barda*. Further, as early as the xvth century, as we know from Ibn Ghāibi, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Adjamī, and the author of the Muḥammad b. Murād Treatise, intervals finer even than those of the Systematist School were being used in the newly-adopted *shu'ab* or modal extensions, which were not used in the time of Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min, although they are part of the earlier (?) Persian system as reflected in the *Bahdīyat al-Rūh* by 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Ṣafī al-Dīn (Bodleian MS., Ouseley, No. 117). A Persian origin of the quarter-tone system is, therefore, not unlikely, although Maḥmūd Rāghib, a well known writer on Turkish music, argues in favour of a Greek origin (see the Turkish journals *Milli Maḥimūc*, May-Oct., 1927, and the *Türkische Post*, June and Aug., 1928). In the xviii century we have evidence (La Borde, i. 436) that the octave was divided into twenty-four equal parts of 50 cents each producing a scale comprising three major tones of 200 cents, each divided into four quarter-tones, and four minor tones of 150 cents, each divided into three quarter-tones:

TONES	<i>Rast</i>	<i>Dūkāh</i>	<i>Sikāh</i>	<i>Djāhār-kāh</i>	<i>Nawā</i>	<i>Husnī</i>	<i>Arūdī</i>	<i>Māhūr</i>	
CENTS	200	150	150	200	200	150	150	Total	1200

Mushāka tells us that he was dissatisfied with the theorists of his day in regard to their division of the octave (cf. Murat's division of the octave into 55 commas). There was certainly a difference so far as Egypt was concerned, since one theorist divided even the minor tones into four parts as well as the major tones, thus giving twenty-eight intervals to the octave (Muḥammad b. Ismā'il Shihāb al-Dīn). At any rate, Mushāka attempted to lay down a principle that would establish the quarter-tone (*rub*) system on a proper basis. His method is by no means clear (Land, *Recherches*, p. 75; Collangettes, p. 417, 418), but Ellis (*J. S. A.*,

p. 497) and Parisot (*Mus. orient.*, p. 15-16) believe that he was aiming at a quarter-tone scale of equal temperament, twenty-four to the octave, which was actually the scale (see La Borde, i. 436) that he found in use (cf. Collangettes, p. 419).

NOTES	<i>Yakāh</i>	<i>Ukhairūn</i>	<i>Irāk</i>	<i>Rast</i>	<i>Dūkāh</i>	<i>Sikāh</i>	<i>Djāhār-kāh</i>	<i>Nawā</i>
CENTS	0	200	350	500	700	850	1000	1200

This is the same scale as the preceding with the exception that the base has been given a lower note in the system, i. e. *yakāh* instead of *rast*. The system of the quarter-tone scale is generally accepted to-day throughout the Islāmic Near East (Collangettes, p. 415), and even the Middle East ('Alī Naḳī Khān Wazīri).

Although in the Maghrib very little is written about the theory of music nowadays, yet in Egypt, Syria, Persia, and Turkey, there is no lack of books on the subject, as the *Bibliography* will show, although many of the treatises are merely manuals for practitioners. Even in Turkestan, under the auspices of the Soviet, works are being published. During the last decade a great fillip has been given to the study of the theory of music by the establishment of conservatories of music in the great Oriental capitals and chief cities, notably the *Dār al-Aḥḥād* at Constantinople and the *Nādī 'l-Musīqī al-Sharḳī* at Cairo.

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(H. G. FARMER)

MUSLIM (A.), part. IV of s-l-m, denotes the adherent of Islām [q.v.]. The term has become current in some European languages (also in the forms *moslim*, *moslem*), as a noun or as an

adjective or as both, side by side with *Muham-madan* (in different forms). It has replaced *Musulman* (in different forms), except in French, where the latter term is used as a noun and as an adjective. The origin of *musulman* is probably *muslim* with the ending *ān* of the adjective in Persian. In some countries, e.g. Germany and the Netherlands, popular etymology has taken *man* for the vernacular "Mann, man", whence the plural forms *Muselmänner*, *muselmänner* etc. These forms have, however, become antiquated. — In Arabic literature the term Muslim is and has always been used to denote the adherents of Islām. See further the artt. IMĀN, AMĪR AL-MUSLIMĪN.

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(A. J. WENSINCK)

MUSLIM B. 'AKĪL, cousin of Ḥusain b. 'Alī. The latter, taking refuge in Mecca after the death of Mu'āwīya I, sent him to study the situation in Kūfa where the partisans of 'Alī were inviting him to come and proclaim himself caliph. Muslim there received promise of support from thousands of Shī'īs. He wrote to Ḥusain imploring him to hasten there and take command of the movement in person. In the meanwhile, the energetic 'Ubaid Allāh b. Ziyād had replaced the irresolute Nu'mān b. Bashir [q. v.]. Realising the seriousness of this change Muslim took refuge with Hānī' b. 'Urwa [q. v.]. A stratagem devised by the new governor soon revealed his hiding place. Hānī' having been captured, Muslim, abandoned by all his followers, wandered from one place of concealment to another. The descendants of Ash'ath b. Kaïs [q. v.] revealed the secret of his last hiding-place — a deed which earned the family the hatred of the Shī'a. The unfortunate 'Alid when discovered surrendered without resistance to the minions of 'Ubaid Allāh. His head was sent to the caliph Yazid I.

Bibliography: Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii. 227—229, 231—272, 281, 284—286, 292—294. For other references see the writer's *Califat de Yazid*, i. 136—145 (in *M.F.O.B.*, v.).

(H. LAMMENS)

MUSLIM B. AL-ḤADJĪDĪ ABU 'L-ḤUSAIN AL-KUḤAIRĪ AL-NISĀBŪRĪ was born at Nisābūr in 202 (817) or in 206 (821). He died in 261 (875) and was buried at Naṣrābād, a suburb of Nisābūr. An anecdote regarding the cause of his death is related by Ibn Ḥajjār (see *Bibliography*). His fame is based upon his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which, along with Bukhārī's book of the same name, enjoys the highest fame among the collections of traditions.

Muslim travelled widely to collect traditions, in Arabia, Egypt, Syria and 'Irāk, where he heard famous authorities such as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Ḥarmala, a pupil of Shāfi'ī, and Ishāk b. Rāhūya. His *Ṣaḥīḥ* is said to have been composed out of 300,000 traditions collected by himself. He wrote a large number of other books, on *fiqh*, traditionists and biography, none of which seems to have survived.

The *Ṣaḥīḥ* differs from the other collections of canonical *ḥadīth* in that the books are not subdivided into chapters, whereas in Bukhārī's work the traditions act as examples of the *tarājama*'s.

Still, it is not difficult to trace in the order of the traditions in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* a close connection with corresponding ideas of *fiqh*. As a matter of fact the groups of traditions have been provided with superscriptions which may be compared with Bukhārī's *tarājama*'s; this was not, however, done by Muslim himself, as appears from the fact that the headings are not uniform in the different editions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

A second difference between Muslim and the other collections consists in the fact that he pays peculiar attention to the *isnād*'s, to such an extent that a tradition in his work is often followed by several different *isnād*'s which serve as an introduction to either the same or to a slightly different *matn*. Such a new *isnād* is indicated in the text by *ḥ* (*taḥwīl* or *ḥawāla* "change"). Muslim is praised for his accuracy regarding this point; in other respects, however, Bukhārī is superior to him, as is even recognised by a man so devoted to him as al-Nawawī, who wrote upon the *Ṣaḥīḥ* a commentary, which in itself is a work of immense value for our knowledge of Muslim theology and *fiqh*.

Muslim has prefixed to his work an introduction to the science of tradition. The work itself consists of 52 books which deal with the common subjects of *ḥadīth*: the five pillars, marriage, slavery, barter, hereditary law, war, sacrifice, manners and customs, the Prophets and the Companions, predestination and other theological and eschatological subjects. The book closes with a chapter on the Kūr'ān (*Tafsīr*), the shortness of which is several times outweighed by the value of the *Kitāb al-Imān*, which opens the work, and which is a complete survey of the early theology of Islām.

On the commentaries upon the *Ṣaḥīḥ* see Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 160, to which may be added: 'Alī b. Sulaimān al-Maghribī, *Wasḥy al-Dibādī 'atā Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim b. al-Ḥadīdī*, Cairo 1298.

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(A. J. WENSINCK)

MUSLIM B. KURAISH SHARAF AL-DAWLA ABU 'L-MAKĀRIM of the Arab family of the 'Ukailids [see 'OKAILIDS] was the most important ruler of the last great Arab dynasty in the Nearer East; during his reign the struggle between Fātimids and 'Abbāsids for supremacy in Syria and Mesopotamia was decided in favour of the latter. In the year 433 (1042) the 20 year old Muslim was chosen chief of the tribe after the death of his father Kuraish b. Badrān and succeeded him as ruler of Mōsul. Like most Arab rulers of the lands of the Euphrates he recognised the Fātimid caliph in Cairo as his suzerain partly because he was himself a Shī'ī. Quite early in his reign he began to cherish the ambitious plan of gradually extending the rule of his tribe over Mesopotamia. Every means of extending his power was taken by him. The first opportunity occurred

when in 458 (1066) the Saldjūḳ Sultān Alp Arslān [q. v.] after conquering the Khwārizmians was proceeding to establish his supremacy in Syria. For this he had to entice the Arab chiefs from the sphere of influence of the Fāṭimid caliph and win them over to an alliance with him and to a recognition of the ʔAbbāsīd caliph. He therefore concluded an alliance with Muslim and granted him several towns in Mesopotamia. As a partner in this alliance Muslim defeated the Banū Kilāb who were vassals of the Fāṭimids. In 463 (1070) Alp Arslān died. The alliance was renewed with his son Sultān Malik Shāh [q. v.]. With his help Muslim was able a few years later to extend his power into Syria and take Aleppo. In 472 (1079) this town had no strong owner; the town was ruled by the Qāḍī al-Khutaʔī, and the citadel by one of the last Mirdāsīds [cf. the article ḤALAB]. There was a lack of provisions, as the town was continually threatened by enemies and the roads to it were cut off.

Damascus was in possession of Sultān Tutuḥ [q. v.], to whom his brother Malik Shāh had granted Syria, which was still to be conquered. It was natural for Tutuḥ to wish to bring Aleppo also into his power but the people did not care for him because of his cruelty and greed, shut their gates against him and appealed for help to Muslim. After Tutuḥ had withdrawn, Muslim approached the town with large supplies of provisions and after lengthy negotiations both town and citadel were handed over to him [see ḤALAB] and the Mirdāsīd chiefs received some smaller towns in compensation. He received a grant of confirmation from Malik Shāh, who did not want his brother to become too powerful, on paying a considerable annual tribute (£ 150,000). Muslim extended his territory by adding to it Ruhā (Edessa), Ḥarrān and a number of smaller fortresses, out of which he drove the leaders of Turkish bands so that his power stretched from Northern Syria to the Euphrates. Instead of being content with this his unbounded ambition made him overestimate his strength. Like Tutuḥ he had dreams of conquering all Syria, especially Damascus. He could not obtain the town from Malik Shāh who had granted Central Syria to Tutuḥ. He therefore again joined forces with the enemy of the Saldjūḳs, the Fāṭimid caliph, who promised to send troops to assist him to take Damascus. Muslim took advantage of the absence of Tutuḥ who was engaged in a campaign against the Byzantines in Antioch, to advance on Damascus. He occupied several towns in Central Syria, including Baalbek [q. v.]. But the Fāṭimid help did not materialise and Tutuḥ was called back by his vassals who hated Muslim. These circumstances and a rising in Ḥarrān forced him to retire. To replace Muslim who had deserted him, Malik Shāh bestowed his favour on the sons of a former vizier of the ʔAbbāsīds, Ibn Djaḥīr, and sent them against a supporter of the Fāṭimids, the Marwānīd Maṣṣūr, to deprive him of his chief possession Āmid. The latter found support from Muslim. They joined forces, were attacked at Āmid and withdrew into the fortified town leaving their other possessions undefended. Sultān Malik Shāh seized the opportunity to send ʔAmīd al-Dawla, another son of Djaḥīr, to Mōṣul, to take this city from Muslim who had in the meanwhile escaped from Āmid. When Muslim saw that he had lost his possessions he made overtures to the Sultān through

the son of the vizier Nizām al-Mulk and humbly begged for mercy. The Sultān, who thought Muslim no longer dangerous, pardoned him and restored his lands to him but Muslim could not be at peace. Perhaps in secret agreement with Malik Shāh, he turned in 477 (1084) against a Saldjūḳ prince of Asia Minor, Sulaimān b. Ḳuṭulmish, who had taken Antioch from the Byzantines and demanded from him the same tribute as the Byzantines had paid. When Sulaimān refused to pay, he advanced against him with a force of Arabs and Turkomans. In the neighbourhood of Antioch in Ṣafar 478 (May 1085) the forces met, unexpectedly for Sharaf al-Dawla; his troops, who hated Muslim, went over to Sulaimān. Muslim was defeated and slain along with 400 of his Arabs (cf. Ibn al-ʔAdīm, fol. 68b). With his death the power of the ʔUḳailīds was at an end. They lost Aleppo on Muslim's death and only survived a few years longer (till 489 = 1090) as governors of Mōṣul [see ʔUḲAILIDS]. Muslim is described as an able and just man and his tolerance of Christians was remarkable. His rule is said to have been able and orderly and indeed he did bring the finances of Aleppo into order in a very short time after taking it. In any case he had wide vision and successfully endeavoured to maintain the power of the Arab tribes in Syria and Mesopotamia. It ceased with him; Turkish generals became the rulers of Syria and Mesopotamia.

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MUSLIM B. ʔUḲBA of the tribe of the Banū Murra, a famous leader in the armies of the Sufyānīd caliphs. We know very little about the early stages of his career. We find him early established in Syria to which he probably came with the first conquerors. Completely devoted to the Umayyads and of great personal valour, he led a division of Syrian infantry at the battle of Siffin. But he failed in an attempt to take the oasis of Dūmat al-Djandal [q. v.] from ʔAlī. The caliph Muʔāwīya appointed him to take charge of the *kharrāḍj*, the finances, of Palestine, a lucrative office in which he refused to enrich himself. Muslim was prominent at the death-bed of Muʔāwīya. The caliph had charged him and Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳais [q. v.] with the regency until the return of Yazīd who was in Anatolia at the head of his troops. The confidence which the great Sufyānīd had in his loyalty is seen in his advice to his heir: "If you ever have trouble with the Ḥidjāz, just send the one-eyed man of the tribe of Murra there" (Muslim had only one eye). This time had now come.

Muslim had been a member of the embassy sent to Medina to bring the Anṣār back to obedience. All other efforts at conciliation having failed, Yazīd I decided to resort to force. In spite of Muslim's age and infirmities, Yazīd felt he was the man to command the expedition. He was obliged to travel in a litter so infirm was he. At Wādī ʔl-Ḳurā, Muslim met some Umayyads who had been driven out of Medina; these exiles informed him of the military situation of the town. When he reached the oasis of Medina, Muslim encamped on the *ḥarra* of Wāḳīm and for three days awaited the result of the negotiations begun with the rebels, Anṣār and descendants of the *muhājirūn* of the ʔuraish. On the fourth day, all overtures

having been rejected, he made his plans for battle. It was a Wednesday, the third last day of *Dhu l-Hiǧǧja* 63 (Aug. 26-27, 683). After a slight initial advantage for the Anṣār, the battle ended at midday in the complete rout of the rebels. The Syrians followed them into Medina and began to plunder the city. Anti-Umayyad legend has much exaggerated the horrors and the duration of this pillaging which it extends to three days. On the day after the battle, Muslim's intervention restored order and he used the next few days in drawing up the case against and trying the principal leaders of the rebellion who had fallen into his power.

Having established order in the town, which he left in charge of Rawḥ b. Zinbā', in spite of the aggravation of his malady, he resumed his march on Mecca to deal with 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair [q. v.] who had rebelled against the Umayyads. Arriving at Muḥallal [q. v.] he became so ill that he had to stop. In obedience to the caliph Yazīd's instructions, he appointed to succeed him in command of the army Ḥusain b. al-Numair [q. v.], his second in command. He died at Muḥallal, where his tomb long continued to be stoned by the passers-by. Writers with Shi'a sympathies are fond of twisting the name Muslim into *Musrif* (criminal: an allusion to *Qur'an*, v. 36; vii. 79; xl. 29, 36 and *passim*). One statement which must be a ridiculous exaggeration puts his age at 90. Every thing, however, points to his having been born before the Hiǧra. He died a poor man. This disinterestedness is not the only feature in his character which makes us take him as one of the most representative of the types of this generation of soldiers and statesmen, whose talents contributed so much to establish the power of the Umayyads. Dozy described him as "un Bédouin mécréant". Muslim, it is true, retained all the proverbial uncouthness (*djinfā'*) of the Banū Murra. But his whole career reveals the Murri general as a convinced Muslim of a rectitude rare in this period of unsettlement, which saw so many extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune and wavering loyalties.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 3283; ii. 198, 409-425, 427. Other references are given in the writer's *Califat de Yazīd Ier*, p. 223 *sqq.*, reprint from *M.F.O.B.*, v. 225 *sqq.* and in his *Etude sur le règne du calife omayyade Mo'awia Ier*, in *M.F.O.B.*, i. *sqq.*, p. 19, 45, 269, 373. (H. LAMMENS)

MUSLIM B. AL-WALĪD AL-ANṢARĪ (called *Ṣarī' al-Ḡhawānī* = "he who is laid low by the fair ones", as was al-Ḳuṭāmī [q. v.] before him), an Arab poet of the early 'Abbāsīd period, born in Kūfa c. 130-140 (747-757), d. 208 (823) in *Djurdjān*. His father, a *mawlā* [q. v.] of the Anṣār [q. v.], was a weaver. Nothing is known of the poet's education. He probably got his literary training not from particular teachers or from books but in the busy life of the Mesopotamian cities, the intellectual life of which had risen to a still higher level with the advent of the 'Abbāsīds. Like most of his contemporaries he earned his living as a poet by writing panegyrics and was acquainted with many statesmen and emirs. Among the former were the general Yazīd b. Mazyad al-*Ṣhaibānī* (see *Diwān*, N^o. 1, 6, 10, 16, 49), *Dāwūd* b. Yazīd al-Muḥallabī (N^o. 20), Maṣṣūr b. Yazīd al-Ḥimyarī (N^o. 31) and many others. He gradually

won the favour of the influential Barmakids (cf. N^o. 17, 40, 45) and of the caliph Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (N^o. 14, 41, 57); according to one story, he received his nickname from the latter on account of a verse of his (N^o. 3, 35; cf. also N^o. 23, 39). He even mentions the caliph's sister 'Abbāsa in an ode (N^o. 57, 10). The fall of the Barmakids about 187 (803) did not affect his career: he dedicated some of his odes to al-Amīn (N^o. 7, 28, 30) but his principal patron in later times was al-Ma'mūn's vizier Faḍl b. Sahl [q. v.]. Through his intervention he received from al-Ma'mūn an official post (probably *ṣāhib al-barīd*) in *Djurdjān*. He remained faithful to Faḍl b. Sahl until his death in 202 (818), and out of grief for him he wrote no more. There is a story told by his *rāwī* according to which he destroyed a considerable part of his poems before his death.

As regards the matter and style of his poems he was on quite traditional ground. In addition to his old-fashioned odes and elegies his satires are particularly interesting in this respect; in his polemics with the (otherwise little known) poet Ibn al-Ḳanbar on the merits of the Anṣār and *Ḳuraish* he revived the coarse and bitter tone of the polemics of an al-Farazdaq [q. v.] or an al-Ṭirimmaḥ [q. v.] on a similar subject. The two hundred years of development of Arabic poetry were naturally not without influence on him; in his *nasibs* we frequently find the style of an 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a or al-'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf [see *IBN AL-AḤNAF*], Muslim's contemporaries. His drinking songs deserve special mention. Although Nöldeke only very rarely finds in them "the natural effusion of Bacchantic joy as so frequently in Abū Nuwās [q. v.]", Arab critics are of another opinion. These two poets are to them practically the same in this respect and we must confess they are right. His drinking-songs are not only of great value for the descriptions of society and social life in the cities but from the point of view of poetry they are among the best of Muslim's work. If we must, as regards subject matter, number Muslim among the imitators of the old poets, in style he belongs to a more modern period. The historians of Arabic literature frequently mention him as the first to introduce the "new style", *al-badi'*, with its tropes and figures. This is however not quite such a simple point; the "new style" arose only gradually in Arabic poetry, although Muslim with his contemporaries, *Bashshār* b. Burd [q. v.], Abū Nuwās etc., was one of the first who definitely struck out on the new path. The younger generation, especially Abū Tammām [q. v.], drove this new style to banality.

Muslim was on terms of friendship or enmity with many contemporary poets, e.g. Abū Nuwās, Abū l-'Atāhiya [q. v.], al-'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf (who maliciously called him *Ṣarī' al-Ḡhilān* or *Ṣarī' al-Kās*; cf. *Diwān*, N^o. 44), Abū l-Shiṣ [q. v.], al-Ḥusain al-*Ḳhalī'* etc. His literary influence was not inconsiderable: *Di'bil* [q. v.] was his pupil (which did not prevent him exchanging satires with Muslim), Abū Tammām was particularly fond of studying his poems. His *Diwān* has been transmitted in very unsatisfactory fashion; it was collected in alphabetical order by al-Ṣulī [q. v.] but this edition has not come down to us (there are a few traces of it in the *Kitāb al-Aḡḥānī*); another story speaks of the collection made by the philologist al-Mubarrad. The only known European manuscript (Leyden)

on which de Goeje's edition is based, contains only a portion of his poems (including a few spurious; see Barbier de Meynard, *op. cit.*, p. 17 sq.); it represent an unknown edition and is of little importance for the criticism of the text.

Bibliography: *Diwan Poetae Abu'l-Walid Moslim ibno'l-Walid al-Anṣārī cognomine Ḥario-l-ghawānī*, ed. de Goeje, Leyden 1875 (unfortunately without an index of rhymes); the Cairo edition of 1325 (Maṭba'at Madrasat Wālidat 'Abbās al-Awwal, 8°, p. 97) although called *al-Ṭab'a al-ūlā*, repeats de Goeje's text in an alphabetical arrangement; the Bombay lithograph of 1303 (1886) is not accessible to me (see Rescher, *op. cit.*; it claims to give a better text than the Leyden edition; see Sarkis, *op. cit.*). Most of the sources are given by de Goeje in his edition (p. 228—310); the most important is of course the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (p. 228—271). Of others we may note: Ibn Kṭaiba, *Kitāb al-Shīr*, ed. de Goeje, p. 528—535, *passim* (s. index); Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā' al-muḥdathīn* (MS. Escorial, N^o. 279), fol. 15^r—15^v; al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshah*, Cairo 1343 (*al-Maṭba'a al-salafiya*), s. index. — Modern literature: Th. Nöldeke, review of de Goeje's edition, in *G. A.*, June 9, 1875, p. 705—715; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 77, N^o. 7 (with misprint in date of death: 803 for 823); M. Barbier de Meynard, *Un poète arabe du II^{ème} siècle de l'hégire (Actes du XI^{ème} Congrès des Orientalistes, section iv., Paris 1899, p. 1—21)*; Cl. Huart, *Littérature arabe* 2, Paris 1912, p. 72—74 (with the same error as in Brockelmann); Djirdji Zaidān, *Ta'rikh Adāb al-Lughā al-'arabiya*, ii., Cairo 1912, p. 66; A. F. Rifā'i, *ʿAṣr al-Ma'mūn*, ii., Cairo 1927, p. 374—392; J. E. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bibliographie arabe*, Cairo 1930, col. 1746—1747; O. Rescher, *Abriß der arabischen Litteraturgeschichte*, Lieferung IV, Stambul 1929, p. 12—15.

(IGN. KRATSKOWSKY)

MUSNAD. [See ḤADĪTH, iv.]

AL-MUSTAḌĪF BI-AMRĪ 'LLĀH, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤASAN, 'Abbāsīd caliph, born on 23rd Sha'bān 536 (March 23, 1142), son of al-Mustandjīd and an Armenian slave named Ḥaḍḍa. After his father's death on 9th Rabi' II 566 (Dec. 20, 1170) al-Mustaḍīf succeeded him and at the beginning of the following year was formally recognised as caliph in Egypt also, which passed into the hands of the Aiyūbids at this time [see the article FĀṬIMIDS, ii. 96]. The assassins of al-Mustandjīd soon quarrelled among themselves. 'Aḍud al-Dīn [q. v.] whom al-Mustaḍīf had been forced to make vizier was dismissed by 567 (1171—1172) at the instigation of the emīr Ḳaimaz. In Dhu 'l-Kāda 570 (May 1175) the latter was about to attack the treasurer Zāhir al-Dīn b. al-'Aṭṭār, but the latter fled to the caliph whereupon Ḳaimaz began to besiege the palace of the latter. Al-Mustaḍīf appealed to the people to help him; the house of Ḳaimaz was pillaged and he himself fled but died soon afterwards and 'Aḍud al-Dīn again became vizier. Al-Mustandjīd already had quarrelled with Shimla, lord of Khūzistān. In 569 (1173—1174) a war broke out between the latter's nephew Ibn Shankā and al-Mustaḍīf; Ibn Shankā was soon taken prisoner and put to death. The insignificant al-Mustaḍīf died on the 2nd Dhu 'l-Kāda or, ac-

cording to another statement, at the end of Shawwāl 575 (end of March 1180).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṭṭār, ed. Tornberg, xi. 237 sqq.; Ibn al-Tiḡṭakā, *al-Fakhri*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 428—433; Muḥammad b. Shākir, *Fawā'id al-Wafayāt*, i. 137 sq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, iii. 525 sqq.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi-Ḳazwini, *Ta'rikh-i Guzāda*, ed. Browne, i. 367—369; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 337—363; Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjucides*, ii. 304; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 87, 195, 260, 280.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

MUSTADJĀB-KHĀN BAHĀDUR (NAWĀB), thirteenth son of the celebrated Rohilla leader Ḥāfiẓ al-Mulk Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat-Khān (1707—1774) and author of a biography of his father, which he wrote in Persian under the title *Gulistān-i Raḥmat*. Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat-Khān, who was an Afghān of the tribe of Yūsuf-zāi by descent, had been since 1748 a chief in Rohilkhand (Katehr) and throughout his life waged a bitter warfare with the Mahrātās. He fell in 1774 in a fight at Mirānpūr Katra where he was fighting against the combined forces of the Nawāb of Oudh Shudjā' al-Mulk and the English. Warren Hastings' act in supporting the Nawāb with English troops became the subject of a judicial investigation. Mustadjāb Khān's book describes Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān as a fine representative of Afghān chivalry and contains much of value for studying the relations between the individual Afghān tribes.

Bibliography: I do not know of any edition of the original text of the *Gulistān-i Raḥmat*. There is an abbreviated English translation by Ch. Elliott, *The Life of Hafiz ool-moolk, Hafiz Rehmat Khan, written by his son the Nuwob Moost'ujab Khan Buhadoor and entitled Goolistan-i Rehmat*, London 1831; H. Hamilton, *The East-India Gazetteer* 3, London 1828, ii. 468; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, London 1908, xx. 138 and xxi. 307 sq.

(E. BERTHELS)

MUṢṬAFĀ I, the fifteenth Ottoman Sulṭān, was born in the year 1000 (1591) as son of Muḥammad III. He owed his life to the relaxation of the *kānūn* authorising the killing of all the brothers of a new sulṭān, and was called to succeed his brother Aḥmad I at the latter's death on November 22, 1617. But his weakmindedness — which is said to have him made escape death on account of superstitious fear of Aḥmad — made him absolutely incapable of ruling. Aḥmad's son 'Oṭhmān, who felt himself entitled to the succession, had little difficulty in procuring Muṣṭafā's deposition in a meeting of the Imperial *Diwān*, by the *kızlar ağha*, the *mufī* and the *kā'im-makām*, the grand-vizier Khālil Pasha [q. v.] being absent. This happened on February 26, 1618.

Unexpectedly Muṣṭafā I was again called to the throne when, on May 19, 1622, the rebellion of the Janissaries broke out against 'Oṭhmān II. He was taken by force from his seclusion in the ḥarem and the Janissaries forced the *'ulamā'* to acknowledge him as sulṭān. The next day 'Oṭhmān was killed and until June the grand-vizier Dāwūd Pasha, the man responsible for the murder, remained in power. Then he was deposed by the *wālide*. The real masters were the Janissaries and Sipāhī's; several grand-viziers were nominated and deposed again at their pleasure. The Sipāhī

party began, after some time, to exact vengeance for 'Othmân and in January 1623, when Gurdji Muḥammad Paṣha [q. v.] was grand-vizier, Dāwūd Paṣha was killed. Soon the Janissary party came again to influence under the grand-vizier Mere Ḥusain Paṣha (Feb. 3). The latter succeeded in maintaining himself until August 20; then the general feeling amongst the 'ulamā' and the people, combined with the steadily growing opposition in the provinces against the tyranny of the militar in the capital, as manifested by the action of Saif al-Dīn Oghlu in Tripolis and still more by the revolt of Abāza Paṣha [q. v.] in Erzerüm, brought about Mere Ḥusain's deposition. The new grand-vizier, Kemānkeṣh 'Alī Paṣha, together with the *mufī*, deposed the sultān on Sept. 10, 1623 and called Aḥmad's son Murād to the throne.

During all his reign Muṣṭafā had continued to give signs of his complete mental aberration; he died in 1638 and was buried in the Aya Sofia. The only important international act that took place during his reign was the peace concluded with Poland in February 1623.

Bibliography: The Turkish sources for this period are the historical works of Na'imā, Hādījī Khalifa (*Fedhlike*), Peṣewi, Ḥasan Bey Zāde and Tūghī. Contemporaneous reports in the Memoirs of the English envoy Sir Thomas Roe. Further the general historical works of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUŞTAFÂ II, the twenty-second Ottoman sultān, was a son of Muḥammad IV. Born in 1664, he succeeded to his uncle Aḥmad II on February 6, 1695, at a time when the empire was at war with Austria, Poland, Russia and Venice. The new sultān in a remarkable *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* proclaimed a Holy War and carried out, against the decision of the *Diwān*, his desire to take part in the campaign against Austria. Before his departure a mutiny of the Janissaries had cost the grand vizier Defterdār 'Alī Paṣha his life (April 24, 1693) and the campaign was led by the new grand vizier Elmās Muḥammad Paṣha [q. v.]. The Turkish army operated not without success in the region of Temesvár, taking Lippha, Lugos and Sebes. The Venetians had been beaten in February near Chios and were beaten again in September. In October Azof was delivered from the Russian siege. Next year the sultān and his army were again successful in raising the siege of Temesvár, but no part of the lost territory could be recovered from the Austrians. That year, however, the Russians took Azof. The campaign of 1696 is memorable for the heavy defeat inflicted on the Turks near Zenta on the Theiss (Sept. 11), where Elmās Muḥammad lost his life, while the sultān, who had already crossed the river, had to fly to Temesvár. The imperial seal fell into the hands of the Austrians. From Temesvár Muṣṭafā nominated 'Amūdja Zāde Ḥusain [q. v.], of the Köprülü family, his grand vizier. Under this very able statesman peace was at last concluded. In 1698 the grand vizier went to the frontier, while the sultān stayed at Adrianople, but the peace negotiations were pursued more earnestly than the war. In October of that year began the peace negotiations at Karlowitz (Turk. *Ḳarlofa*, see CARLOWITZ) on the Danube, where on February 26, 1699 peace was concluded with Austria, Poland and Venice. With Russia only

an armistice was concluded to be followed in 1700 by a definite peace. The English and Dutch ministers took part in the negotiations as intermediaries. The peace treaty meant the loss of Hungary and Transylvania, with the exception of the district of Temesvár; Poland recovered Kameniecz, while Venice had to cede Lepanto and some other towns in Morea. With Russia the Dniestr became the frontier.

The peace enabled the grand vizier to bring order into the affairs of state, which had suffered by the long and disastrous war. The Re'is Efendi Rāmi and the *mufī* Feizullāh, who had great influence with the sultān, were his collaborators. Some interior troubles were easily appeased; only in 1701 a campaign in 'Irāk was needed to take Baṣra from the hands of a local party that had submitted to Persia. Fortresses were put in a better state of defence and a new *Kānūn-nāme* was issued for the fleet. Ḥusain Paṣha resigned his offices in Sept. 1702 and died soon afterwards. His deposition was partly the work of the *mufī* Feizullāh, who made the sultān appoint in his place Daltāban Muḥammad Paṣha. When the latter showed himself of too warlike a disposition and caused at the same time unrest in the capital by favouring the claims of the Tatar *Khān*, the influence of the *mufī* caused his deposition and execution (Jan. 1703). Rāmi [q. v.] became grand-vizier. Rāmi's measures to enforce the authority of the central government were salutary but made him many enemies; moreover the Janissaries were not contented with a grand-vizier who was not a military man. The general unrest was increased by the permanent residence of sultān Muṣṭafā in Adrianople. All these circumstances brought about in July 1703 a Janissary revolt in Constantinople, directed at first against Rāmi Paṣha and against the *mufī*. The latter's deposition was obtained without much difficulty, but the rebellion continued under the leadership and organisation of a certain Ḥasan Agha. A deputation of the rebels to Adrianople was imprisoned and treated in an insolent way. Too late the sultān promised to come himself to Constantinople; the 'ulamā' were constrained to give a *fatwā* authorising the sultān's deposition. In August 1703 a rebel army went on its way to Adrianople, after having agreed on Muṣṭafā's brother Aḥmad as successor to the throne. When Muṣṭafā saw himself at last abandoned by his own Janissaries he resigned on August 21. He died soon afterwards on Dec. 31, 1703 and was buried in the Aya Sofia. He is rightly considered as a wise and good ruler, as is proved by his careful choice of able statesmen. He wrote poems under the *takhalluṣ* of Meftūnī and Iḳbālī. Under him the imperial *tughra* appeared for the first time on the Ottoman coins.

Bibliography: The chief source is the *Tarīkh* of Rāshid, besides an anonymous historical work, used by von Hammer and only mentioned in a note by Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 247 and 248. Useful information also in the history of the Crimea by Mehmed Girāy (*G. O. W.*, p. 235) and Saiyid Mehmed Riḍā (*G. O. W.*, p. 281). The *Inshā'* of the grand-vizier Rāmi Paṣha (not mentioned in *G. O. W.*) has importance as containing contemporary documents. Further the general histories of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUSTAFA III, the twenty-sixth ruler of the Ottoman Empire, was one of the younger sons of Ahmad III and was born on Šafar 14, 1129 = January 28, 1717 (*Sigill-i 'othmānī*, i. 80). When he succeeded to the throne, after 'Othmān III's death on October 30, 1757, his much more popular brother and heir to the throne, Muḥammad, had recently died, in December 1756. Turkey enjoyed at that time, since the peace of Belgrad of 1739, a period of peace with her neighbours. Since December 1756 the very able Rāghib Pasha [q. v.] was grand vizier and remained the real administrator of the empire until his death in 1763. Rāghib had removed from the capital all those who might have counteracted his influence, taking at the same time wise financial measures and endeavouring to keep the military forces in good condition. The sultān meanwhile, who was of a vivid and active temperament, busied himself, like his predecessor, with regulations concerning the clothes of his non-Muslim subjects and the appearance in public of Muḥammadan women; at this time there was also taken up again the never realized plan of linking the gulf of İzniḳ with the Black Sea [see ŠABANDJA]. The Seven Years' War in Europe (1756—1763) had not remained without influence on the policy of the Porte; after long hesitation Turkey agreed at last to conclude a treaty of friendship with Prussia (March 29, 1761). Rāghib himself was inclined to conclude even an alliance, but the sultān and the influential 'ulamā' were peacefully minded.

After Rāghib's death Muṣṭafā began to reign himself and different grand viziers succeeded one another at short intervals. From 1765 to 1768 the grand vizierate was held by Muḥsin Zāde Muḥammad Pasha, under whom the disastrous war with Russia broke out. Difficulties with Russia had already commenced in 1762, when Russia had supported the ruler of Georgia against the Turkish Pasha of Akhişkha (Čaldır); here, as well as in Montenegro, Russian emissaries worked in secret against the Turkish rule. Moreover the Khān of the Crimea repeatedly complained about Russian military measures on his northern frontier, while the party of the Confederates in Poland urgently appealed for the intervention of the Porte against the aggression of Catherine's government on Polish liberty. In these circumstances the Porte had no more interest in seeking the alliance of Prussia, where, in 1764, Ahmad Rasmī Efendi had gone as envoy, of which embassy he afterwards wrote his well-known *Sefāret-nāme*. The sultān himself was decidedly anti-Russian, but the diplomacy of the Russian minister Obreskoff and the pacifism of the 'ulamā' delayed the war, until, in August 1768, Muṣṭafā obtained from the then muftī Walī al-Dīn a *fatwā* authorizing the war with Russia. War was declared only on October 6, after the dismissal of the grand vizier Muḥsin Zāde, who had advised delay until the spring. Obreskoff was imprisoned in Vedit Kule.

The war began in January with destructive raids of the Crimean Tatars in southern Russia under their newly appointed Khān Kırım Girāy; at that time de Tott was an eye-witness with the Tatar army. In March 1769 the then grand-vizier Muḥammad Emin Pasha left Constantinople with the Holy Banner; on this occasion there was an outburst of Muḥammadan fanaticism against the Austrian internuntio and his party, who had come

to witness the procession. While the grand vizier went to the Dobruča, the Russians made an attack on Chotin (Turk. Khočin), which they were able to take only in August. In the meantime the grand-vizier had been deposed and executed; his place was taken by Moldowandji 'Alī Pasha, who had encounters with the Russians on both sides of the Dniestr. Other Russian armies took Jassy and Bucarest and advanced into Transcaucasia. The year 1770 was still more disastrous for Turkey. The Russians reached, through Rumania, the Danube and in the autumn they took Kilia, Bender and Braila, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Turkish general headquarters in Baba Dağı. In the same year a Russian fleet appeared in the Mediterranean; several towns in Morea were conquered and evacuated again, but the heaviest blow was the burning of the Turkish fleet in the bay of Çeşme (July 1770). Moldowandji 'Alī — already dispossessed of his grand vizierate — was sent to strengthen, with de Tott, the defences of the Dardanelles. But the Russian fleet had ceased to be a danger and the Danube campaign of the following spring also was rather favourable for the Turks. In the beginning of 1771 the military organisation had been improved. That year, however, the Russians forced the isthmus of Perekop and conquered the entire Crimea. This was a definite loss for Turkey, and a great majority of the Tatars declared their allegiance to the Russian empress. The Turks were able, however, to remain in Otakow and Kilburnu. In Constantinople meanwhile laborious diplomatic negotiations went on with the envoys of the European powers who offered to mediate, notably Austria and Prussia. With Austria the Porte concluded in July 1771 a secret "treaty of subsidy" for diplomatic services, while the Porte disinterested herself completely in Polish affairs, going so far as to propose a partition of Poland. The result was an armistice, concluded in June 1772 at Giurgewo, followed by the peace congress of Fočani (August 1772), where Turkey's chief representative was the arrogant *nishāndji* 'Othmān Efendi. After the failure of the negotiations the armistice was prolonged and a new conference began at Bucarest in November. These negotiations were again broken off in March 1773, mainly from lack of agreement on the subject of the Turkish fortresses on the Black Sea; as to the Crimea, Turkey had already agreed to a formula such as was later adopted in the peace of Küçük Kainardji. In Constantinople it was chiefly the 'ulamā' who had opposed the Russian peace conditions. The war in 1773 was not very eventful; the general headquarters had been transferred to Şumna after Muḥsin Zāde had become grand vizier a second time (Dec. 1771). The Russians won a victory at Karaman in the Dobruča, but attacked Silistra and Warnă in vain. Bairūt was bombarded by Russian ships in connection with the rebellion of the Mamlūk 'Alī Bey [q. v.] in Egypt, who was supported by them. In the summer of 1773 sultān Muṣṭafā made known his desire to accompany the army against the Russians, but he was prevented from doing so by his entourage and by his illness, to which he succumbed on December 24, 1773, to be succeeded by his brother 'Abd al-Ḥamid I. Muṣṭafā was buried in his own *türbe*, connected with the Lāleli Djāmi'i, which he had begun to build in 1759 (*Hadīqat al-Djāwāmi'*, i. 23).

Muştafâ III is praised in the Turkish sources as a good ruler. He had a special liking for religious disputations in his presence and was particularly interested in astrological calculations. He took an interest in the least important affairs and this prevented him from such a real statesmanlike insight as was much wanted in the later years of his reign. In his way he was an "enlightened despot". But even a more able ruler would probably have failed to save Turkey from her military inferiority against the Russian armies; measures of military organisation were taken with the aid of de Tott, but this could not prevent the desertion of the troops from assuming disastrous dimensions during certain episodes of the war. Besides the Lâleli Dîjami', Muştafâ built the Ayazma Dîjami'i at Scutari for his mother; he caused a new suburb of Stambul to be built outside the Yeñi Kapu. His reign is further marked by the extremely severe earthquake that laid large parts of the capital in ruins in 1766.

Bibliography: The *Ta'rikkh* of Wâsif [q.v.] is the chief historical source for Muştafâ's reign; Wâsif himself played a prominent part as secretary during the long-drawn-out peace negotiations with Russia. It is completed by the *Ta'rikkh* of Enwerî. The *Waḳâ'i'-nâme* of Diyâ'î, son of Ḥakim Oghlu 'Alî Pasha, seems not to be preserved (*G. O. W.*, p. 300). The well-known Aḥmad Rasmi Efendi wrote a history of the war with Russia under the title *Khulâṣat al-I'tibâr* (*G. O. W.*, p. 310). The *Talkhîṣât* of the learned grand vizier Râghib Pasha (*G. O. W.*, p. 288) give documents from the beginning of Muştafâ's reign. A contemporary western source is the *Mémoires sur les Turcs et les Tartares* of Baron Fr. de Tott, Maestricht 1785. Further the historical works of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUŞTAFÂ IV, twenty-ninth sultân of the Ottoman Empire, was a son of 'Abd al-Ḥamid I and was born on Sha'bân 26, 1193 = Sept. 19, 1778 (Meḥmed Thüreyyâ, *Sidjill-i'othmânî*, i. 81). When the anti-reform party, headed by the *kâ'im-maḳâm* Mūsâ Pasha and the *muftî*, and supported by the Janissaries and the auxiliary troops of the Yamaḳs had dethroned Selim III [q.v.] on May 29, 1807, Muştafâ was proclaimed sultân. Immediately afterwards, the unpopular *niḡâm-i dîjedid* corps was dissolved and Kaḅaḳdjî Oghlu, the leader of the Yamaḳs, was made commander of the Bosphorus fortresses. Turkey was at that time at war with Russia and England, but peace negotiations had already begun and, moreover, the foreign affairs of the empire were really governed by general European politics. A secret article annexed to the peace treaty of Tilsit (July 7, 1807) had in view — already at that time — a conditional partition of Turkey. Turkey's ally, France, tried to urge a peace with Russia and obtained a Russo-Turkish armistice at Slobosia (near Gîngewo), by the terms of which the Danube principalities were to be evacuated. When in the end Russia was unwilling to put into effect the terms of the armistice, relations with France became strained (departure of Sebastiani in April 1808) and new preparations for war followed, while overtures were made to England; the English admiral Codrington had already entered into negotiations with 'Alî Pasha of Yanina.

Meanwhile the *kâ'im-maḳâm* and the *muftî* were

the real rulers in Constantinople; the grand vizier Çelebi Muştafâ Pasha remained with the army in Adrianople and had no influence. The Janissaries and Yamaḳs, however, continued to be rebellious; measures had to be taken against them and the sultân himself went so far as to favour secret plans for restoring the *niḡâm-i dîjedid* under another name. In December 1807 Mūsâ Pasha was dismissed from the office of *kâ'im-maḳâm* — on account of dissen-sion with the *muftî* — and was succeeded by Taiyâr Pasha. The latter, dismissed in his turn, fled to Bairakdâr Muştafâ Pasha [q.v.], an acknowledged friend of the reform party, in Rusçuk. From here began the action against the régime in the capital. Bairakdâr went first to Adrianople and joined forces with the grand vizier in June 1808. They arrived in July before the gates of Constantinople at Dâwûd Pasha. Sultân Muştafâ came there on July 23 to accept their terms, which for the moment were only the destruction of the ruling party and of the Yamaḳs. On July 28 Bairakdâr, after having seized the sultân's seal from the grand vizier, began to act on his own account. He went with his troops to the palace, where the sultân — who had left shortly before for an excursion — returned in haste. He had only the time to order the execution of Selim III but was deposed immediately afterwards by the intruders, who put his younger brother Maḥmûd on the throne. After having passed some months in confinement, he was killed by order of the new sultân on November 16, in the days of the general revolt against Bairakdâr's régime, when the existence of the former sultân had become a real danger for Maḥmûd's position. Muştafâ was buried in the *türbe* of his father 'Abd al-Ḥamid I, near the Yeñi Dîjami'.

Bibliography: Djewdet Pasha, *Ta'rikkh*, 2nd ed., viii. (Stambul 1303), p. 145 sqq.; 'Âşim, *Ta'rikkh*, ii. (where large use has been made of Sa'id Efendi's *Ta'rikkh*; cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 338); A. de Juchereau de St. Denis, *Révolutions de Constantinople de 1807 et 1808*, new ed., Paris 1823; Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vii.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUŞTAFÂ, name of several princes belonging to the Ottoman dynasty:

1. Muştafâ Çelebi, eldest son of Bâyezîd I; the date of his birth is not recorded. He disappeared in the battle of Angora (July 1402). This Muştafâ is the first Ottoman prince to bear this name, which, like such other names as Bâyezîd and Murâd, originated in mystical circles in Asia Minor in the xivth century. According to the Byzantine sources, this Muştafâ is the same as the person called by the majority of the Turkish sources:

Dözme Muştafâ, who came forward in 1419 as pretender to the Ottoman throne against Muḥammad I. He was supported by Mirçe of Wallachia and by the Izmir Oghlu Dîjunaid [q.v.]. Near Selânik they were beaten by Muḥammad and Muştafâ took refuge in the town together with Dîjunaid; the Byzantine commander refused to give them up to the sultân and sent them to Constantinople. In a treaty concluded with the emperor Manuel, the sultân promised to pay a yearly subsidy to provide for the maintenance of the prisoners, while the emperor undertook to keep them in custody. This treaty was observed until Muḥammad's

death; Mustafa was relegated to a monastery on the island of Lemnos. After Muhammad's death, however, he was released and the emperor supported him against Murād II [q. v.]. In a short time he was master of the Ottoman territories in Europe; the army sent against him under Bāyazīd Pasha went over to his side at Sazlı Dere between Seres and Adrianople. He was joined likewise by great feudal lords like the sons of Ewrenos. He soon felt strong enough to break his alliance with the Greeks and expelled them from the recently taken Gallipoli. After having resided some time in Adrianople, he went together with Djunaid to Asia Minor, where they met Murād's army in a battle near the bridge of Ulubad. By the treacherous retreat of Djunaid, Mustafa was beaten and fled to Gallipoli and Adrianople; from here he tried to reach Wallachia, but was taken by Murād's troops and executed at Adrianople. All this happened in the first year of Murād II's reign (1421—1422).

Bibliography: Ducas and Chalcondylas relate the events before Muhammad's death; so does the chronicle of Neshri, but the other early Turkish chronicles know only of what happened in the beginning of Murād's reign. On coins struck by Mustafa: *T. O. E. M.*, xv. 387; von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i.; Mehmed Zeki, *Maktûl Shehzâdeler*, Constantinople 1332, p. 45 sqq.

2. Mustafa, son of Muhammad I and younger brother of Murād II, was supported as pretender against the latter in 1423, while Murād besieged Constantinople. This Mustafa was about 13 years of age; he had fled to the Karaman Oghlu with his *lâlâ* Ilyās. From here they took İznik and marched against Brusa. Mustafa even went for some time to Constantinople, but Murād, raising the siege, returned to Brusa, where Mustafa was delivered to him by the treachery of Ilyās; he was executed by the sultan's orders.

Bibliography: The Byzantine writers Ducas and Chalcondylas; the old Turkish chronicles and after them the later historians; von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i.; Mehmed Zeki, *Maktûl Shehzâdeler*, p. 53 sqq.

3. Mustafa, son of Sulaimân the Magnificent, was born in 921 (1515) (Mehmed Thüreyyâ, *Sidjill-i ʾothmânî*, i. 79). He had been made, in 1533, governor of Şarukhân in Maghnisa; later he became governor of Konya, while Sulaimân's favourite son Muhammad was given Şarukhân. When Muhammad died in 1545, Şarukhân was given to Mustafa's younger half-brother Selim and he himself was placed in Amasia. This setting aside of the elder, more talented and more brilliant son was the work of Khurram Sultân (Roxelane), mother of Selim, and of her son-in-law, the grand vizier Rustam Pasha. Already some years before there had been signs of Sultân Sulaimân's lack of confidence in Mustafa's loyalty. When, in 1553, a new campaign had been planned against Persia, of which Rustam was to be the commander, Sulaimân decided at the last moment to accompany the army himself, being warned again against Mustafa through the intermediary of Selim's favourite Şamsî Agha. Selim joined him on the way and, when at Eregli near Konya, prince Mustafa came to pay homage to his father, he was killed by order of Sulaimân on October 6, 1553. His corpse was conveyed to Brusa and buried in the *türbe* of Murād II. This execution of an Ottoman prince is one of those events that made the deepest impression in the

empire. It caused immediately the threatening of a Janissary revolt, which could only be appeased by the dismissal of the grand vizier Rustam Pasha. It is said that his brother Djihāngir died soon after him of grief; a minor son of his was killed in Brusa shortly after his execution. Mustafa had also made himself beloved as a patron of poets and scholars, amongst whom Surûri is to be mentioned in the first place. Several poets lamented his death in elegies, in which Rustam and others were openly accused of having caused the murder; best known is the *merthiye* of the poet Yahyâ Bey. Mustafa wrote poetry under the *takhalluş* Mukhlîsî. There is further strong evidence for the probability that Mustafa wrote a history of his father's reign, a *Sulaimân-nâme*, under the pseudonym Ferdi (cf. *G. O. W.*, p. 83).

Bibliography: The historical works of 'Alî, Solak Zâde and Peçewî. The tragic death of the prince is also treated with more or less veracity in contemporary sources, as the *Letters* of Busbecq. In later times von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii.; 'Alî Djewâd, *Târîkhîñ kanlî Şahîfeleri: Shehzâde Sultân Mustafa*, Constantinople, n. d. (cf. Fr. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 398); Ahmâd Rafîk, *Kadînlar Saltanatı*, i., Constantinople 1914; Mehmed Zeki, *Maktûl Shehzâdeler*, Constantinople 1336, p. 223 sqq. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MUSTAFA KAMIL PASHA, leader of the second nationalist movement in Egypt (on the first, see the articles 'ARABÎ PASHA and KHEDIVE).

The son of an Egyptian engineer, he was born in Cairo on 1st Radjab 1291 (Aug. 14, 1874), studied at the Khedivial school of law there and after taking his examination went to study in Toulouse where in 1894 he took his "licence en droit". When still a student of 18 he began his political activity and entered into personal relations with the Khedive 'Abbās II [q. v.] On his return from France he founded in 1894 the second Egyptian national party (*al-Hizb al-waṭanî*) with the object of inducing England by appeals to justice to abandon the occupation and restore the complete independence of Egypt. Later he also aimed at getting the Sūdān handed back to Egypt and tried to prepare the Egyptians by modern education for parliamentary government. As the representative of his party he spent each year a considerable time in Europe, especially France where he consorted with politicians and journalists and conducted a vigorous propaganda for his object. All his life he was very friendly with the journalist Juliette Adam; he had dealings with Rochefort, Drumont, Col. Marchand, Pierre Loti and in 1896 had a correspondence with Gladstone. Later he visited Berlin, London, Vienna, Budapest, Geneva and Constantinople where he was highly thought of because he insisted on the Sultân's suzerainty over Egypt; Sultân 'Abd al-Hamid II [q. v.] gave him in 1904 the title of Pasha. In Cairo he founded in 1898 a school for training the youth in nationalist ideas, and in 1899 started the newspaper *al-Liwā* (The Banner), which appeared early in 1900, had a great success and from 1907 appeared also in English and French editions. From 1902 he published the nationalist quarterly *Madjallat al-Liwā*. In his speeches and articles he emphasised his aims with fiery eloquence; at the same time he expressed his approval of the building of the Turkish strategic Hîdjâz railway and his sympathy with the Japanese

in their war with Russia (1904—1905). Muştafā Kāmil also regularly emphasised the privileged position of Muslims as belonging to the state religion and recognised the sultān as caliph and head of Islām and thus contributed to the pan-Islāmic movement which began early in the twentieth century.

The "Entente Cordiale" concluded on April 8, 1904 between England and France was a severe blow to him and the nationalist party; by it France, in return for a free hand in Morocco, dropped its objections to the English occupation of Egypt. The Egyptian nationalists thus lost all hope of open or secret support from the French government and were thrown upon their own resources. This situation caused Muştafā Kāmil to redouble his energy and in vigorous speeches and writings against France and England, in travelling and negotiating with statesmen of different lands, he endeavoured to make Egypt's point of view clear. As a result of the intensity of his agitation there was a breach between him and the Khedive 'Abbās II (Oct. 1904); on the other hand, his following in Egypt rapidly increased and began to be troublesome to Lord Cromer who had so far treated the new nationalism created by Muştafā Kāmil as a "quantité négligeable". The Dinshawā'i (a village near Tanṭā in the Delta) affair gave the nationalists a great stimulus; on June 13, 1906, some English officers out shooting were said to have wounded an Egyptian woman and were attacked by fellāḥin with clubs and one of the officers was killed. A special court set up by the English government sentenced four fellāḥin to death and 17 to prison or flogging and the sentence was carried out next day. The indignation in Egypt and Europe rose to great heights and even in the House of Commons the authorities were criticised. Muştafā Kāmil hurried to London and discussed the matter with the Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, whom he endeavoured to convince of the necessity of recalling Lord Cromer and giving greater freedom to Egyptians. On this occasion he mentioned as suitable representatives in a parliamentary system of government all those Egyptians who in the later political movement after the war played important parts. On his return to Egypt, through the press and mass meetings in which he urged Egyptians to unite against England, he gave a great stimulus to the nationalist movement and soon had the satisfaction of seeing Lord Cromer recalled — although he was not at all the only cause of this — and replaced by Sir Eldon Gorst. The latter adopted a milder tone with the Egyptians, was on good terms with the Khedive and endeavoured to support him with a newly founded party. Muştafā Pasha attacked this representative of England vigorously also, in Oct. 1907 put his national party on a broader basis and summoned it to a "national congress", which met on Dec. 7 of the same year in Cairo; 1,017 delegates from all over Egypt appeared and after a speech by Muştafā Kāmil which carried them away the latter was elected life-President of the party. This was however his swan-song — he had been ill since the summer of 1906; he died on Feb. 10, 1908 (8th Muḥarram 1326) at the age of 34 of a slow internal trouble (intestinal tuberculosis). The rumour spread that he had been poisoned at English instigation. His funeral was an impressive expression of the national grief.

Muştafā's creations did not long survive him and his party, which produced no leader to equal him and was broken up by dissensions, gradually sank into insignificance. Although he obtained no positive results by his agitation, he prepared the way for the third and greatest nationalist movement (under Sa'd Zagh'lūl Pasha from Nov. 13, 1918). It is to his credit that he conducted his whole campaign without any appeal to force, which would have been quite useless against the British Empire, and without bloodshed.

Of his numerous writings only the more important can be mentioned; many of them were only printed after his death, some in the great (never completed) biography by his brother 'Alī Bey Fahmī Kāmil: *al-Maṣ'ala 'l-sharḥiyya* (1898 and 1909); *Miṣr wa 'l-Ihtilāl al-indjilīzī* (collection of speeches and essays, Cairo 1313); *Difā' al-Miṣrī 'an Bilādihi*, Cairo 1324 (1906); *al-Shams al-mushrikha* (Cairo 1904, on the Russo-Japanese war); *Lettres françaises-égyptiennes* (Cairo 1909; also in Arabic and English transl. His letters to Juliette Adam); *Egyptiens et Anglais*, Paris 1906 (speech of July 4, 1895 in Toulouse); *Le péril anglais*, Paris 1899; *What the National Party wants* (Cairo 1907, speech of Oct. 22, 1907).

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AL-MUŞTAFĀ LI-DĪN ALLĀH. [See NĪZAR B. AL-MUSTANĪR.]

MUŞTAFĀ PASHA BAIRAKDĀR, Turkish grand vizier in 1808, was the son of a wealthy Janissary at Rusçuk, born about 1750. He distinguished himself in the war with Russia under Muştafā III, and acquired in these years the surname of *bairakdār*. After the war he lived on his estates near Rusçuk, and acquired the semi-official position of *a'yān* of Hezārgṛād and later of Rusçuk. With other *a'yāns* he took part in an action against the government at Adrianople, but became finally a reliable supporter of the govern-

ment. Having already received the honorary offices of *kapîdîlî bashî* and of *mîr akhor*, he was, in 1806, promoted to the rank of Pasha of Silistria and at the same time was appointed *ser-asker* on the Danube frontier against the advancing Russian army. This made him one of the most influential men in Rûm-ili. He had become a zealous supporter of Selîm III's reform policy and, after that sultân's deposition, it was to him that the enemies of the new reactionary government turned. In June 1808 he was joined by the dismissed *kâ'im-makâm* of the grand vizierate in Constantinople, Taîyâr Pasha; from Rusûk they went to Adrianople, where they joined forces with the grand vizier Çelebi Muştafâ Pasha. So the entire Rumelian army marched against the capital, where they dictated their will to sultân Muştafâ IV (July 23). On July 26 Bairakdâr (or 'Alemdâr as he was called officially) was appointed commander in chief and on July 28, after having taken by force the sultân's seal from the weak grand vizier, he marched with his troops to the palace of the sultân, under the pretext of bringing back the holy standard of the prophet. At first he was allowed only to enter the first court of the serây, while sultân Muştafâ — who had been absent — returned in haste from the seaside. As Bairakdâr had made known his intention of restoring Selîm III to the throne, Muştafâ had just time to have his predecessor killed. But immediately afterwards he was himself deposed and Bairakdâr now recognized Maḥmûd II [q. v.] as sultân.

After this began the short personal regime of Bairakdâr Muştafâ Pasha as grand vizier. He had a number of the supporters of the former sultân executed, arranged a magnificent funeral for Selîm III and began to form a corps of troops called this time *niẓâmîlî asker*. At the same time he summoned a great imperial conference in the capital, to which all the high-placed officials of the empire were invited. Many of them answered the appeal and subscribed to the extensive programme of reforms which the grand vizier laid before them in a solemn meeting in the first days of October and which was also approved of by a *fatwâ* of the *mufîz*. But the precipitation with which the new measures were taken in hand and the tactless procedure in the abolition of long established abuses, made him ever more unpopular. The influential *ulamâ* were also alienated by the exaggerated reforming zeal. His only support were his Rumelian troops and a small number of friends, such as Begdî Efendi and Râmîz Pasha, together with Kâdî Pasha of Karamân who had remained in the capital after the imperial conference. Matters came to a head on November 14, 1808, in the last days of Ramaḍân 1222, by a rebellion of the Janissaries. The night following that day they surrounded the grand vizier's residence and set the quarter on fire. Bairakdâr, surprised by the fire, saw no way of escape; he hid himself in a tower of his palace, where his body was found three days afterwards, after the fire was quenched. The rumour had been spread that Bairakdâr had escaped, which had caused much uncertainty.

The grand vizier was buried in the fortress of Yedi Kule, where his bones were dug up in 1911 during railway works; they were transported to the mosque of Zeineb Sultân.

Bibliography: Djewdet Pasha, *Ta'rikh*,

2nd ed., viii.; Shâni Zâde, *Ta'rikh*, i.; Mehmed Thüreiyâ, *Sidjill-i 'othmânî*, iv. 460; Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vii. 555 sqq.; Afḍal al-Din, *'Alemdâr Muştafâ Pasha*, in *T. O. E. M.*, ii., iii., iv. (with portrait on ii. 528).

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUŞTAFÂ PASHA BUSHATLÎ, the last hereditary wazîr of Scutari (hence often called İSHKODRALÎ), the son of the celebrated Kara Maḥmûd Pasha Bushatlı [q. v.], succeeded his uncle İbrâhîm Pasha about 1810 and received the rank of wazîr in 1812. In 1820 the sandjak of Berat and in 1824 those of Ohrid and Elbasan were put under his government and he received the title of Ser'asker. Nevertheless like his father he aimed at greater independence and when Maḥmûd II's reforms threatened to deprive him of his hereditary rights and privileges, he became strongly hostile to the Sultân and maintained friendly relations with the Serbian prince Miloš, the discontented Bosniaks (cf. i., p. 757) and the Egyptian Muḥammad 'Alî (cf. J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, p. 264 and 553). He therefore maintained quite a passive attitude in the Russo-Turkish war (1828) and only towards the end of it, in May 1829, did he appear with his Albanians on the Danube (Vidin, Rahovo), then went on to Sofia and Philippopolis, but without taking any active part in the fighting.

On the conclusion of peace the Porte (beg. of 1831) demanded of Muştafâ Pasha that he should hand over the districts previously held by him (Dukakin, Debar, Elbasan, Ohrid and Trgovište) to the grand vizier Reshid Mehmed Pasha (on him cf. *Sidjill-i 'othmânî*, ii. 391) and carry through certain reforms in Scutari itself. Muştafâ Pasha resisted and with the financial and moral support of prince Miloš, led an army in the middle of March 1831 against the grand vizier. He was joined by the other Pashas of northern Albania and old Serbia who objected to reforms. The rebels had at first certain successes including the occupation of Sofia but they were completely routed at Prilep by the regular troops led by the grand-vizier (beginning of May). Muştafâ Pasha hurried back to Scutari via Skoplye and Prizren and shut himself up in the fortress. When he surrendered on Nov. 10, 1831 after six months' siege, he was pardoned on Metternich's intercession and taken to Constantinople.

Fifteen years later he again held various governorships, chiefly in Anatolia (from 1846), then in the Herzegovina (1853) and lastly in Medina where he died on May 27, 1860.

Bibliography: *Kâmûs al-A'lâm*, ii. 982; 'Abd al-Raḥmân Sherif, *Ta'rikh-i Dewlet-i 'othmânîye*, ii. 331—332; Mehmed Thüreiyâ, *Sidjill-i 'othmânî*, iv. 477 (full account of his career); Dr. Mih. Gavrilović, *Miloš Obrenović*, iii. (1827—1835), Belgrad 1912, p. 91—96, 102—114, 124—126, 332—350, 361; Drag. M. Pavlović, *Pokret u Bosni i u Albaniji i protivu reformama Mahmuda II*, Belgrad 1913, chap. viii. and ix.; Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, v. 356 and 379 (brief). (FEHIM BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

MUŞTAFÂ PASHA KÖPRÜLÜ. [See KÖPRÜLÜ.]

MUŞTAFÂ PASHA LALA, a famous military commander in the Ottoman history of the xvth century. The date of his birth is not given. He was a native of Şoḳol, the

same Bosnian locality from which came the grand vizier Şokolli [q. v.], and began his service in the imperial seray. He rose in rank under the grand vizier Aḥmad (1553—1555), but was not in favour with the latter's successor Rustam Paşa, who made him in 1556 *lālā* to prince Selim with the object of ruining him. The outcome of this nomination was the contrary of what was expected; Muştafā became the chief originator of the intrigues by which Selim came into conflict with his brother Bāyazid and which ended with Bāyazid's execution in Persia [cf. SELİM II]. After these events Rustam Paşa managed to relegate the intriguer in administrative functions to different parts of the empire; for eight years he was *wālī* in Damascus. Nor was the grand vizier Şokolli favourably disposed to Muştafā, but in the beginning of 1569 Sultān Selim II called back his former *lālā* as *ḵubbe wazīri* in the capital. Very soon afterwards Şokolli appointed him *ser-asker* in the Yaman; Muştafā went to Cairo to take charge of his command, but here he became involved in serious disputes with the *wālī* Sinān Paşa on the equipment of his army. The end was that Sinān was appointed in Muştafā's stead and the latter had to return to Constantinople. Sultān Selim's protection saved him from death and in the beginning of the following year he was appointed again *ser-asker* of the army destined for the conquest of the island of Cyprus. Lala Muştafā Paşa led this memorable campaign with complete success; Nicosia was taken in July 1570, while Famagusta surrendered in August 1571. With the surrender of this town is connected the brutal and cruel execution of the Venetian commander Bragadino. After his return he became a serious candidate for the grand vizierate, should Şokolli disappear from the scene. His only rival was Sinān Paşa. When in 1577 the war with Persia broke out [cf. MURĀD III] both were appointed *ser-asker*, but, on account of Sinān's arrogant character, the latter's appointment had to be withdrawn. In April Lala Muştafā began his campaign in Georgia, fought the memorable victory of Caldır (August 1578) and took Tiflis besides a number of other towns. These military glories did not bring him to the ambition of his life. After Şokolli's assassination, Rustam's son-in-law Aḥmad Paşa had been made grand vizier and, on the latter's death in May 1580, it was Sinān [q. v.] who got the sultān's seal. Lala Muştafā died in October of the same year and was buried in the court of the mosque at Aiyūb. Apart from the unquestionably important events in which he played a prominent part, Lala Muştafā Paşa has a particular importance in Ottoman historiography because the historian 'Ālī [q. v.] had been attached to his person as scribe since the beginning of his career. Therefore his able, but intriguing and reckless character is known better than that of many other Turkish statesmen or generals. By his marriage with the grand-daughter of the last Mamlūk Sultān Ḳānşū Ḡhūrī he was a very wealthy man, who, notwithstanding his reputed avarice, founded several mosques (as in Erzerüm) and many buildings of public utility in the different places where he resided as governor.

Bibliography: The chief Turkish source is, as has been said, 'Ālī, not only in his *Kunh al-Akhbār*, but also in a treatise entitled *Nādirat al-Maḥārib*, describing the war between Selim and Bāyazid (MS. unknown; cf. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 132) and in his *Nuṣrat-nāme*, which

gives a description of the Georgian campaign. Other sources are the works of Peçewī and Şolāḵ Zāde. Western contemporary sources are the Diary of Gerlach, the Letters of Busbeck and, especially for the conquest of Cyprus, the Italian historical descriptions.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUŞTAFĀ PASHA RASHĪD. [See RASHĪD.] **MUSTAḤABB.** [See SHAR'Ā.]

MUSTA'IDD KHĀN, MUḤAMMAD SĀKĪ, born about 1061 (1650), was brought up as an adopted son by Muḥammad Bakhtāwar Khān, whom he faithfully assisted in various capacities. After the death of his patron he passed into the service of Awrangzēb. In the reign of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh I (1118—1124 = 1707—1712), he became the secretary of 'Ināyat Allāh Khān, son of Mirzā Shukr Allāh, the minister of Bahādur Shāh, and by his desire Musta'idd Khān composed the history of the reign of Awrangzēb, entitled *Ma'aṭhir-i 'Ālamgiri*. Part i. is a mere abridgement of Mirzā Kāzīm's history of the first ten years of the emperor's reign; part ii. contains the history of the last forty years of 'Ālamgiri's reign (edited in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1870—1871).

He died at the age of seventy-five at Dihli in 1136 (1723).

Bibliography: Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, ii. 211; *Ma'aṭhir-i 'Ālamgiri*, p. 253, 255, 407, 462; Ouseley, *Critical Essay*, p. 42; Rieu, *Cat. Br. Mus.*, p. 270a; Ethé, *Ind. Office Cat.*, No. 365; and Elliot-Dawson, *History of India*, vii. 181. (M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

AL-MUSTA'IN BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD, an 'Abbāsīd caliph. His father was a son of the caliph al-Mu'taṣim, his mother a slave-girl named Mukhārīḳ of Slav origin. After the death in Rabi' II 248 (June 862) of al-Mu'taṣim the praetorians appointed his cousin Aḥmad caliph under the name al-Musta'in. The choice aroused discontent in Sāmarrā and unrest broke out among those who supported al-Mu'tazz [q. v.] which was only put down after much bloodshed by the Turkish soldiers. When al-Musta'in was recognised as caliph he confirmed the governor of Baghdād, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir [q. v.], in office. He bought all the property of al-Mu'tazz and his brother al-Mu'aiyad and then had them arrested. The Turks wanted to put them to death but they were protected by the vizier Aḥmad b. al-Ḳhaṣīb who soon afterwards fell into disgrace and was banished to Crete. In 249 (863) trouble broke out as a result of a defeat of the army by the Byzantines; the rebels were however scattered by the vizier Utāmiṣh and the two Turkish generals Waṣīf and Bogha Junior. Utāmiṣh was soon afterwards murdered at the instigation of the latter. As the caliph no longer felt safe in Sāmarrā he went to Baghdād in Muḥarram 251 (Feb. 865). Al-Mu'tazz was then taken by his supporters out of his prison in Sāmarrā and a war broke out which ended in Dhū 'l-Hiǧǧja 252 (Jan. 866) in the abdication of al-Musta'in [cf. BAGHDĀD]. By the arrangement made the latter was to live in Medina in future; but he was detained in Wāsiṭ and murdered in Shawwāl 252 (Oct. 866) at the age of 35. See also the article MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. ṬĀHIR.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 200; Ya'qubi, ed. Houtsma, ii. 603—610; Ṭabari, iii. 150 sqq.;

Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Paris, vii. 323—371; ix. 46, 52; Ibn al-Aṭṭar, ed. Tornberg, vii. 75 sqq.; Ibn al-Tiṭṭakā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 329—332; Muḥammad b. Shākir, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, i. 68 sq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iii. 283 sqq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 378 sqq.; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall*³, p. 534 sqq.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 528; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, see index.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-MUSTAKFĪ BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-KĀSIM 'ABD ALLĀH, 'Abbāsīd caliph, son of al-Muktafi and a slave-girl. After the Amir al-Umarā' Tuzun had deposed the caliph al-Muttaḳī, he chose al-Mustakfi as his successor on the same day in Ṣafar 333 (Sept.—Oct. 944). The new caliph was only a tool in the hands of Tuzun and his successor Abū Dja'far b. Shīrād. Baghdad began to suffer from a constant famine and neither food nor money could be raised for the troops. When the Būyid Aḥmad b. Abī Shudjā' approached [cf. MU'IZZ AL-DAWLĀ], the caliph had to declare himself ready to recognise the Būyids as the legitimate rulers in all the provinces conquered by them, and in Djumādā I 334 (Dec. 945) Aḥmad entered Baghdad and was given by the caliph the title of honour Mu'izz al-Dawla and the fullest power in all secular matters. But the new ruler suspected that the caliph was in communication with the enemies of the Būyids so he had him blinded (on 22nd Djumādā II or Sha'bān 334 = Jan. 29 or March 946) and deposed. Al-Mustakfi died in Rabi' II 338 (Sept.—Oct. 949).

Bibliography: Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Paris, viii. 376—411; ix. 48, 52; Ibn al-Aṭṭar, ed. Tornberg, viii. 314 sqq.; Ibn al-Tiṭṭakā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 388—390; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iii. 418 sqq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 694 sqq.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 568 sq.; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*³, p. 577 sqq.; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 118, 194 sq.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-MUSTA'LĪ BI 'LLĀH ABU 'L-KĀSIM AḤMAD B. AL-MUSTAṢIR, ninth Fāṭimid Caliph, born 20th Muḥarram, 467 [Sept. 16, 1074] (so in all the best sources and in al-Mustanṣir's letter to Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Ṣulāḥī, quoted in Idrīs, vii. 152), the youngest son of his father. At this time it was generally assumed in the Ismā'īlī organization that the eldest son, Nizār (born 437), would, in accordance with custom, succeed his father in the imāmate, although no formal investiture with the *wilāyat al-'ahd* appears to have been made. The influence of the all-powerful wazīr Badr al-Djamālī, however, and of his son al-Afdal, was thrown into the scale in favour of Abu 'l-Kāsim and al-Mustanṣir's consent obtained to the marriage of Abu 'l-Kāsim with Sitt al-Mulk, the daughter of Badr (the statement in al-Fārīqī [ap. Ibn al-Kalānisi, ed. Amedroz, p. 128] that he was the son of Badr's daughter is evidently a misunderstanding). According to the tradition of the Musta'lian Ismā'īlis [see BOHORĀS], Abu 'l-Kāsim was invested with the succession at the time of this marriage; in another version (Ibn Muyassar, p. 66 sq.) al-Mustanṣir confided his nomination of Abu 'l-Kāsim to his own sister, who divulged it after his death. On the death of al-Mustanṣir on 18th Dhu 'l-Hijja,

487 (Jan. 10, 1094), the Shī'ite 'Id al-Ghadīr, al-Afdal secured the accession of al-Musta'li without serious difficulty. The subsequent revolt of Nizār [see NIZĀR B. AL-MUSTAṢIR] at Alexandria failed owing to the opposition of the army, and al-Musta'li's succession was generally recognized, except by the Ismā'īlis of Persia [see AL-ḤASAN B. AL-ṢABBĀḤ].

Throughout his reign the actual power was entirely in the hands of al-Afdal [q. v.]. At first some successes were gained in Syria; Fāmiya (Apamea) made a voluntary submission in 489, and Tyre was recovered from a rebel governor in 490. A project of alliance with the Saldjūkid Ruḍwān of Aleppo against Damascus in the same year fell through. On the appearance of the Crusaders in Syria (490 = 1097) an Egyptian embassy was sent to open negotiations with them, and in 491 (July—Aug., 1098) Jerusalem was recaptured from the Ortuḳids Sukmān and Ḫ-Ghāzī. The advance of the Crusaders in the following year took al-Afdal by surprise; Jerusalem was again lost, and the defeat of the Egyptian army near 'Asḳalān (14th Ramaḍān, 492 = Aug. 5, 1099) definitely established them in possession. Two years later (17th Ṣafar, 495 = Dec. 12, 1101) al-Musta'li died and was succeeded by his son al-Manṣūr (al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh).

The personal character of al-Musta'li is highly praised by his Sunni contemporary Ibn al-Kalānisi; later writers speak of him as a fanatical Shī'ite, and it would seem that the Fāṭimid organization and propaganda was intensified in his reign. Idrīs refers especially to his close relations with the *dā'wa* in the Yaman, represented by al-Malika al-Ḥurra and her *dā'i* Yahyā b. Lamak b. Mālik al-Hammādi. In the capable hands of al-Afdal, order and good government were maintained, and Egypt continued to enjoy prosperity, except for a famine in 492 or 493, due to the influx of Syrian refugees.

Bibliography: The fullest sources are Ibn al-Kalānisi (ed. Amedroz), p. 128—141, and Ibn Taghribardī (ed. Popper), ii., part 2, p. 298—325; the chronology of the latter is defective; Ibn al-Aṭṭar (x. 161—224), *Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī* (Brit. Mus. Or. 3685, foll. 74^b—77^a), Ibn Muyassar (ed. Massé), p. 34—40, and the other sources mentioned under the article AL-AFDAL add little of importance. The Musta'lian Ismā'īlī tradition is given in 'Uyūn al-Akhbār of the *dā'i* Idrīs b. al-Hasan [d. 872] (MS. in possession of H. F. al-Hamdani), vii. 151—175. — For relations with the Crusaders: *Gesta Francorum* (ed. Bréhier), p. 86, 96, 208—216; *Fulcher Carnotensis*, i. 19; ii. 10—12; Hagenmayer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, Innsbruck 1901, p. 151, 286. The general European literature is given in the articles FĀṬIMIDS and AL-MUSTAṢIR. (H. A. R. GIBB)

AL-MUSTANDJID BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-MUẒAFFAR YŪSUF, 'Abbāsīd caliph, born on 1st Rabi' II 510 (Aug. 13, 1116), son of al-Muktafi and a Greek slave-girl named Nardjis or Tā'ūs. After his father's death on 2nd Rabi' I 555 (March 12, 1160) al-Mustandjid succeeded him as caliph. While al-Muktafi was dying and hope of his recovery had been abandoned, the mother of his son Abū 'Alī endeavoured to dispose of the future caliph who had already been selected heir-apparent in 542 (1147). After winning over several emirs for her plot, she armed her slave-girls with daggers

to murder the heir-apparent when he entered his father's apartment. Al-Mustandjīd however heard of the plot and had the instigator and her son arrested. A few years after his accession the Mazyadīs were expelled [q. v.]. The end of the Fātimids also fell within his reign although the 'Abbāsids were only officially recognised as caliphs of Egypt under his successor al-Mustaḍī. In 562 (1166—1167) Shimla, lord of Khūzistān, invaded the 'Irāk and demanded from the caliph the grant of a portion of the lower Euphrates territory as a fief. The caliph however sent an army against him. Shimla's nephew, Kūlīdj, was routed and Shimla returned home. Al-Mustandjīd died on 9th Rabi' II 566 (Dec. 20, 1170). When he was very ill, his physician arranged with his chamberlain Aḡd al-Dīn [q. v.] and the emīr Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ḳaimaz to give him a bath to hasten his end. The caliph refused to agree; he was nevertheless shut up in the bath until he died.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ed. Tornberg, xi. 81, 169 sqq.; Ibn al-Ṭīkṭākā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 425—428; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, p. 522 sqq.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi-i Ḳazwīnī, *Tārīkh-i Gusiḍa*, ed. Browne, i. 365—367; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 307—336; Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjucides*, ii. 223, 289, 291—294.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-MUSTANŞIR BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ DĪ'FAR AL-MANŞŪR B. AL-ZĀHIR, 'Abbāsīd caliph; like his father whom he succeeded on the 14th Radjab 623 (July 11, 1226), he is described as a just and devout man and was generally liked although he played no great part in politics. He acquired Irbil by a legacy in 630 (1232—1233) and eight years later his lands were increased by the acquisition of the town of 'Āna which he bought from its previous owner. About this time the Mongols began to threaten the lands of Islām. Čingiz-Khān [q. v.] had died in Ramaḍān 624 (Aug. 1227) but his sons continued his campaigns of conquest. In 635 (1237—1238) the Mongols were defeated by the caliph's troops; the strongest defender of Islām however was Djalāl al-Dīn, Shāh of Khwārizm [q. v.]. Al-Mustanşir died on 20th Djumādā I or 10th Djumādā II 640 (Nov. 15 or Dec. 5, 1242). According to Ibn Khaldūn however, he did not die till the following year. The al-Mustanşiriya university founded by him in Baghdād bears his name.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ed. Tornberg, xii. 299; Ibn al-Ṭīkṭākā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 445—446; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iii. 535 sq.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi-i Ḳazwīnī, *Tārīkh-i Gusiḍa*, ed. Browne, i. 370 sq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 453—469; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 194 sq., 266 sqq., 337 sq.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-MUSTANŞIR BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ TAMĪM MA'ADD B. 'ALĪ AL-ZĀHIR, eighth Fātimīd Caliph, born 16th Djumādā II, 420 (July 2, 1029) (according to Idrīs, on 16th Ramaḍān = Sept. 29), succeeded his father al-Zāhir [q. v.] 15th Sha'bān 427 (June 13, 1036), and died 18th Dhu 'l-Hijja 487 (Jan. 10, 1094), after the longest recorded reign of any Muslim ruler and one which, besides being marked by the most violent fluctuations of fortune, was of critical importance in the history of the Fātimīd Ismā'īlī movement.

Internal history. During the childhood of

al-Mustanşir the authority remained at first in the strong hands of his father's wazīr Abū 'l-Ḳāsim al-Djardjārā'ī. On his death (7th Ramaḍān 436 = March 28, 1045) it was seized by the evil genius of al-Mustanşir's reign, his mother, who was a Sūdānī slave, and her former master, the Jewish merchant Abū Sa'd al-Tustarī. When Abū Sa'd was assassinated in 439 (1047), after an outbreak of rioting between the Turkish and Berber troops, his place as the queen-mother's agent was taken by his brother Abū Naşr Hārūn (see however the documents published by Mann [*Bibl.*] and the ḳāḍī Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Yāzūrī, who eventually accepted also the wazīrate (7th Muḥarram 442 = June 1, 1050) and held it for eight years [cf. AL-YĀZŪRĪ]. Meanwhile there was considerable unrest and perhaps also economic unsettlement in the country. If a statement in al-Maḳrīzī (i. 82 [99]; ed. Wiet, ii. 4 [67]) is to be believed, the *kharaḍj* of the Egyptian provinces amounted only to one million dinārs in the time of al-Yāzūrī, but this may have been exceptional, though it is plain from other sources that the government had already been forced to the familiar expedient of confiscations and indemnities. The Delta was disturbed by Arab risings, the most serious of which, that of the Banū Ḳurra, was put down only with great difficulty by Naşir al-Dawla (see below) with the Ṭaiy and other Arab troops at Kōm Sharīk in 443 (1051) (cf. Ibn al-Şairafī, p. 42 sq.; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ix. 396 sq. and for the date Ibn al-Ḳalanīsī, p. 85). At the capital there was an increasing state of tension between the Turkish and Berber troops and the enormous bodies of Sūdānī slaves raised by the Caliph's mother (cf. Maḳrīzī, i. 94 [ed. Wiet, ii. 45] and p. 335; detailed but probably unreliable figures also in Naşir-i Khusrāw, ed. Kaviani, p. 66). In striking contrast to this is the magnificence of the court and prosperity of Mişr-Fuṣṭāṭ as described by Naşir-i Khusrāw [q. v.]. There can be little doubt that the source of much of this prosperity, apart from the manufacture and supply of luxuries to the court, is already to be sought in the commercial relations between Egypt and the Indian Ocean on the one hand (cf. Naşir-i Khusrāw's account of 'Aidhāb) and Constantinople on the other. The general insecurity deepened after the execution of al-Yāzūrī, who was the last wazīr to attempt to control the situation. He was followed by a rapid succession of puppets in office, many of whom, despite the pompous titles duly recorded by Ibn al-Şairafī, held the position for no more than a few days at a time.

The Fātimīd Caliphate was now destined to pass in a few shattering years through the same agony as the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate at Baghdād had suffered in the early part of the previous century. The breakdown of the civil administration and subsequent exhaustion of the treasury gave a free hand to the military, and the sinister policy of the Caliph's mother brought matters speedily to a head. In a pitched battle at Kōm al-Rīsh (close to Cairo) in 454 (1062) (sometimes confused with the previous battle at Kōm Sharīk) the Turkish and Berber troops led by Naşir al-Dawla Ibn Ḥamdān, a descendant of the Ḥamdānīds of Mōsul, defeated and drove the Sūdānīs into the Ṣa'īd, but the struggle continued for some years and the blacks were not finally routed and driven out until 459 (1067); thereafter they were confined to the Ṣa'īd,

which suffered severely from their plundering and devastations. Nāšir al-Dawla in turn quarrelled with the Turks, and, defeated in battle by a force commanded by al-MustaŒšir in person (461 = 1068—1069), appealed to the Saldjūkid Alp-Arslān [q. v.]. Without waiting for his help, however, he regained control of Cairo and the Delta with the aid of the Arabs and Lawāta Berbers, reduced al-MustaŒšir (it is said) to the state of a pensioner on a hundred dinārs a month, assumed the title of Sultān al-Dawla, and attempted, but unsuccessfully, to restore the 'Abbāsid *khutba*. In Rādjab 465 (March 1073) he and all his house were killed by the rival Turkish faction, led by Ildeguz, under whom the Caliph fared little better. Meanwhile the constant anarchy and remorseless plundering of the country by the troops brought agriculture to a standstill (although the Nile floods seem to have been uniformly good). The result was a famine which lasted from 459 to 464 (1067—1072) and became progressively more severe. During these years the country was a prey to the utmost misery; the royal city and palaces were looted, and Fustāt was twice plundered and even burned by Nāšir al-Dawla. Large numbers of the population, including even the Caliph's own family, sought refuge in Syria and 'Irāk (for the depopulation and shrinkage of Fustāt cf. Maḡrizī, i. 5; ed. Wiet, i. 12; on the fate of the royal library see also Olga Pinto, *Le Biblioteche degli Arabi*, Rome 1928, p. 25—26). The Sunnī historians dwell on this famine with some complacency, regarding it as the retribution for the impious attack of al-Basāsiri on the 'Abbāsid Caliphate (see below), and circumstantial stories are related of the extreme destitution to which al-MustaŒšir himself was reduced. That these must be accepted with some reserve is clear from such passages as Ibn Taghribardī, II/ii. 186, 18—19.

At length in 465 (1073) al-MustaŒšir, taking courage of despair, secretly invited the governor of 'Akkā, the Armenian general Badr al-Djāmālī, to assume supreme control in Egypt. Badr accepted the commission, on condition of bringing his own troops with him, and sailing from 'Akkā in the winter, reached Cairo on 28th Djumādā I, 466 (Jan. 29, 1074). His rapid and energetic movements took the Turks by surprise, and he put to death the whole body of their leaders, together with a large number of Egyptian notables and officials. For his further military and administrative measures, by which he restored order and relative prosperity in Egypt (the total revenue of Egypt and its remaining Syrian possessions, which in 466 had amounted to 2,800,000 dinārs, rose by 483 to 3,100,000 dinārs: Maḡrizī, i. 100; ed. Wiet, ii. 68; cf. Abū Šālih, fol. 7^b—9^a) see the article BADR AL-DJĀMĀLĪ. The alliance between general and caliph was cemented by the marriage of Badr's daughter to al-MustaŒšir's youngest son Aḡmad, the future Caliph al-Musta'li [q. v.]. The Fātimid Caliphate was saved but, like its 'Abbāsid rival, at the cost of abandoning its temporal authority to a series of military commanders, entitled *umarā' al-djuyūsh*, from whose control it never afterwards succeeded in emancipating itself.

Al-MustaŒšir is described in contemporary sources as upright and amiable in character, and just and equitable in his dealings, but as a ruler his personality is entirely obscured by the successive

wazīrs and generals who kept him virtually a prisoner. The statements of the later anti-Fātimid writers must, of course, be entirely discounted; the Fātimid sources, on the other hand, praise his sagacity and infallibility (*'iṣma*) as Imām.

External relations. The empire to which al-MustaŒšir succeeded was beyond any doubt the most powerful Muslim state of its time. It extended from Ifrīkiya and Sicily to Mecca and Central Syria, and maintained an active propagandist organization in 'Irāk, Persia and Ḳhurāsān (see the following section). Within a few years of his accession its territories were still further expanded by Anūshtagin's conquest of Aleppo in *Šahbān* 429 (May 1038) [cf. the articles FĀTIMIDS and ḤALAB] and extension of his authority even across the Euphrates, on the one hand, and on the other by the conquests of 'Alī al-Šulaiḥī in the Yaman, after establishing himself at Mašār in the same year (cf. ŠULAIḤI; also H. F. al-Hamdani, in *Journal of the Royal Central-Asian Society*, 1931 p. 505 *sqq.*, and in *J. R. A. S.*, 1932, p. 126 *sqq.*). After the deaths of Anūshtagin and the wazīr al-Djardjarā'i, who in spite of their rivalry zealously maintained the interests of the dynasty, the power and prestige of the Egyptian court steadily declined. The Arab tribes in Syria, though defeated in the field, remained unsubdued, and the Caliph had to be content with the little more than nominal allegiance of the Mirdāsids [q. v.] at Aleppo. At Damascus, the rivalries between the Berber and Turkish troops and the hostility of the citizens reduced the governors to impotence. The disturbed state of Syria was the more disastrous that it made it impossible for the Fātimid government to give effective support to the amir al-Basāsiri (q. v.; see the list of war material and subventions sent from Egypt: Ibn Taghribardī, p. 177) in his attempt to oppose the advancing Saldjūk power, with the result that his occupation of Baghdād and proclamation of al-MustaŒšir in 459 (1058—1059) was speedily brought to an end. The subsequent military and economic disorders in Egypt allowed a free hand to the Turkmen (*Ghuzz*) bands, who had appeared in Northern Syria as early as 447 (1055), though it was not until 463 (1071) that the first Saldjūkid armies entered Northern Syria and the *Ghuzz* bands under Atsiz [q. v.] occupied Palestine and began to harass Damascus. In many of the other towns and districts of Syria the authority was seized by local chiefs, such as the *qādis* Ibn 'Ammār (q. v.; also G. Wiet, in *Mém. Henri Basset*, p. 279 *sqq.*) at Tarābulus and Ibn Abī 'Aḳil at Tyre, though both of these acknowledged the spiritual authority of the Fātimid Caliph (cf. also the account of the foundation of the castle of Šarkhad by Ḥassān b. Mismār al-Kalbī in 466 [1073—1074], quoted from Sibī b. al-Djawzī in Ibn Taghribardī, p. 253). The menace of the Saldjūkids became more substantial after the arrival of Tutuṣh [q. v.] in 470 (1077—1078), but the latter never actually organized a full campaign against the Fātimids. On the contrary, the offensive was taken by Badr, who succeeded in restoring Egyptian control on the coast as far as Tyre, Sidon and Djubail in 482 (1089), but not in recovering the interior of Palestine and Damascus (lost in 468), in spite of a certain revulsion of feeling in Syria in favour of the Fātimids. It is difficult to know how much weight to lay on the story (Ibn Taghribardī,

p. 272—273) that Tutuṣh at one time proposed to ally himself in marriage with Badr.

The success of the Saldjūkids also affected the position of the Fāṭimids in Arabia. In 462 (1069) the 'Abbāsid Caliph was acknowledged in the Holy Cities, and after a brief return to the Fāṭimid obedience between 467 and 473 the Hidjāz passed definitely to the 'Abbāsid cause. In the Yaman, the Ṣulāihids in the interior and the Zura'ids in the important commercial centre of 'Aden maintained the suzerainty of the Fāṭimids, the latter until the Aiyūbid conquest by Tūrānshāh in 569 (1173) [cf. the art. SALADIN].

Meanwhile the Fāṭimid empire had been similarly shorn of its possessions in the West. About 435 (1043—1044) al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs [q. v.], the Zirid lieutenant of the Fāṭimid Caliph in Kaṭirawān, began a series of repressive measures against the Shī'ites of Ifrīkiya; in 440 he seems to have made the first overt gesture of independence, and in 441 superseded the Fāṭimid coinage; but it was not until 443 (1051) that he formally renounced the Fāṭimid suzerainty and obtained an investiture from the 'Abbāsid Caliph. According to the traditional account (already fully developed in Ibn al-Ṣārafi), the wazīr al-Yazūrī in revenge launched against him the nomad bands of the Banū Hilāl (q. v.; the tribes mentioned in the Egyptian sources are Zughba, Riyāḥ, al-Aṭḥbadj, and 'Adiy), who had been a cause of much trouble to the government in the Ṣa'īd and were now given a free hand to plunder the territories of the Zirids [cf. TUNISIA, vol. iv. 851^a]. As Wüstenfeld has already indicated (p. 234 n.), the story as it stands is open to serious objections, and there can be little doubt that it has been amplified by popular legend. The westward movement of the Hilāl tribes began as early as 440, and there is no reason to reject the account of Ibn 'Idhārī that it was al-Mu'izz himself who invited the Arab tribes, then in Barqa, to enter Ifrīkiya as his *djund* (since he was not on good terms with the Ṣanhādja), and that they, having set out in response to his invitation, began to plunder on their own account and already before the close of 443 had inflicted a severe defeat on his troops. The two traditions are not, however, mutually exclusive and may be reconciled by supposing that the Banū Hilāl were transported in the first instance to Barqa (the governor of which had thrown in his lot with al-Mu'izz), and that their advance into Ifrīkiya was facilitated, for opposite reasons, by both al-Mu'izz and the wazīr (cf. also Ibn al-Aṭḥr, ix. 387—388). During the first years of his reign, the son and successor of al-Mu'izz, Tamīm (453—501 = 1061—1107), temporarily returned to the Fāṭimid allegiance (Lane-Poole, p. 138 n. 1), but with the conquest of Sicily by the Normans in 463 (1070) Barqa became the western limit of the Fāṭimid state.

The diplomatic relations of al-Mustaṣṣir with non-Muslim states covered a wide field. In 429 (1038) the existing treaty with the Byzantine Emperor was renewed and relatively cordial relations established. If Nāṣir-i Khuraw (ed. Kaviani, p. 67) is to be trusted, the Egyptian government was in communication in 439 (1047) also with the Georgians, the Dailamites, the Khākān of Turkistān and even the rādja of Dihli, all of whom shared with Egypt a common hostility to the Saldjūkids and the Ghaznevīds. The friendly relations with Constantinople, however, were broken off in 446

(1054), when the Empress Theodora demanded an offensive alliance against the Saldjūkids. Egyptian troops were despatched on an unsuccessful expedition against al-Lādhiḳiya, the Empress retaliated by opening negotiations with the Saldjūkids, and al-Mustaṣṣir seized the treasures of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*al-Ḳumāma*). This breach with Constantinople had important consequences for the future of Egypt, since to it may perhaps be ascribed the opening up of direct commercial relations with the Italian trading cities, though documentary evidence on the point is lacking (cf. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, i. 105, 124).

Religious Conditions. The wide expansion of the Fāṭimid power under al-Mustaṣṣir is reflected also in the religious situation. Propaganda on behalf of the Fāṭimids is synonymous with the dissemination of the official state religion of the Fāṭimids, the Ismā'īli-Shī'ite faith. Not only in Egypt and other lands in actual subjection to the Fāṭimid authority, but in all quarters of the Islāmic world, we learn of missionaries (*du'āt*), who during the long reign of al-Mustaṣṣir struggled, in part with great success, to secure recognition of his claim to be the religious Imām. In the East, in Persia, and especially in Shīrāz, at the court of the Būyid prince Abū Kalidjār [q. v.], we can trace the activities at least since 429 (1037—1038) of the *du'āt* Abū Naṣr Hibat Allāh b. Mūsā al-Mu'ayyad fī Dīn Allāh [see AL-MU'AYYAD], doubtless the most prominent personality of his time in the Ismā'īli *da'wa*. He endeavoured to win over the court and the Dailamite troops to the Fāṭimid cause, but was forced to leave his post in 439 (1047—1048) as the result of pro-'Abbāsid intrigues. In the first part of his autobiography (see *Bibl.*) al-Mu'ayyad gives a detailed account of his activity, and in particular publishes his correspondence with an unnamed Sunnī from Khurāsān, in which he explains the religious and political principles of his mission. To what an extent the power of the Fāṭimids and the success of their emissaries in 'Irāk and Persia was feared at Baghdād is shown by the fact that several times and latterly in 444 (1052), there was published a document, to which the 'Alids also subscribed, with the object of declaring false the claim of the Fāṭimids to descent from 'Alī. At the same time the Fāṭimid cause gained also new ground in the Yaman. After the political power of the Fāṭimids had been reduced there to a minimum in the course of the fourth century, it now acquired in the Ṣulāihid 'Alī b. Muḥammad a powerful supporter. He and his successors regarded themselves not only as political but also as religious representatives of the Fāṭimid Imām in the Yaman. The voluminous correspondence between the Ṣulāihid rulers and al-Mustaṣṣir, which is still preserved, collected in a separate work (*Kitāb al-Sidjillāt wa 'l-Tawḳī'āt wa 'l-Kutub li-Mawlānā al-Mustaṣṣir bi 'llāh*, MS. Sch. Or. St.; many of these letters are also reproduced in Idris, vol. vii. [see *Bibl.*]), deals, along with political questions, in the first place with the position of the *da'wa* in the Yaman and in the Fāṭimid state.

In Egypt itself, soon after the accession of al-Mustaṣṣir, the doctrines of the moderate official Ismā'īliya were threatened by the appearance of extremists related to the Druzes [q. v.]. A pretender, al-Sikkīn, together with his associate al-'Anī, gave himself out as the returned Caliph al-Ḥākīm, but

was promptly unmasked (Idris, vi. 296). Al-Mu'ayyad, who came to Cairo in 439 and won the goodwill of Mustanşir, was entrusted with the leadership of the religious mission as *Dā'i 'l-Du'āt* (it should be remarked, however, that al-Yazūrī during his wazirate also held the title of *dā'i 'l-du'āt*; cf. Ibn al-Sairafī, p. 40). In the reopened seminary in Cairo, where the *du'āt* of the various countries received instruction, he gave his lectures and gathered into his hands the strings of the whole *da'wa*. He appears to have exercised a special influence over the development of the *da'wa* in the Yaman, as the future Yamanite *dā'i* Lamak b. Mālik was numbered amongst his pupils. From Persia the newly-converted Ismā'īlī Nāşir-i Khusrāw [q. v.] came to Egypt, to find his master in him. At the same time al-Mu'ayyad seems also to have played an important political role. In his autobiography he quotes numerous letters which he wrote to al-Basāsiri and other generals of the Fātimids in Syria and Mesopotamia. In particular it was at his instigation that the *khutba* for the Fātimids was introduced into the prayer at Baghdad in 450 (cf. Ibn Muyassar, p. 8, 1; 10, 6—7). In his poems he eulogizes the Imām al-Mustanşir in a similar manner to Nāşir-i Khusrāw. Other Ismā'īlī authors of this period were the poet Hasan b. Maḥbūb, the *dā'i* Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nisābūri, and the author of the *Kitāb al-Madjalīs al-Mustanşiriya* (lectures in which the imāmate of al-Mustanşir is demonstrated with the aid of the Ismā'īlī *ta'wīl*), which are ascribed by the Fātimid tradition to Badr al-Djamālī. — For the Fātimid propaganda in Transoxania see also Barthold, *Turkestan*², G. M. S., p. 304—305.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Sairafī, *al-Ishāra ilā man nāla 'l-Wizāra*, ed. A. Mukhlis, Cairo 1924, p. 57—77; Ibn al-Kālānisi, *Dhail Ta'rikh Dimashk*, ed. Amedroz, p. 84—128; Nāşir-i Khusrāw, *Safar-Nāma*, ed. Kaviani, Berlin 1341, p. 54—82; trans. Schefer, Paris 1881, p. 110—162; Abū Šālih, ed. Evetts, fol. 98, 24^a—b, 33^a, 51^a; Djamāl al-Dīn al-Halabī, *Ta'rikh al-Duwal al-Munḳati'a*, British Museum Or. 3685, fol. 68^a—74^b; Gotha No. 1555, fol. 152^b—158^a; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ix. 304—x. 161; Ibn 'Idhārī, ed. Dozy, i. 285—292, 298 sqq.; Sibṭ b. al-Djawzi, *Mir'at al-Zamān*, vol. xii., Paris 641 [not consulted]; Ibn Muyassar (? Misar), *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. Massé, Cairo 1919, p. 1—43; Ibn Khallikān, transl. de Slane, iii. 381; Ibn Taghribardī, *al-Nudjūm al-Zāhira*, ed. Popper, II/ii. 168—296; al-Makrizī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Bulāḳ, i. 99—100, 335—336, and other passages; Ibn Hammād, *Akhbār Mulūk Banī 'Ubad*, ed. Vonderheyden, p. 59; Idris b. al-Ḥasan (d. 872), *Uyūn al-Akhbār*, vi. 292—vii. 150; al-Mu'ayyad fi 'l-Dīn, *al-Sira al-Mu'ayyadiya* (Autobiography) (the latter two in MSS. in the collection of H. F. al-Hamdani). — The section dealing with religious conditions is also based on other unpublished MSS. in the same collection. — F. Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der Fat. Caliphen*, p. 227—271; S. Lane-Poole, *Hist. of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 136—161; J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs*, Oxford 1920—1922, i. 75—83; ii. 79—80, 376—377; and the articles quoted above.

(H. A. R. GIBB and P. KRAUS)

MUSTA'RIB(A) (A.), "arabised", the name of one of the groups into which the Arab

genealogists divide the population of Arabia. The first is the 'arab 'ariba, the original Arabs of pure stock; they numbered nine (some say seven) tribes which are regarded as the descendants of Aram b. Sām b. Nūḥ [q. v.] and the first settlers in Arabia: 'Ad, Thamūd, Umayyim, 'Abil, Ṭasm, Djadis, 'Imlik, Djurhum and Wabār. These are extinct except for a few remnants incorporated in other tribes. The second group comprises the *muta'rriba* [q. v.] who are not pure blooded Arabs. They are regarded as descendants of Kaḥṭān (the Yoktān of the list of nations in Gen. x. 25 sq.) and live in southern Arabia. The third group is called *musta'rriba*; this name is also applied to tribes who were not originally Arabs; they trace their descent from Ma'add b. 'Adnān, a descendant of Ismā'il [q. v.]. All the north Arabian tribes are included among the *musta'rriba*, so that the Banū Kuraish to which Muḥammad belonged is one of them; his genealogy is in this way traced back to Abraham and he thus thought he could prove his connection with the Biblical prophets. The old term *musta'rriba*, for tribes not originally of Arab descent, obtained a new meaning after the conquest of Spain. It was applied to the Christian Spaniards who adopted Islam; the word *musta'rriba* was corrupted to Mozarab [q. v.].

Bibliography: Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, i., § 43; do., *Studi di Storia Orientale*, i. 306, sq.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, i. 6 sqq.; C. Ritter, *Arabien*, i. 57; al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, 1st Naw'; *Taḍj al-'Arūs*, i. 371; cf. Lane, *Lex.*, s. v.

(ILSE LICHTENSTÄDTER)

AL-MUSTARSHID BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ MANŞŪR AL-FADL, 'Abbāsīd caliph, born in 486 (1093—1094), son of al-Mustaẓhir and a slave-girl. Al-Mustarshid, who was proclaimed his father's successor after the latter's death on 16th Rabi' II 512 (Aug. 6, 1118), was the first caliph since the occupation of Baghdad by the Būyids who was not content with spiritual supremacy but also endeavoured to revive the caliph's authority in temporal matters. The Saldjūk sultān had died before al-Mustaẓhir (Dhu 'l-Ḥijda 511 = April 1118) and his son Maḥmūd [q. v.] was appointed his successor. His uncle Sanjar and his brother Mas'ūd both rebelled against the new sultān and the turbulent Mazyadī Dubais b. Šadaḳa [q. v.] was raising trouble in the 'Irāk and had also quarrelled with the caliph. The latter defeated him in 517 (1123) and after al-Mustarshid had repelled a regular attack on the capital he was able to adopt a more independent attitude to the Saldjūks. But as his increasing power aroused the misgivings of the governor of Baghdad, the latter in Rabiab 520 (July—Aug. 1126) went to Sultān Maḥmūd and asked him to put a limit to the caliph's powers. Maḥmūd agreed and attacked the capital while al-Mustarshid sent an army against Wāsiṭ in order to seize this town. The attempt failed however; towards the end of the year Maḥmūd entered Baghdad and al-Mustarshid could not hold out indefinitely but had to make peace, whereupon the sultān appointed 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī governor of Baghdad and all the 'Irāk. But in Djumādā II 521 (July 1127) the latter was given the governorship of al-Mawşil and after Maḥmūd's death (525 = 1131) the succession was again disputed. In 526 Dubais and Zangī undertook a campaign against Baghdad but were defeated by the caliph at the

end of Radjab (June 1132) and in the same year Mas'ūd [q. v.] had to give him complete control of Baghdād and the surrounding country. After some time he attacked the sultān but was taken prisoner in Ramaḍān 529 (Jan. 1135) and murdered in Dhu 'l-Ka'da of the same year (Aug. 1135) [cf. the art. DUBAIS B. ŠADAQA].

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, x.—xi, see index; Ibn al-Ṭīṭakā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 406—415; Muḥammad b. Šakīr, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ii. 124 sq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iii. 495 sqq.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi-i Kazwīnī, *Ta'rikh-i Guzida*, ed. Browne, i. 361 sqq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 212—253; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, ii. 127 sqq.; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, new ed., p. 583 sqq.; Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoudes*, ii. 104, 120, 152, 160, 174—178; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 195, 259, 275. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

MUSTASHĀR (A.), councillor, Turkish pronunciation *müsteshār*, meaning "general secretary to a ministry" or "under-secretary of state". The word which means literally "one who is consulted" comes from the same root as *mushīr* [q. v.] which properly means "he who gives advice". Sāmī Bey regards the word *müsteshār* as a synonym of the old Turkish *inal*. — The office was called *müsteshārī* or more simply *müsteshārlik*.

Like the title *mushīr*, that of *müsteshār* was created by Maḥmūd II. There were at first two *müsteshār* in the grand-vizierate, one for foreign and the other for home affairs. The latter was later replaced by a Minister of the Interior who had in his turn a *müsteshār*. The number of *müsteshār* gradually increased but some less important departments had *mu'āwin* "assistant, deputy" (in 1296 for example there were *mu'āwin* in the finance and police departments). The office has been retained under the present republic and each ministry or *wakālet* has its *müsteshār*; that of national defence has three (for army, navy and air force).

The chief judge of Istanbul used to have a *müsteshār*. According to Luṭfi Efendi, the post of *müsteshār* of the Navy was created in 1253 (v., p. 91) and that of *müsteshār* of the *şadreyin* or of the two *kağasker* in 1262 (viii., p. 127). On the honorary grades of *müsteshār* cf. the same author, vi., p. 66; cf. also p. 103, line 8 from below.

Müsteshār is also the name given to the "councillors" of Turkish or foreign embassies or legations. The title of *mustashār awwal* borne by the ambassador himself, sent by the Šultān of Marocco to Stambul in 1107, is inexplicable to us (cf. Djewdet Pasha, edition 1309, ii., p. 251; cf. *Recueil de Mémoires Orientaux de l'Ec. des Langues Orientales à Paris*, 1905, p. 6).

As to the term *mushāwir*, a synonym of the preceding and from the same root, it is applied to technical advisers, whether foreigners or not; *huḩukū mushāwiri* "legal adviser".

Bibliography: Cf. the various Ottoman calendars. The historians Aḥmed Djewdet and Luṭfi, following their predecessors, give no details of the administrative organisation. (J. DENY)

AL-MUSTA'ŠIM BI' ALLĀH, ABŪ AḤMAD 'ABD ALLĀH B. AL-MUSTA'ŠIR, the last 'Abbāsīd caliph of Baghdād, born in 609 (1212/3). After the death of his father in Djumādā I or II 640 (Nov./Dec. 1242) he was raised to the caliph's

throne but he had neither the talent nor the strength to avert the catastrophe threatening from the Mongols; he allowed himself to be guided by bad councillors who were not agreed among themselves but working against one another. In 683 (1255/6) the Mongol Khān Hülāgū [q. v.] demanded that the Muslim rulers should make war on the Ismā'īlis. The caliph did not trouble about this and in Rabi' I 655 (March/April 1257) a Mongol embassy came to Baghdād and demanded that al-Musta'šim should raze the defences of the city and appear in person before Hülāgū for further negotiations or send a deputy. As the caliph refused to meet these demands, Hülāgū threatened him with war. After another message in which al-Musta'šim tried to intimidate Hülāgū, the latter set out against the ancient city of the caliphs. On the way he met another embassy, offering him an annual tribute but this effort to appease the cruel foe was useless and by Muḥarram 656 (Jan. 1258) the Mongols were at the gates of Baghdād. Preparations for the siege advanced rapidly and after all attempts to resume negotiations had failed against the relentless Hülāgū, al-Musta'šim had to surrender on 4th Šafar (10th Feb.) and the city was sacked. Ten days later Hülāgū had the caliph with some of his relations put to death [cf. the art. BAGHDĀD].

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ṭīṭakā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 448—458; Muḥammad b. Šakīr, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, i. 237—239; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iii. 536 sqq.; Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Quatremère), i. 228 sqq.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi-i Kazwīnī, *Ta'rikh-i Guzida* (ed. Browne), i. 371—373; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 470—478; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, see index; A. Müller, *Der Islam*, i. 640; ii. 228 sqq.; Muir, *The Caliphate*, new ed., p. 590 sqq. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

MUSTAWFĪ, an official in charge of government accounts. Under the Turkish systems, e. g. under the Ghaznawids and Saldjūks, the title was borne by a functionary of high rank who was at the head of the *diwān* concerned with keeping the tally of public income and expenditure. Under the Nizām al-Mulk the office of the mustawfi was second only to that of the vizier (Bundārī, ed. Houtsma, p. 100) and appears to have corresponded to the *diwān al-aimām* or *diwān al-azimma*, the "Bureau of (Financial) Control" of the 'Abbāsids (Ṭabarī, iii. 522), although the Saldjūks also had a *diwān* of this name tenable by the mustawfi himself (Bundārī, p. 58). The qualities requisite in him were such as to fit him for the vizierate itself (*ibid.*, p. 96), and indeed there were duties which were common to the two offices so that the same man could act as the *nā'ib* in both (*ibid.*, p. 129, last line). The vizierate might be refused by a powerful mustawfi holding all the reins of government in his hands and reluctant to expose himself to the dangers inherent in the nominally more exalted office (*ibid.*, p. 136, 141). But no officer was safe from a capricious or greedy monarch and the mustawfi Šafī al-Dīn suffered death and the confiscation of a large part of his property at the hands of Sultān Mas'ūd (*ibid.*, p. 171). It is probable that the actual title of the State mustawfi was *mustawfi 'l-mamlaka* or something similar (*ibid.*, p. 31), the ordinary mustawfi, or accountant, holding a subordinate position (*ibid.*, p. 31, 3).

Under the Mongols the title was given to the superintendents of provincial finances (e.g. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī and his great-grandfather; cf. E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, iii. 87), and under the Timūrids, Ṣafawids and Qājārs, the *mustawfī* 'l-mamālīk filled the office of a secretary of state in charge of the public treasury accounts while the ordinary *mustawfī* was one of the lesser officers of the court (R. du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1890, p. 26, 178 sq.; A. Olearius, *Voyages and Travels*, London 1669, p. 274; Sir J. Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1815, ii. 437; R. G. Watson, *History of Persia*, London 1866, p. 16 sq.). *Mustawfī* 'l-mamālīk might however, under the latest Qājārs, be a title personal to a particular individual, who might be the Minister of the Interior (as in 1890) or even Prime Minister (as in 1910).

In Egypt, under the Fātimids and Mamlūks, the *mustawfī* might be the head of a *diwān* (as of the *diwān al-djāish*) or hold a less exalted, but still important, position as financial controller in such matters as the *iktā'āt*, or military fiefs (cf. Makrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, Bulāq 1270, ii. 193, middle and p. 227, under *nazr al-djāish*). The ordinary *mustawfī* was a minor official of the status of a clerk employed under a *shādd*, or overseer, in land-surveys or crop-estimation or else in a government office such as the depot of the government grain monopoly (*op. cit.*, ed. Wiet, ii., ch. 32, p. 23–25).

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the article, see Quatremère, *Hist. des Sultans mamlouks de Makrīzī*, i/i., p. 202 sq.; Mirzā Muḥammad Kaẓwīnī, *Muḥaddama to Djuwainī, Ta'rīkh-i Djahān-gushā* (in *GMS*), i/xi. (4).

(R. LEVY)

MUSTAWFĪ [see ḤAMD ALLĀH.]

AL-MUSTAZHIR BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. AL-MUKṬADĪ, 'Abbāsīd caliph. After the death of his father in Muḥarram 487 (Feb. 1094) the young al-Mustazhir succeeded him; about this time the power of the Saldjūks was beginning to be weakened by internal dissensions [cf. BARKIYĀRŪK]. The Assassins, who had already appeared on the scene in al-Mukṭadī's reign, were able to take advantage of the situation and fighting this dangerous sect soon became one of the most important tasks of the sultāns and caliphs. The Crusades also began at this time. In Sha'bān 492 (July 1099) Jerusalem was taken and in the following years numerous fugitives reached Baghdād who urged Sultān Muḥammad to take part in the struggle. He therefore sent an army under the emir Mawdūd against the Crusaders in 505 (1111/12). Al-Mustazhir, who is hardly ever mentioned in the political history of this period, died on 16 Rabi' II 512 (Aug. 6, 1118) at the age of 41.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṭhīr (ed. Tornberg), x. 154 sqq.; Ibn al-Ṭikṭākā, *al-Fakhri* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 403–406; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, iii. 480 sqq.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī-i Kaẓwīnī, *Tārīkh-i Guzida* (ed. Browne), i. 360 sq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 138 sq.; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, new ed., p. 582 sq.; Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoudes*, ii. 83, 95, 119, 261, 265; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, see index.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

MUSULMAN [See MUSLIM.]

MUṬA, a town in the centre of a fertile plain in the land east of Jordan, east of the southern end of the Dead Sea, about two hours' journey south of Kerak, celebrated for the defeat of the Muslims there in *Djumādā* I of the year 8. According to the Arabic account, the reason why Muḥammad sent 3,000 men to this region was that an envoy whom he had sent to the king (presumably the imperial commandant) of Boṣrā had been murdered by a Ghassanid, but the real reason seems to have been that he wished to bring the (Christian or pagan) Arabs living there under his control. If the story is correct that he chose three leaders for the expedition, Zaid b. Hāritha [q. v.] and if he fell his cousin Dja'far b. Abī Ṭālib [q. v.] and if he also fell the poet 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa [q. v.], he must have fully recognised the hazardous nature of the enterprise; but the tendency of the stories to describe the dangers of the expedition and the overwhelming nature of the opposing force as very great in order to put the unfortunate result of the battle in a better light is quite evident. In Ḥassān b. Thābit (xxi., cf. cxlviii.) we are only told that the three leaders above mentioned fell in succession. When the Muslims arrived in Ma'ān in eastern Edom, they learned that no less than 100,000 Byzantine soldiers and Beduins — a much exaggerated figure which Ibn Hishām doubles — had assembled in Ma'āb. Musil (*Arabia Petrata*, i. 29) locates this Ma'āb, which according to Ṭabarī, i. 2108, was not a town but a camp (*fustāṭ*), at Ladjdūn, a place near a spring with traces of an old Roman camp. But Abu 'l-Fidā' identifies it with al-Rabba which he describes as a village on the site of the former capital of the district, i. e. Rabbot Moab or Areopolis (P. Thomsen, *Loca Sancta*, p. 25; Brünnow, *M. N. D. P. V.*, 1895, p. 70 sq. with photographs; Musil, *op. cit.*, p. 370 sqq., 381). According to the Arab story, it was the emperor Heraclius himself who assembled this great army in Ma'āb, which is of course not true. When the Muslims heard this, we are told, they lost courage and wanted to wait until the Prophet could send them reinforcements but 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa was able to fill them with such enthusiasm for a possible martyr's death that they marched on the imperial army. According to Ibn Hishām, the latter met them at a village belonging to Balḳā' called Maṣḥārīf, but this must be a misunderstanding as this term means the Syrian fortresses on the edge of the desert. At the sight of the great force of the enemy, they withdrew to the south but fighting began at the village of Muṭa and they were routed. When the three leaders named by Muḥammad had fallen in the order indicated, they wanted Thābit b. Arkān to take command but he gave it to Khālīd b. al-Walīd who succeeded in saving the rest of the force; this was the first occasion on which his military talents benefitted the Muslims; how he did it, we do not know as the stratagem related by Wākīdī, p. 312 is not to be taken seriously. Besides the Muslim account, we have a Byzantine one, the earliest in the history of the Prophet, by the historian Theophanes, whose version bears the stamp of veracity. According to him Muḥammad sent four chiefs to the land east of Jordan against the Christian Arabs there. They went to a village named Mucheon, which de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*², p. 6 sqq., takes

to be a copyist's error for Ma'ab, while Musil, *op. cit.*, p. 153, identifies it with Khirbet al-Mahna which lies in a broad depression, in order to fall upon the Arabs on a feastday (ἡμέρα τῆς εἰδωλοθύτου αὐτῶν, which seems to indicate a heathen rather than a Christian population) but the vicarius Theodoros there learned of their plans and rapidly collecting the garrisons of the fortresses, fell upon the Muslims at Mu'ta and defeated them. Three of the leaders and most of the force were killed and Chaledos who was called the "sword of God", alone succeeded in escaping. The tombs of the martyrs who fell there used to be pointed out at Mu'ta, where a mausoleum was built over them.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 791 *sqq.*; Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 1610 *sqq.*; Wākidī, transl. Wellhausen; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, II/i. 92 *sqq.*, cf. III/ii. 82, 14; iv. 22 *sqq.*; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii. 80—88; Mas'ūdī, *B. G. A.*, viii. 327; Theophanes, ed. de Boor, i. 335; Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, p. 176; Ya'kūbī, *B. G. A.*, vii. 326; Muḥaddasi, *B. G. A.*, iii. 178; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 677; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 247; Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, i. 152; Probst, *Die geogr. Verhältnisse Syriens u. Palästinas nach Wilhelm v. Tyrus (Das Land der Bibel)*, 1927, i. 73. (FR. BUHL)

MUT'A (A.), temporary marriage (according to the Arab lexicographers "marriage of pleasure"), a marriage which is contracted for a fixed period on rewarding the woman.

I. Before Islām. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 4, 4, temporary marriage was in use among the Arabs already in the fourth century A. D.; but this can hardly be a reference to mut'a as the woman brings a lance and tent to the man and can leave him if she likes after the period has elapsed. It is also doubtful if there is a distinct mut'a character in the marriage of Hāshim with Salma bint 'Amr, whom he married during a temporary stay in Yathrib and left with her family there after the birth of her child (Caetani, i. 111, § 92). From the passage *Aghānī*, xvi. 63 (*matī'ūnī biha 'l-laila*) as well as from Muslim traditions it may be concluded that mut'a was known in the Djāhiliya. If we remember that the same kind of temporary marriage as the mut'a was known in Erythraea (Conti Rossini, *Principi di diritto consuetudinario*, Rome 1916, p. 189, 249) it seems to me certain that mut'a is an old Arabian institution. (Temporary marriage is also found among other peoples: cf. Wilken, p. 21 *sq.*; Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, London 1925, iii. 267 *sq.*; cf. also the ἑγγαφεος γάμος in Egypt, to which Griffini, p. 327 calls attention; in a demotic document there is a reference to such a marriage for five months: cf. Mitteis-Wilcken, *Grundzüge der Papyruskunde*, II/i., p. 203 *sqq.*).

II. In the Kur'aan there is undoubtedly a reference to this form of marriage in the Medīna sūra iv. 28, although the orthodox explanation of this passage as early as the first century refers it to the ordinary nikāh; after giving a list of the classes of women with whom marriage is forbidden, it goes on: "And further you are permitted to seek out wives with your wealth, in modest conduct but not in fornication; but give them their reward (*udjūr*) for what you have enjoyed of them (*istamtatūm*) in keeping with your promise". After *istamtatūm*, Ubai' b. Ka'b and Ibn 'Abbās read the

words *ilā adjalin musamman* "for a definite period" (Tabari, *Tafsir*, v. 9), a reading which naturally has not found its way into Sunni circles but is often added in Shi'a books.

III. The traditions are contradictory on the question of mut'a. According to some, it was in use in the time of the Prophet and he was even said to have practised it (*matṭa'ah*: Tabari, *Annales*, i. 1775, 1776; cf. Caetani, ii. 478, N^o. 17 and 19). In return for a robe or a handful of dates one could take an unmarried woman (*uyyām*) for a period of cohabitation (Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr. 13, 17; Ṭayālīsī, N^o. 1637). Especially when a man came to a strange town he could marry a woman there for the period of his stay so that she could look after him (Tirmidhī, *Nikāh*, bāb 28).

On the other hand, according to one tradition related by 'Alī, it was forbidden by the Prophet on the day (or in the year) of Khaibar (Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, bāb 38; *Dhabā'ih*, bāb 28; *Nikāh*, bāb 31; Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr. 31—34; Nasā'ī, *Nikāh*, bāb 71 ["on the day of Hunain" must here be a mistake for Khaibar]; *Ṣaid*, bāb 31; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāh*, bāb 44; Tirmidhī, *Nikāh*, bāb 28; *A'ima*, bāb 6; Mālik, *Nikāh*, tr. 41; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 79, 103, 142; Ṭayālīsī, N^o. 111; Zaid, *Maḍmū'*, N^o. 718).

According to other traditions, he is said to have permitted it for a short time on particular occasions. In this connection we have a group of traditions which goes back to Sabra b. Ma'bad; the various accounts of this, some long, some short, which supplement one another, are in part given without date (Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr. 20, 26; Nasā'ī, *Nikāh*, bāb 71; Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāh*, bāb 13; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 404), in part referred to the conquest of Mecca (Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr. 21, 24, 25, 27, 28; Dārimī, *Nikāh*, bāb 16; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 404, 405), and in part to the farewell pilgrimage (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāh*, bāb 44; Dārimī, *Nikāh*, bāb 16; Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāh*, bāb 13; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 404 *sq.*). Their substance is as follows: The Prophet permitted mut'a; Sabra therefore went with a companion to a woman and each offered her his cloak. She chose the younger with the shabbier cloak and slept three nights with him; thereupon the Prophet forbade it. According to the stories associated with the farewell pilgrimage, the woman wished mut'a only for a fixed period so that ten days or nights was agreed upon, but the Prophet forbade it after the first night, saying: "Whoever of you has married a woman for a period, shall give her what he promised and ask nothing of it back and he shall separate from her; for God has forbidden this up to the day of resurrection". (For the conclusion cf. also the fragments of this in Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr. 23, 30).

According to a second group of traditions, which goes back to Djābir b. 'Abd Allāh and Salama b. al-Akwa', the Prophet permitted mut'a for three days on a campaign (Bukhārī, *Nikāh*, bāb 71; Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr. 14, 15; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv. 47, 51; according to Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr. 19 and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv. 55, this was in the year of Awtās, i. e. shortly after the capture of Mecca). In Bukhārī we have at the end: "The partnership of the two parties lasted three nights; and if they agreed to extend it, they did so, and if they wished to separate, they did so". A prohibition is given only in two versions in this group.

According to other traditions, mut'a was first forbidden by the caliph 'Omar at the end of his caliphate (Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr. 16—18; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 304, 380 and iii. 325, 356, 363, where there is a reference to the two kinds of mut'a, i. e. *tamattu'* on the pilgrimage and *mut'at al-nisā'*). 'Omar threatened the punishment of stoning so that he regarded mut'a as fornication (Ibn Māḍja, *Nikāh*, bāb 44; Mālik, *Nikāh*, tr. 42; Ṭayālīsī, N^o. 1792). Cf. the angry exclamation of Ibn 'Omar when he was asked about mut'a: "By Allāh, we were not immodest in the time of the Prophet of Allāh nor fornicators" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 95, 104).

What then is at the bottom of these contradictory traditions? While Wellhausen regards mut'a as simply prostitution and not an old Arabian custom, Caetani points out that the traditions agree in connecting mut'a with an entrance of the Prophet into Mecca and sometimes even with the *ḥaǧǧ* and that a three days' duration is a feature of the mut'a; taking account of other considerations, he concludes that mut'a in the pagan period was religious prostitution on the occasion of the Meccan festival. However tempting this explanation may be, there is a complete lack of evidence for any religious prostitution in Mecca. With Wilken and Robertson Smith, we must rather regard mut'a as the survival into Islām of an old Arabian custom. The Prophet gives this custom sanction in the Qur'ān and also practised it himself. The traditions, if examined carefully, only mention two cases of prohibition by the Prophet: Khaibar and Mecca. As both these are later than the above Qur'ānic passage (years 3—5, according to Nöldeke-Schwally, i. 198) this prohibition would be quite possible. But since on the other hand the caliph 'Omar prohibited mut'a, which there is no reason to doubt, we might regard the tradition of prohibition as representing later views, which, as is often the case, are put back to the time of the Prophet.

IV. Attitude of the fuḳahā'. Ibn Abbās (d. 68) was an ardent champion of mut'a (Bukhārī, *Nikāh*, bāb 31; Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr. 18; Ṭayālīsī, N^o. 1792; Rāzī, *Mafātiḥ al-Ghaib*, Cairo 1324, iii. 195). In Mecca and the Yaman, according to Ibn Ruṣḥd (*Bidāya*, Cairo 1339, ii. 54), he also had followers; but before his death he is said to have been converted to the opposite view (Tirmidhī, *Nikāh*, bāb 28; Rāzī, *loc. cit.*). In later times, people still spoke derisively of a marriage by a *fetwā* of Ibn 'Abbās. In the second half of the first century in Mecca, *fetwās* were still given permitting mut'a (Muslim, *Nikāh*, tr. 29). The Qur'ān commentators Muǧāhid (d. 100), Sa'īd b. Djbair (d. 95), and al-Suddī (d. 127) also referred the above verse of the Qur'ān to mut'a. Suddī says that it is a marriage for a fixed period and that it should be concluded with the permission of the *walī* and with two witnesses; that after the expiry of this period the man has no longer any claim on the woman and that the two parties cannot inherit from one another (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, v. 8). With the second century, the contrary view begins to predominate; although individuals like 'Amr b. Dīnār (d. 126), Ibn Ḍuraidī (d. 150) and the Zaidī sect of the Ḍjārūdīya permit mut'a (Ibn Ruṣḥd, *loc. cit.*; van Arendonk, *Opkomst* etc., Leyden 1919, p. 72, note 9), al-Ṭhawri (d. 161), Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181) (Tirmidhī, *Nikāh*, bāb 28)

and all the Sunnī schools of law as well as the Zaidīs (al-Nāṭiq bi'l-Ḥaḳḳ, *Tahrīr*, Berlin MS., Glaser 74, fol. 53b) consider mut'a forbidden. Its recognition was now limited to the Shī'a. And if the caliph Ma'mūn tried to introduce mut'a again, this was certainly due to his Shī'ī tendencies (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii. 218).

At the same time, we still have in the second century the opinions of a period of transition. According to Zufar (d. 158), the marriage concluded under the form of mut'a was valid as a marriage but its limitation in time was invalid (Sarakhṣī, *Mabsūṭ*, v. 153; cf. also Bukhārī, *Ḥiyāl*, bāb 4). According to al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād al-Lu'lu'ī (d. 204), the mut'a was valid if the partners could not survive the time fixed, e. g. 100 years or more (Sarakhṣī, *loc. cit.*).

But in spite of their refusal to recognise mut'a, the Sunnīs made concessions by which mut'a gained a footing in another form. It became the practice not to insert a definite period in the contract; any agreement made outside the contract was not affected by the law. Al-Shāfi'ī (*Umm*, v. 71) for example, declared a marriage valid when it was concluded with the unuttered resolution (*niya*) to observe it only for the period of stay in a place or for a few days only, so long as this was not expressly stipulated in the contract. Similarly if agreement to this effect (*murāwaqa*) had been previously made and even if made on oath; but he describes such an agreement as *mahrūh*. There are also traces in later literature of a decision by Mālik by which he permitted mut'a (Sarakhṣī, v. 152; Badā'ūni, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, ed. Lees, ii. 208 *sqq.*) although only the contrary is recorded in the *Muwaṭṭa'* and *Mudawwana* (iv. 46).

A good exposition of the two opposite points of view is given from the Sunnī side by Kāsānī (d. 587), *Badā'ī al-Ṣanā'ī*, Cairo 1327, ii. 272—274 and in Rāzī, *op. cit.*, iii. 193—198 and from the Shī'ī side by 'Alam al-Hudā al-Murtaḍā, *Intiṣār*, Teheran 1315, p. 60—65. The Sunnīs refer the verse above mentioned from the Qur'ān to regular marriage and declare the *adǧr* to be *mahr*, while the Shī'īs base their view on this verse and consider the traditions of prohibition not to be abrogatory and do not consider 'Omar authoritative for a prohibition. The Imāmis even go so far as to say: "The believer is only perfect when he has experienced a mut'a" (al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, v. 69, 2).

V. The teachings of the Imāmis.

1. Form. Mut'a is an irrevocable (*lāzim*) contract which, like every contract, comes into existence through *ḳabūl* and *iqḳāb*. It may be concluded with the words *nikāh*, *taẓwīǧ* or *tamattu'*, but must always contain a precise statement of the period (*adǧal*) and a definite recompense (*adǧr* or *mahr*). This recompense may be the dowry usual in other marriages or a handful of corn, a dirham or such like. The period may vary from a day to months or even years. Witnesses are not necessary; nor need it be concluded before the *ḳāḍī*, if the partners are capable of using the formulae correctly. If the *mahr* is not given, the contract is invalid. If the period is not given, according to some it is a regular marriage if the word *tamattu'* was not used at the end of the ceremony; in the latter case the contract is again invalid.

2. The two partners must naturally fulfil the usual conditions for the conclusion of an agreement. The woman must further be unmarried

and chaste (*'afīfa*) and if possible ought to know about mut'ā, i.e. be a *Shi'ī*, and can only contract a temporary marriage with a Muslim. According to Ibn Bābūye (d. 381) and al-Mufid (d. 413), mut'ā with an unbeliever is forbidden, even with a member of the possessors of a scripture (*kitābiya*). The *nawāṣib* (extreme *Khāridjīs*) are included among the unbelievers. According to most Imāmis (and *Tūṣī* also) however, mut'ā with a Christian or Jewish woman is permitted but *makrūh* with a *madjūsiya*. Mut'ā with a slave-girl is only admitted with the consent of her master. Usually the woman contracts the marriage without a *walī*; only a virgin (*bikr*), according to some, requires her father's consent (Abu 'l-Ṣalāh, d. 82; Ibn Bābūye, d. 381; Ibn al-Barrādj, d. 481; cf. Hilli, iii. 92). The man may in this way take other wives in addition to his four legal wives, especially on journeys. He must not, however, take two sisters at the same time, not even during the *'idda*.

3. The mut'ā ends on the expiry of the period agreed upon. It cannot be prolonged by arrangement between the two parties; a new temporary marriage with a new *mahr* must rather be contracted at the end of the period. Divorce is impossible; according to some, however, *li'ān* and *ḡihār* are permitted.

4. There is no obligation on the man to provide food and home for the woman. The two partners cannot inherit from one another; but according to some, inheritance may be provided for in the contract. The *'idda* after the expiry of the mut'ā is two periods or 45 days, i.e. the *'idda* of a slave-girl. There is, however, disagreement whether on the man's death the period of waiting is the usual one for a wife or that for a slave. The children go with the father.

VI. Modern practice. Although these *Shi'ī* views have a certain amount of moral support, the mut'ā in many cases can only be described as legalised prostitution. It is true that in Persia such marriages are made for very long periods, e.g. 99 years, but the Persian, when on a journey, temporarily marries in any place where he is stopping for some time and in the towns and caravanserais mollahs and other brokers offer a wife to each new arrival. To make this business more profitable, the *'idda* period is evaded by concluding a second temporary marriage with the same man after the expiry of the first, for in the case of such a marriage the *'idda* is not necessary. This marriage and a woman of this kind is called in Persia *ṣiḡhe* (lit. "form" i.e. of the contract). Cf. Olearius [1637], *Muscowit. u. pers. Reyse*, Schlesswig 1656, p. 609; Chardin [1673], *Voyages*, Paris 1811, ii. 222—223, 225—227; Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, i. 207 sq.; E. G. Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, Cambridge 1927, p. 505 sq.; H. Norden, *Persien*, Leipzig 1929, p. 148, 167; and the romance of the traveller James Morier, *The adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, 1824, part iii, chap. 6—8.

The constantly quoted story (first in Wilken, p. 19) of Alex. Hamilton (*A new account of the East Indies*, Edinburgh 1727, i. 51) that at the beginning of the xviiith century temporary marriages were publicly negotiated in Sounan (= Ṣanā') in South Arabia and concluded before the *qāḍī*, is a very improbable one; for Hamilton knew only the coast-towns from his own observation and wrote

his account of his travels later from memory. He seems to be confusing them with conditions in Persian towns, and he makes mistakes on other matters.

In Mecca, in modern as well as ancient times (for the middle ages cf. *Lisān al-'Arab: wa-mut'at al-tazwīḡ bi-Makka minhu*), temporary marriages were concluded among the Sunnis but nothing is said of this in the marriage contract or this would make it invalid; everything necessary is arranged previously by word of mouth. On the conclusion of the contract, the man utters the *ṭalāk* formula with a time limit. Such agreements are as a rule kept (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 156; do., *Verspr. Geschriften*, vi. 150). The same artifice is used in such cases as *Shāfi'ī* indicated long ago (cf. above).

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(HEFFENING)

AL-MUTA'ĀLĪ. [See ALLĀH, II.]

MUTA'ARRIB(A) (A.) "arabised", the term applied to the descendants of *Qaḥṭān* (the Biblical *Yaktān*) who were regarded by the genealogists as "having become Arabs" in contrast to the supposed native "pure" Arab tribes like 'Ād, *Thamūd*, etc. They settled in South Arabia and adopted Arabic from the "pure" Arabs. The latter had learned it through *Djurm*, the only man who spoke Arabic in Noah's ark (all the rest spoke Syriac), and his son-in-law *Aram* b. *Sām* b. *Nūh* was the ancestor of the 'Ād and *Thamūd* etc. From South Arabia, their main centre, tribes of the *Banū Qaḥṭān* migrated to the north, so that there are in Northern Arabia also tribes whose genealogies make them belong to the *Banū Qaḥṭān* [cf. the article MUSTA'RIB(A) where the literature is given]. (ILSE LICHTENSTÄDTER)

MUTADĀRIK, name of the sixteenth metre in Arabic prosody, added to al-Khalil b. Ahmad's list by al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ [q. v.]. It is also called *mukhtara'*, *mukhdath*, *khabab*, *shakik*, *muntashik*, *darb al-khail*, *rakq al-khail*, *ṣawt al-nākūs*. It does not seem to have been used by the poets before Islām or of the first century A. H.

It has four feet to the hemistich and two 'arūd and four *qarb*:

1st 'arūd $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilun \\ fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilun \\ Fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilun \\ fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilātun \end{array} \right.$
 2nd 'arūd $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilun \\ fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilān \\ Fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilun \\ fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilun \end{array} \right.$
Fā'ilun may change to *fā'ilun* (*fā'lun* =) *fī'lun*.

(MOH. BEN CHENEZ)

AL-MUTAQID BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. TALḤA, 'Abbāsīd caliph, son of al-Muwaffaq, co-regent with the caliph al-Mutamīd [q. v.], and a Greek slave named Dīrār. Al-Mu'taqid was already the real ruler in the two last years of al-Muwaffaq's life and after the death of al-Mutamīd in Rājab 279 (Oct. 892) he ascended the throne. The new caliph who had inherited his father's gifts as a ruler and was distinguished alike for his economy and military ability is one of the greatest of the 'Abbāsīds in spite of his strictness and cruelty. On the accession of al-Mu'taqid the Ṭūlūnid Khumārāwaih [q. v.], wearied of the long war, concluded peace and gave the caliph his daughter in marriage. While the Khāridjīs in Mesopotamia were weakened by internal dissensions, al-Mu'taqid in 280 (893—894) undertook an expedition against the rebel Banū Shāibān and brought them to obedience. In the next two years the allies of the Khāridjī chief Hārūn b. 'Abd Allāh were defeated and in 283 (896) the latter fell into the hands of Ḥusain b. Hamdān, and was sent to Baghdād where the caliph had him crucified. The influence of the Hamdānīs now began to increase in Baghdād. The Dulafids [q. v.] who had given the caliphs much trouble were soon finally conquered. After al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-'Azīz called Abū Lailā had been defeated and slain in Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 284 (Jan. 898) near Isfahān, al-Mu'taqid had the other Dulafids imprisoned and the family now disappears from history. The Sāmānids increased their power at the expense of the Ṣaffārīds and the 'Alids. In 287 (900) the Ṣaffārīd 'Amr b. al-Laith [q. v.] was captured and brought to Baghdād. In the same year the 'Alid Muḥammad b. Zaid, lord of Ṭabaristān, occupied Djurdj marched against Khurasān but was defeated by the Sāmānid general Muḥammad b. Hārūn and died of his wounds while Ibn Hārūn took possession of Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān in the name of the Sāmānids. About the same time the governor of Armenia and Ādharbāidjān Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Ṣādj endeavoured in combination with his freedman Waṣīf to conquer Egypt. The latter however was taken prisoner by the caliph's troops and as the most influential men in Tarsus had promised their help, al-Mu'taqid had them arrested and the fleet there burned. Muḥammad was however allowed to retain his post but died soon afterwards of the plague. The Ḳarāmatians [q. v.] now appeared on the scene and in the same year the Ḳarāmatian leader al-Djannābī [q. v.] inflicted a complete defeat on the caliph's troops. Al-Mu'taqid died in Baghdād on 22 Rabī' II, 289 (April 5, 902) at the age of 40 or 47. According to some he was poisoned. — Cf. also the art. ISMĀ'IL B. BULBUL.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), iii. 2131 sqq.; 'Arīb (ed. de Goeje), see Index; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj* (ed. Paris), viii. 112—213;

ix. 47, 52; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Ibn al-Aṭhīr (ed. Tornberg), vii. 234 sqq.; Ibn al-Ṭīktākā, *al-Fakhri* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 348—350; Muḥammad b. Shākir, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, i. 45 sq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iii. 346 sqq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 433, 460, 476 sqq.; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, new ed., index; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, see index; A. Müller, *Der Islam*, i. 531.

(K. V. ZETTERSTĒEN)

AL-MUTAQID BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'AMR 'ABBĀD B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABBĀD, the most important and most powerful sovereign of the 'Abbādīd dynasty [q. v.] who reigned over the little kingdom formed by his father Abu 'l-Kāsim Muḥammad b. 'Abbād, with Seville [q. v.] as his capital, at the time of the break up of the Umayyad caliphate of Spain and the rise of the *reyes de taifas* (*mulūk al-tawā'if*); in the course of a reign of nearly 30 years (433—460 A.H. = 1042—1069 A.D.), he very considerably increased his territory by making himself the champion of the Spanish Arabs against the Berbers in Spain whose numbers, already very large in the tenth century, had been much increased since the period of the 'Amirid dictators.

When he succeeded his father, the new king of Seville, who was then 26, following the usual practice of the period, assumed the title of *ḥādīj*, and a little later the *laḡab* of al-Mu'taqid bi 'llāh by which he is best known. Gifted with real political ability, he was not long in revealing his character, that of an autocratic ruler, ambitious and cruel and little scrupulous in the means which he used to achieve his ends. As soon as he came to the throne he continued the war begun by his father against the petty Berber ruler of Carmona [q. v.], Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Birzālī, then against the latter's son and successor Ishāk. At the same time, al-Mu'taqid was extending his kingdom in the west between Seville and the Atlantic Ocean. It was with this object that he attacked and defeated successively Ibn Ṭaifūr, lord (*ṣāhib*) of Mertola, and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Yaḥṣubi, lord of Niebla (Ar. *Labla*) [q. v.] who in spite of his Arab descent had had the audacity to ally himself with the Berber chiefs. In face of these successes of the king of Seville, the other *mulūk al-tawā'if* who distrusted him formed a kind of league into which entered the princes of Badajoz [q. v.], Algeciras [q. v.], Granada [q. v.] and Malaga [q. v.]. This soon became a war between the 'Abbādīd of Seville and the Aṭṣād [q. v.] of Badajoz al-Muzaḥḥar [q. v.]; it was to last for many years in spite of the efforts at mediation by the Djahwarīd ruler of Cordova which only achieved their end in 1051. Down to this year, while harassing the frontiers of the kingdom of Badajoz, al-Mu'taqid displayed other activities: in succession he defeated Muḥammad b. Aiyūb al-Bakrī, lord of Huelva [q. v.] and of Saltes [q. v.] (whose son was the famous geographer), the Banū Muzain, lords of Silves [q. v.], and Muḥammad b. Sa'īd Ibn Hārūn, lord of Santa Maria de Algarve [q. v.], and annexed their territories. To justify these annexations, al-Mu'taqid used a very crude pretext: he alleged that he had found the unfortunate Hishām II, who had really died in obscurity a few years before, and would go on till he had restored to him his former empire subdued and

pacified in its integrity. In order not to be exposed to the cruelty of the king of Seville, the majority of the petty Berber chiefs settled in the mountains of the south of Andalusia acquiesced in this make-believe and paid homage to the 'Abbādid and to the Commander of the Faithful miraculously restored to aid the cause of al-Mu'taqid but at the same time carefully concealed by him. It was labour lost for them. One day the 'Abbādid invited to his palace in Seville all these petty chiefs with their suites and put them to death by asphyxiating them in baths the openings in which he walled up. In this way he took Arcos [q. v.], the capital of the principality of the Banū Khizrūn, Moron [q. v.] defended by the Banū Dammār, and Ronda [q. v.], capital of the Banū Ifran (1053).

This aroused the wrath of the most powerful Berber ruler in Spain, Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs the Zīrid [q. v.] who ruled in Granada and who alone seemed able to resist al-Mu'taqid. The latter however found that fortune favoured him in this war and a little later took Algeciras from the Ḥammūdīd al-Kāsim b. Ḥammūd. He next tried to seize Cordova and sent an expedition against it in charge of his son Ismā'īl; the latter tried to profit by the occasion to rebel and create for himself a kingdom with Algeciras as capital. This rash plan cost him his life, which his father took with his own hand, just as before him 'Abd al-Rahmān III and al-Manṣūr b. Abī 'Amir had inflicted the supreme penalty on their unworthy sons. This was the beginning of the political career of al-Mu'taqid's other son Muḥammad al-Mu'tamid [q. v.] who was to succeed him on his death; by his father's orders he went with an army to support the Arabs of Malaga, who had rebelled against the tyrannical ruler of Bādīs, the despotic Berber of Granada. But the latter routed the Sevillian army and al-Mu'tamid in sorry state reached Ronda from which he sought and received the pardon of his terrible father. The latter had long before repudiated the fiction of the pseudo-Hishām which he no longer needed. He was now by far the most redoubtable and the most feared of the Spanish rulers. He had no enemies but the Berbers, Muslims like himself but much further removed from his social ideal of a Spaniard than his Christian neighbours in the north. In another land he might have been called "Berberoktonos". But the bitterness of his hatred cast a shadow over his last days: it was not without fear that he followed events in the western Maghrib, hitherto the fief of Muslim Spain; at least in the sub-Mediterranean zone. The irresistible advance of the Almoravids [q. v.] following Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn through all Morocco would not find the straits of Gibraltar an insurmountable obstacle for long. Al-Mu'taqid realised this very well. Death at least prevented him from seeing his kingdom, entirely built up by his own energy and bold initiative, pass in a few weeks into the hands of invaders, brethren of these Berbers of Spain whom he had detested and in part destroyed.

Bibliography: All the texts of Arabic historians relating to the 'Abbādid (particularly Ibn Ḥaiyān *apud* Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhira*, Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn al-Abbār, Maḥḥārī) have been published by R. Dozy in his *Scriptorum arabum loci de Abbādidis*, Leyden 1846. Add also: Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib fī Akhbār Mulūk al-Andalus wa'l-Maghrib*, vol. iii., ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1930, and appendices (cf.

indices); Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *I'māl al-'Ilām fī man buyi'a kabīl al-Iḥtilām min Mulūk al-Islām*, part relating to the history of Spain, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934 (in the press). Cf. also Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, new ed., Leyden 1932, index; A. Prieto Vives, *Los reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1929, p. 73—75. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MUTAFARRIQA (A.), name of a corps of guards, who were especially attached to the person of the Ottoman Sultān in the ancient Turkish court. The name is also applied to a member of the guard. Their occupations were similar to those of the *Çawush* [q. v.], not of military character, nor for court service only, but they were used for more or less important public or political missions. Like the *Çawush*, the Muta-farriqa were a mounted guard. In later times there were two classes, the *gedikli* or *zi'emetli* Muta-farriqa, and the fiefless. Their chief was the *Mutafarriqa Aghası*. In course of time their number constantly increased; at the end of the xviith century the maximum was fixed at 120 (*G.O.R.* 2, iii. 890, after Rāshid), but in the beginning of the xixth century von Hammer gives the number 500 for the total. The Porte needed sometimes to lay stress on the importance of the office to make them acceptable as extraordinary envoys by foreign governments (*G.O.R.* 2, iii. 929, after Rāshid).

Among those who have occupied this rank was the well-known first Turkish printer Ibrāhīm Muta-farriqa.

Although different explanations of the title *mutafarriqa* are given, the most probable interpretation is, that these functionaries were not given a special duty but formed originally a corps used for "different matters". This is still the use of the word in modern Turkish.

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, ii. 55, 105; Ricaut, *Histoire de l'Etat Présent de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1670, p. 338. (J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-MUTAKABBIR. [See ALLĀH, ii.]

MUTAKALLIM. [See KALĀM.]

MUTAKĀRIB, name of the fifteenth metre in Arabic prosody; it contains four feet to the hemistich. There are two *'arūd* and six *ḍarb*:

	<i>Fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun</i>
	<i>fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun</i>
	<i>Fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun</i>
1st <i>'arūd</i>	<i>fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūl</i>
	<i>Fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun</i>
	<i>fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'al</i>
	<i>Fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun</i>
	<i>fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fal</i>
	<i>Fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'al</i>
2nd <i>'arūd</i>	<i>fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'al</i>
	<i>Fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'al</i>
	<i>fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fal</i>

Outside of the *ḍarb*, the foot *fa'ūlun* often loses its *n* and becomes *fa'ūlu*; used as the first *'arūd*, it further undergoes the following changes: *fa'ūl* and (*fa'ul* =) *fa'al*. According to al-Khalīl, the foot which precedes the *ḍarb* cannot suffer any change. The first foot of the first hemistich of the first line of a piece of verse may become (*'ūlun* =) *fī'lun* and (*'ūlu* =) *fī'lu*. (MOH. BEN CHENEH)

MUTAKĀWIS, term in prosody; cf. the art. *KĀFIYA*.

MU'TAMAD KHĀN, MUḤAMMAD SHARĪF, was born in an obscure family in Persia, but coming to India, he attained high honours in the reigns of Djahāngir and Shāh Djahān. He received in the third year of Djahāngir a military command and the title of Mu'tamad Khān (the trustworthy Lord). Subsequently he joined prince Shāh Djahān in his campaign in the Deccan as a *bakhshī* (paymaster). On his return to court, in the 17th year of Djahāngir's reign, he was entrusted with the duty of writing the Emperor's memoirs. He attained a higher rank in the service of Shāh Djahān and was appointed *mīr bakhshī* (adjutant-general) in the 10th year of the new reign. He died in 1049 (1639). He is the author of a history called *Ikbāl Nāma-i Djahāngiri*, in three volumes: 1. the history of Akbar's ancestors; 2. Akbar's reign (MSS. in the India Office Library and in the Bankipore Library); 3. the reign of Djahāngir (printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1865 and in Lucknow, A. H. 1286).

Bibliography: Ma'āthir al-Umarā', iii. 431; *Tuzuk-i Djahāngiri*, p. 352; *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., iii. 459; Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vi. 400; Rieu, *Cat. Br. Museum*, i. 255; Ethé, *Cat. of the India Office Library*, p. 121 and Morley, *Catalogue*, p. 120.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

AL-MU'TAMID 'ALA 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. DJĀ'FAR, 'Abbāsid caliph, son of al-Mutawakkil and a slave-girl named Fityān from Kūfa. He ascended the throne on the deposition of al-Muhtadī in Radjab 256 (June 870). He had no ability as a ruler, but relied on the vizier 'Ubaid Allāh b. Yahyā b. Khākān and left most of the affairs of government in the hands of his brother Abū Aḥmad al-Muwaffaḥ. In Shawwāl 261 (July 875) he designated his son Djā'far al-Mufawwiḍ as his successor and governor of the western provinces and al-Muwaffaḥ as his successor and governor of the east. The able al-Muwaffaḥ soon became the real ruler and gradually restored order in the empire again while the caliph himself exercised no influence. Already in the reign of al-Muhtadī a dangerous rising had broken out among the Zandj the negro slaves in the lower Euphrates valley, but it was not till 270 (883) that its leader 'Alī b. Muḥammad [q. v.] was conquered by al-Muwaffaḥ. Some time after the accession of al-Mu'tamid — according to the usual statement in 259 (873) —, the dynasty of the Tāhirids was overthrown by Ya'qūb b. al-Laiṭh [q. v.] and soon afterwards the Sāmānids appeared in Transoxania. On the death of Ya'qūb in 265 (879) his brother 'Amr [q. v.] submitted to the caliph and received the eastern provinces as a fief. About the same time Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn [q. v.] made himself independent in Egypt and after his death (270 = 884) his son Khumārawaih waged a desperate struggle against the 'Abbāsid caliphate. In al-Mawṣil and the surrounding country the Khāridjīs continued their destructive career, but were finally subdued. Peace was also often disturbed by 'Alid rebels and there was also the war with the Byzantines. The Paulicians who had stood by the Muslims faithfully were repeatedly defeated by the emperor Basil and in 263 (876) the latter retook the fortress of Lu'lu'a near Tarsus which al-Mu'tasim had taken. It was not till 270 (883) that the Muslims were able to inflict a complete defeat on the Byzantines. The war was however continued. After the death

of al-Muwaffaḥ in 278 (891) the caliph had to proclaim the latter's son al-Mu'tadid [q. v.] as his successor instead of Djā'far al-Mufawwiḍ. In the following year al-Mu'tadid left Sāmarrā and moved the capital to Baghdād again. Here he died in Radjab 279 (Oct. 892) at the age of 48 or 50. According to some he was poisoned by al-Mu'tadid.

Bibliography: Ibn Kūtaiba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 200; Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 619—624; Tabarī, iii., see Index; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj* (ed. Paris), viii. 38—112; ix. 47, 52; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), vii. 156 sqq.; Ibn al-Tiḡtakā, *al-Fakhri* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 341—348; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iii. 303 sqq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 422 sqq.; Muir, *The caliphate, its rise, decline, and fall*, new ed., p. 544 sqq.; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 531, 539; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 193, 195, 229, 247—249; do., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 36, 55.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-MU'TAMID 'ALA 'LLĀH, the *laḡab* by which the third and last member of the dynasty of the 'Abbāsid [q. v.] of Seville in the 11th century is best known; his real name was MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABBĀD AL-MU'TADID [q. v.] B. MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀ'IL IBN 'ABBĀD. While still a boy — barely 13, having been born in 431 (1040) — he was placed by his father in nominal command of an expedition against Silves (Ar. *Shilb* [q. v.]), then in the possession of Ibn Muzain, and this town was taken by assault as was Santa Maria d'Algarve soon after (Ar. *Shantamariyat al-gharb*, now Faro [q. v.]) which was held by Muḥammad b. Sa'īd Ibn Harūn [q. v.] (444 = 1052). The young 'Abbādid prince was then appointed by his father governor of these two towns. His elder brother Ismā'īl having been executed in punishment for his rebellion (455 = 1063; cf. AL-MU'TADID), Muḥammad al-Mu'tamid became heir-presumptive to the throne of Seville. A little later, the army which he was leading to the help of the Arabs of Malaga, who had rebelled against the tyranny of Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs, the Berber ruler of Granada of the Zīrid [q. v.] dynasty, was routed by the latter and al-Mu'tamid had to take refuge in Ronda [q. v.] to which his father, at first very angry at his failure, finally sent him his forgiveness. When the powerful ruler of Seville died in 461 (1069), his son succeeded to a considerably extended kingdom which included the greater part of the southwest of the Iberian peninsula.

A whole series of more or less romantic episodes is associated with the reign and life of al-Mu'tamid. If we may believe several authors of the Muslim west, an individual called Ibn 'Ammār, vizier and poet, exerted a very considerable influence during the greater part of the career of this prince from his governorship of Silves. Al-Mu'tamid's relations with a young slave girl al-Rumaikīya, gifted with considerable poetic talent, has also been the subject of much literary embellishment. It was from the surname of this young woman I'timād, that al-Mu'tamid is said to have adopted his which comes from the same root. She became his favourite wife and presented him with several sons. As to Ibn 'Ammār, exiled by al-Mu'tadid, he was recalled on the accession of his patron to Seville from which he went at his own request

to be governor of Silves before being appointed grand vizier.

In the second year of his reign, al-Mu'tamid was able to annex to his kingdom the principality of Cordova [q. v.], over which the Djahwarids had been ruling, in spite of the efforts of the king of Toledo, al-Ma'mūn [q. v.]. The young prince 'Abbād was appointed governor of the old capital of the Umayyads. But at the instigation of the king of Toledo, an adventurer named Ibn 'Ukāsha was able in 468 (1075) to take Cordova by surprise and put to death the young 'Abbād prince and his general Muḥammad b. Mārtin. Al-Ma'mūn took possession of the town where he died six months later. Al-Mu'tamid whose paternal affection had been wounded and pride insulted tried for three years vainly to reconquer Cordova. He was not successful until 471 (1078); Ibn 'Ukāsha was put to death and the part of the kingdom of Toledo between the Guadalquivir and the Guadiana conquered by the armies of Seville. Nevertheless at this time it took all the skill of the vizier Ibn 'Ammār to conclude peace by paying double tribute with Alfonso VI of Castille when he sent an expedition against Seville.

This was just the time when through the energy and tenacity of the Christian princes taking advantage of the feuds which were setting the Muslim rulers of the *taifas* against one another, the *reconquista*, which had received a check and then a setback from the last Umayyads, resumed its advance on the south of the Peninsula. In spite of their successes, of which the Muslim chroniclers make a great deal, it must not be forgotten that by the middle of the vth (xth) century, many Muslim dynasties of Spain were being forced to seek on payment of heavy tribute the temporary neutrality of their Christian neighbours. Shortly before the taking of Toledo, which had far-reaching effects, by Alfonso VI in 478 (1085), al-Mu'tamid began to be involved in serious difficulties. On the imprudent advice of his vizier Ibn 'Ammār, al-Mu'tamid tried to add to his kingdom, after the principality of Cordova, that of Murcia [q. v.], which was ruled by a prince of Arab origin, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Ṭāhir. In 471 (1078), Ibn 'Ammār went to the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer II, and asked him for assistance to conquer Murcia in return for a payment of 10,000 dinārs; until this sum was paid al-Rashīd, a son of al-Mu'tamid, was to remain as hostage. After animated negotiations which ended in the payment of a sum three times as large to the Count of Barcelona, Ibn 'Ammār resumed his plan of conquering Murcia and soon succeeded in doing so with the help of the lord of the castle of Bldj (now Vilches), Ibn Rashīk. In Murcia however, Ibn 'Ammār soon rendered himself obnoxious to his master by assuming the attitude of an independent ruler and on al-Mu'tamid's reproaching him he replied by insults to the king of Seville, his wife and his sons. Betrayed by Ibn Rashīk, he had to take refuge in Murcia and then successively in Leon, Saragossa and Lerida. Returning to Saragossa, he endeavoured to assist its ruler al-Mu'tamin Ibn Hūd [cf. SARAGOSSA] on his expedition against Segura, but he was taken prisoner and handed over to al-Mu'tamid, who in spite of the bonds of friendship which had so long linked them together, slew him with his own hand.

In the meanwhile, Alfonso VI was no longer

concealing his designs on Toledo, the siege of which he began in 473 (1080). Two years later, when he sent a mission to enforce payment of the annual tribute due to him from al-Mu'tamid, its members were insulted and the Jewish treasurer Ibn Shalib who accompanied it was put to death because he had refused to accept debased money. He therefore invaded the kingdom of Seville, sacked the flourishing towns of Aljarafe (Ar. al-Sharaf; q. v.), advanced through the district of Sidona (Ar. *Shadhūna*; q. v.) as far as Tarifa [q. v.] where he uttered his celebrated remark expressing his pride at having reached the utmost limits of Spain.

The capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI dealt a serious blow to Islām in Spain. The king of Castille soon demanded of al-Mu'tamid that he should surrender those of his lands which had formed part of the kingdom of the Dhū 'l-Nūnids (a part of the modern provinces of Ciudad-Real and Cuenca). Throughout Muslim Spain, his demands which increased every day, made the position very serious. In spite of their reluctance, the Muslim rulers in Spain, led by al-Mu'tamid, were forced to seek the help of the Almoravid sultān Yūsuf b. Tāshfin [cf. ALMORAVIDS] who had just conquered the whole of Morocco in an irresistible advance. It was decided to send him an embassy consisting of the vizier Abū Bakr b. Zaidūn and the kādis of Badajoz, Cordova and Granada. An agreement having been reached, not without difficulty, Yūsuf b. Tāshfin crossed the Straits or Gibraltar and on the 22nd Radjab 479 (Oct. 23, 1086) inflicted on the Christian troops the disastrous defeat of Zallāka [q. v.] not far from Badajoz. We need not recall here how Yūsuf b. Tāshfin recalled to Africa, could not follow up his victory as the Muslim rulers of Spain had hoped, who through the influence exercised by the Spanish faḳīhs on the Almoravid, soon lost all prestige in his eyes. After his departure the Christians began again to harass Muslim lands, to such an extent that al-Mu'tamid had this time to go in person to Yūsuf b. Tāshfin in Morocco to ask him to cross the Straits once more with his troops. Yūsuf consented and landed at Algeciras in the following spring (482 = 1090). He laid siege to the fortress of Aledo but without taking it; then stimulated by popular feeling and the advice of the faḳīhs, he came to the conclusion that it would be more advantageous for him to wage the *djihād* in Spain on his own account and proceeded to dethrone and dispossess the princes who had sought his intervention. With this object he sent an army to invade the kingdom of Seville under Sir b. Abi Bakr, who at the end of 1090 took Tarifa, then Cordova where one of al-Mu'tamid's sons, Faṭḥ al-Ma'mūn, who was in command of it, was killed, Carmona, then Seville, which was captured in spite of a heroic sortie by al-Mu'tamid. The latter was taken prisoner by the Almoravid and sent with his wives and children first to Tangier, then to Meknes and a few months later to Aghmāt [q. v.], near Marrākush. There he led a miserable existence for several years until his death at the age of 55 in 487 (1095).

The sad end of al-Mu'tamid touched all his biographers, who are particularly numerous and expatiate on his natural gifts, poetical talents, generosity and chivalrous spirit. He is one of the most representative types of the enlightened Spanish Muslims of the Middle Ages, patrons of letters

and scholarship, liberal and tolerant, but living in an atmosphere of luxury and ease little compatible with the care of a kingdom with frontiers open to envious neighbours on all sides. Not so great a ruler as his father al-Mu'taḍid, al-Mu'tamid is however a much more attractive figure, perhaps just on account of his misfortunes. He is entitled to a place among the great figures of Spanish Islām, alongside of 'Abd al-Rahmān III, al-Hakam II, al-Manṣūr b. Abi 'Amir and at a later date Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb.

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhira*, iv.; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Huṭat al-siyarā'* (ed. Dozy, *Notices*...); 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Marrākushī, *al-Mu'djib*, ed. Dozy, transl. Fagnan; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Ihāṭa*; do., *I'māl al-l'ām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, iii., ed. Lévi-Provençal; al-Faḥ Ibn Khakān, *Qalā'id al-Ikyān* and *Maṣmaḥ*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, iv., and *Histoire des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, ii.; *al-Hulal al-mawshīya*, Tunis; Ibn Abi Zar', *Rawḍ al-Qirās*, ed. Tornberg and in Fās; etc. — The majority of the references to al-Mu'tamid have been collected by R. Dozy, *Scriptorium arabum loci de Abbadidis*, Leyden 1846. Cf. also the long discussion of al-Mu'tamid by Dozy in Bk. IV of his *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, new ed., Leyden 1932, vol. iii.; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*², Barcelona 1929, p. 77 sqq.; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leyden-Paris 1931; A. Prieto Vives, *Los reyes de taifas* (mainly numismatic), Madrid 1926. — The life and touching end of al-Mu'tamid have just been put on the stage in Cairo. He is also discussed in numerous monographs — mostly at second hand — composed in recent years in the east (mainly in Egypt) on the Muslim past of Spain.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MUTAMMIM B. NUWAIRA, a poet, contemporary with the Prophet. He was the brother of Mālik b. Nuwaira [q. v.], chief of the Banū Yarbū', a large clan of the Banū Tamīm. Mutammim owes his fame to the elegies in which he lamented the tragic death of his brother Mālik and these poems have made the latter's name immortal. The Arabs said there was nothing comparable to these elegies, overflowing with emotion. They regarded their author as the type of brotherly devotion.

Mutammim does not seem to have played any prominent part before the Hidjra. He was eclipsed by the striking personality of his brother, to whose qualities he never hesitated to pay homage. He is represented as having been of unprepossessing appearance, one-eyed and short in stature. The Bakrī chief al-Hawfazan eulogized the humanity with which Mutammim treated him during his captivity. Falling in his turn into the hands of the Banū Taghlib, Mutammim was delivered by a stratagem devised by his brother. He seems to have adopted Islām at the same time as his brother. Like the latter, he is numbered among the "Companions" although we never find him in direct relations with the Prophet. He escaped from the disaster in which Mālik was overwhelmed; a few fragments of other poems suggest he did not write elegies exclusively.

But after the death of Mālik he devoted himself to celebrating his memory and demanding vengeance for his death. Refused by the Caliph Abū

Bakr, he thought he might have more success on the accession of 'Omar. He hurried to Madina where he was very well received by 'Omar. The latter listened with delight to his elegies, regretted that he himself had not the gift of poetry so that he might worthily celebrate his brother Zaid who had fallen in the wars of al-Yamāma, but he refused to reverse Abū Bakr's decision and limited himself to dismissing Khālid b. al-Walid, a step which probably owed something to the poetical extortations of Mutammim.

After this, tradition says that the poet became almost blind through weeping, and that he wandered over the many routes of Arabia, uttering his complaints everywhere. He found himself abandoned by his wives who became tired of his incurable sadness and wandering life. He left two sons Dāwūd and Ibrāhīm, also poets. He survived 'Omar if, as Ibn Khallikān says (ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o. 792), he is really the author of an elegy on the death of this caliph.

Bibliography: The principal references are given in Nöldeke, *Beitr. zur Kenntniss der Poesie*, p. 95—152; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 39; Cl. Huart, *Littérature arabe*, Paris 1903, p. 43; *Mufaḍḍaliyat*, ed. Lyall, N^o. ix., lxvii., lxviii.; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, photo. ed. Leyden, p. 138, 331, 341, 371; *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, xiv. 66—76; Ibn Qutaiba, *Kitāb al-Shi'r*, ed. de Goeje, p. 192—6; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, iv. 398—9; Ibn Hajar al-Asḳalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, Cairo, vi. 40—1; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, iii. 368—369.

(H. LAMMENS)

AL-MUTANABBĪ, "he who professes to be a prophet", the surname by which the Arab poet ABU 'L-TAIYIB AḤMAD B. AL-ḤUSAIN AL-DJU'FĪ is usually known (cf. in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* [Cairo 1310], i. 36, two genealogies, which do not agree, going back to his great-grandfather). Abū 'l-Taiyib was born in Kūfa in 303 (915) in the Kinda quarter whence the ethnic al-Kindī sometimes given him. His family in very humble circumstances claimed descent from the Yamanī clan of the Dju'f and he himself all his life was convinced of the superiority of the Arabs of the south over those of the north (cf. al-Wāhidī, *Sharḥ Diwān al-Mutanabbī*, ed. Dieterici, p. 48—49; al-Yāzidī, *al-'Urf al-taiyib*, p. 29 [these two works will be quoted as Wāh. and Yāz.]). The boy received his early education in his native town and soon distinguished himself by his intelligence, his prodigious memory and his precocity as a poet. He now passed under Shī'ī influences, perhaps Zaidī (cf. 'Abd al-Kādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i. 382, 12) which affected the development of his philosophy, a subject to which we shall return. Circumstances were however to accelerate the speed of Abū 'l-Taiyib's religious development. Towards the end of 312 (924), undoubtedly under pressure from the Ḳarmāṭians [q. v.] who had just taken and sacked Kūfa, Abū 'l-Taiyib and his family made a first stay of two years (cf. al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 506 b₂₄; al-Badī'ī, *al-Shubḥ al-munbī*, i. 6) in Samāwa, the region lying between the Sawād of Kūfa in the east and Palmyrene in the west. The Banū Kalb who led a nomadic life in these desert steppes had been much cultivated by the Ḳarmāṭian *dā'īs*. It is possible that the young poet at this time came into contact with some of these heretics. It is however not very probable,

in view of his youth, that this first contact had any definite effect upon him. On the other hand, this stay among the Beduins certainly gave Abu 'l-Taiyib that profound knowledge of the Arabic language of which he was later so very proud.

On returning to Kūfa, at the beginning of 315 (927), Abu 'l-Taiyib seems to have decided to devote himself entirely to poetry. At this time he most admired the great panegyrists of the preceding century, Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī [q. v.]. Like them and like the majority of his contemporaries, he sees in poetry a sure means of attaining wealth and power. He at once attached himself to a certain Abu 'l-Faql, of Kūfa, to whom he dedicated a short piece (Wāḥ., p. 17—21; Yāz., p. 10—11). Perhaps a convert to Ḳarmāṭism, in any case a complete agnostic — the praises which he allows to be offered him show this —, this individual seems to have exercised a considerable influence on the religious and philosophical development of al-Mutanabbī (cf. also *Khizāna*, i. 382 below). Prepared by the Shī'a atmosphere in which he had passed his childhood and by the relations he had had with the Ḳarmāṭians in Samāwa, Abu 'l-Taiyib in contact with this patron cast off religious dogmas which he regarded as spiritual instruments of oppression. He then adopted a stoic and pessimistic philosophy, echoes of which are found throughout his work. The world is made up of seductions which death destroys (cf. Wāḥ., p. 39, l. 8—13; p. 162, l. 12—13; Yāz., p. 23 and 97); stupidity and evil alone triumph there (cf. Wāḥ., p. 161, l. 8—10; Yāz., p. 97); the Arabs — representatives of a superior race in his eyes — are overwhelmed in it by cowardly and barbarous foreigners (cf. Wāḥ., p. 148, l. 1—5; p. 160, l. 2—6; Yāz., p. 87 and 96). In contact with this world with which he was out of harmony, the consciousness of his talent, which Abu 'l-Taiyib had, developed rapidly; his vanity increased to a degree which is almost inconceivable (cf. Wāḥ., p. 60; Yāz., p. 34). His Arab particularism, as with all anti-Shu'ūbiyya [cf. SHU'UBIYYA], incited him to attack foreign oppressors (Wāḥ., p. 58, l. 30—31; Yāz., p. 33). This is why, by a contradiction from which he is hardly ever free, al-Mutanabbī coveted all his life those riches and power which he scorned in his heart, while he stands out from the mass of his contemporaries by his rigid morality and austerity (cf. al-Badī'i, *op. cit.*, i. 78—81).

At first however, Abu 'l-Taiyib thought only of conquering the world by his poetic gifts, and to find a more favourable field for his activity he left Kūfa towards the end of 316 (928), probably as a result of the town being again sacked by the Ḳarmāṭians. He was naturally attracted to Baghdād (cf. al-Badī'i, *op. cit.*, i. 82—83) and there became the panegyrist of a compatriot of his, Muḥammad b. 'Ubaid Allāh al-'Alawī (cf. Wāḥ., p. 6—7; Yāz., p. 3—4). From there he went to Syria. For two years he led the life of a wandering troubadour of the period (cf. Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, p. 256). It is impossible to follow him in his wanderings for his *Diwān*, our only guide, does not present his poems in a satisfactory chronological order. Some pieces of the period are addressed to Beduin chiefs of the region of Manbij [q. v.] (cf. Wāḥ., p. 24—25, 38—39, 66—67; Yāz., p. 12—13, 22—23, 28—29); others are dedicated to men of letters of Tripolis (Wāḥ., p. 88—89; Yāz., p. 19—20), al-Lādhikiya (Latakia)

(cf. Wāḥ., p. 116—135; Yāz., p. 66—78). The poems of this period are hurriedly written and mediocre in quality, but traces of his real genius are already apparent. With the exception of a *marthiya* (lament) and some impromptu pieces they are all *ḡasidas* on neo-classical lines. The influence of Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī preponderates.

In the course of this period of experiment, Abu 'l-Taiyib was irritated at not finding his merit recognised. Gradually he looks forward to his dreams of domination being realised by violence (cf. Wāḥ., p. 138, l. 3—7; Yāz., p. 79). Finally he abandoned the work of a paid panegyrist and returning to al-Lādhikiya he began revolutionary propaganda, the nature of which has long been misunderstood. According to Oriental writers (al-Badī'i, *op. cit.*, i. 25—30; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuḡat al-Alibbā'*, p. 369), Abu 'l-Taiyib proclaimed himself a prophet in al-Samāwa, was taken prisoner by Ikshidid [q. v.] troops and then received his epithet of al-Mutanabbī. Kratschkowsky (*Mutanabbī i Abu l'Ala*, St. Petersburg 1909, p. 9—11) does justice to these traditions, without however taking full account of some clear allusions in the *Diwān*. The latter contains pieces which prove beyond all possible doubt that a rebellion was led by al-Mutanabbī (cf. Wāḥ., p. 49—58, 86; Yāz., p. 28—33, 50). This rising, as usual at this period, must have been political as well as religious. The rising began in al-Lādhikiya and then extended to the western borders of Samāwa where the Banū Kalb constituted an element always ready to rebel. Without adhering to Ḳarmāṭism, al-Mutanabbī exploited its principles which found only too ready an echo among the marauding Beduins (cf. Wāḥ., p. 57, l. 22—23; Yāz., p. 32; allusion to the massacre of pilgrims by the Ḳarmāṭian Abū Tāhir, in 317 = 930). The ambiguity of the utterances of the rebel, the opportunism of his doctrines and his conception of the imāmate on Ḳarmāṭian lines, may have caused some misunderstanding of his preaching, since at this time any agitator was regarded as a Ḳarmāṭian. After some initial successes, al-Mutanabbī and his Beduins were defeated; he was captured and imprisoned at Ḥims (towards the end of 322 = 933). After a trial and two years' imprisonment (*Diwān*, Paris MS., N^o 3092, fol. 16a), Abu 'l-Taiyib was condemned to retract his errors and set free. From this adventure he gained only the epithet of al-Mutanabbī and the conviction that poetry alone would lead him to the realisation of his ambitious dreams.

The poems composed by Abu 'l-Taiyib immediately before and during his rebellion are distinguished by spontaneity of inspiration, by the liberty which the poet takes with poetic forms, by the vigour of the style, which has a much more personal character than in his first manner.

As soon as al-Mutanabbī had returned to his profession of panegyrist, he naturally resumed his wandering life (beginning of 325 = 937). For several years he led a precarious existence and had to be content to sing the praises of citizens and minor officials of Antioch, Damascus, Aleppo etc. who paid him very badly (cf. Wāḥ., p. 93—206; Yāz., p. 51—131; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, v. 203). Little by little however, his fame grew. At the beginning of 328 (939), we find him becoming court poet to the emir Badr al-Ḳharshānī (the Badr b. 'Ammār of the *Diwān*), governor of Damascus for the ex-*amir al-umara'* Ibn Rā'iq [q. v.],

who had just taken possession of Syria. Of Arab origin, Badr was regarded by al-Mutanabbī as the Maecenas for whom he had been waiting so long. The panegyrics and occasional poems which are dedicated to this emir reveal a sincere admiration for him and possess a sustained inspiration (cf. Wāḥ., p. 206—245; Yāz., p. 132—163). These pieces and those that precede them, after Abu 'l-Ṭaiyib's return to literature, constitute what might be called the third manner of the poet. With the exception of a poem on hunting in the style of Abū Nuwās [q. v.] (cf. Wāḥ., p. 201—202; Yāz., p. 128—129) and a number of impromptu poems of no particular interest, al-Mutanabbī wrote only *ḥaṣīdas* during this period. He would seem then to have returned to his first manner, if the work of this period did not show considerable progress in form.

The friendship between Badr and al-Mutanabbī lasted only about a year and a half and as a result of intrigues of jealous rivals (cf. Wāḥ., p. 253, lines 13—16; Yāz., p. 169), Abu 'l-Ṭaiyib feeling no longer safe, sought refuge in the Syrian desert (cf. Wāḥ., p. 251—252; Yāz., p. 168—169). There the idea of rebelling again took possession of him (cf. Wāḥ., p. 253—254; Yāz., p. 170—171). Fortunately the departure of Badr for the 'Irāq enabled him to leave his hiding-place and resume his profession of panegyrist. He now sang the praises of several individuals of second rank (cf. Wāḥ., p. 107—108, 284—348; Yāz., p. 60—61, 194—241). Lastly he succeeded in establishing himself at the Ḥamdānīd court in Aleppo where he became the official poet of the emir Saif al-Dawla [q. v.] at the beginning of 337 (948).

From the literary point of view, the work of this period which runs roughly from the middle of 329 (940), date of the quarrel with Badr, to the beginning of 337 (948), marks his fourth manner, to which he remained faithful till his death. It is characterised by a compromise between the pure neo-classical tradition and a freer form which the poet had adopted in the poems of the period of his rebellion. Without rejecting the framework of the neo-classical *ḥaṣīda*, he reduces the erotic prologue to a minimum, sometimes even replacing it by a philosophical and lyrical opening which breathes his dreams, disillusionments and angers.

Al-Mutanabbī stayed nine years with Saif al-Dawla. He was genuinely attached to this patron, who was in his eyes the personification of the ideal Arab chief, brave, magnanimous and generous. Saif al-Dawla in his turn recognised the worth of his panegyrist whom he overwhelmed with gifts and never treated with arrogance. Al-Mutanabbī accompanied him on his expeditions and on returning to Aleppo sang of his exploits against the Byzantines and the Beduins of the desert. In the brief intervals of leisure between the campaigns of the Ḥamdānīd, the poet shared in the leisure of the court of Aleppo, devoting himself to improvisation and writing panegyrics as occasion arose (cf. Wāḥ., p. 522—537; Yāz., p. 376—395) or laments (*marthiya*) on the deaths of relatives of Saif al-Dawla (cf. Wāḥ., p. 388—389, 408—409, 577—578; Yāz., p. 271—272, 286—287, 427—428). The difficult character of al-Mutanabbī and the repute which he enjoyed did not fail to gain him implacable enemies. A few devoted friends like the poet al-Babbaghā [q. v.] tried, it is true, to defend him but their zeal could do nothing against

the enmity of the hostile group led by the famous Abū Firās [q. v.]. Saif al-Dawla at first paid no attention to the attacks made upon his favourite. When he grew wearied and his protection ceased, Abu 'l-Ṭaiyib no longer felt his life safe, fled secretly from Aleppo with all his family and sought refuge in Damascus (end of 346 = 957).

Eastern critics generally are agreed that the poems composed by al-Mutanabbī during his stay with Saif al-Dawla mark the highest point in his work. Although there is a certain degree of exaggeration in this, it is certain that the poet, while continuing his fourth manner, reveals in the highest degree the mastery which he had acquired in his art during this period. Much more than Abū Firās, with whom he is often contrasted, he was able to depict the glories of Saif al-Dawla's campaigns against the Byzantines. His verse, it is true, has not the charm of that of Abū Firās but it is fuller and more epic in style.

From Damascus, Abu 'l-Ṭaiyib went to Egypt to al-Fuṣṭāṭ [q. v.] where he obtained the patronage of the *Ikhshidid* Kāfūr [q. v.]. Al-Mutanabbī's career now reveals the necessities to which poets in the fourth (tenth) century had to submit. Deprived of moral and material independence Abu 'l-Ṭaiyib was forced to sing the praises of a patron for whom in his heart he felt only contempt. The panegyrics which he devoted to him barely conceal his regret at losing the favour of Saif al-Dawla. They are somewhat forced and contain points against Kāfūr (cf. al-Badī'ī, *op. cit.*, i. 125—126). The poet perhaps only agreed to celebrate this patron because the latter had promised him the governorship of Ṣaīdā (Sidon) (cf. *ibid.*, i. 115). When he saw that these promises were not being fulfilled, he tried to gain the favour of another *Ikhshidid* general, Abū Ṣhudjā' Fāṭik (*ibid.*, i. 131—132), but the latter dying in 350 (960) and relations with Kāfūr still being strained, al-Mutanabbī had once more to decide to fly. On the day of the feast of sacrifice of this year, after writing a satire on Kāfūr, he left al-Fuṣṭāṭ secretly and crossing Arabia after great trials (cf. al-Badī'ī, *op. cit.*, i. 139—140), he reached the 'Irāq, spent some time in Kūfa, then settled in Baghdād. He perhaps thought of attaching himself to the famous Būyid vizier al-Muhallabī who had gathered a very brilliant court around him. He had however to abandon hope of this in face of the hostility to him evinced by poets and scholars established at the court of al-Muhallabī, such as Ibn al-Ḥadīdjādī [q. v.] and Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. During his stay here, as he had already begun to do in Egypt (cf. Ibn al-Farajī, *Ta'rikh al-Andalus*, No. 453), al-Mutanabbī gave lectures in which he expounded to a group of friends the work he had done till that date (cf. Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, Paris, No. 1581, fol. 265a). The year 353 (964) was spent in this fashion. The poet perhaps also visited Kūfa about this time (cf. F. Gabrieli, *Vita di al-Mutanabbī*, p. 60, note 4). At the beginning of 354 (965) in any case, he left the 'Irāq and went via al-Ahwāz to Arradjān [q. v.] in Susiana where he received the patronage of the Būyid vizier Ibn al-'Amīd [q. v.]. Al-Mutanabbī devoted some panegyrics to him (cf. Wāḥ., p. 740—741; Yāz., p. 564—565), then he left him to go to Ṣīrāz in Fārs where he rejoined the Būyid Sultān 'Aḥud al-Dawla [q. v.] who had expressed a desire to have him at his court. After

addressing to the Būyid Sultān several panegyrics which are among his best work, Abu 'l-Ṭaiyib left Shīrāz for reasons not clearly known, perhaps simply out of nostalgia (cf. Wāḥ., p. 766, line 1—3; Yāz., p. 589). He was returning by short stages from Persia to Baghdād when he was attacked by marauding Beduins near Dair al-ʿĀkūl [q. v.] at the end of Ramaḍān 354 (Aug. 955). He and his son were killed in the fighting and all his baggage, including the autograph MSS. of his *Diwān*, was scattered (cf. al-Badīʿi, *op. cit.*, i. 227—239).

Even in his lifetime, al-Mutanabbī had been surrounded by ardent admirers who defended his work in its entirety against the attacks of detractors no less eager to run him down. Among the latter however, the majority only criticised him as a poet because they objected to his character as a man. The criticism was therefore not distinguished by impartiality and only reflects the opinions of a coterie. It required the death of Abu 'l-Ṭaiyib to produce a third class of admirers who were more clear-sighted than the first and sufficiently impartial not to fall into the exaggerations of the second (cf. al-Djurdjānī, *al-Wasāʿta*, p. 11—12, 45—46). It was the opinion of this new category that prevailed and when Mutanabbī's contemporaries had all disappeared, the literary public remained decidedly favourable to Saif al-Dawla's bard (except al-ʿAskari [q. v.] and Ibn Khaldūn). From the fifth (eleventh) century the name of al-Mutanabbī became a synonym for "great poet". His literary influence became one of the most considerable ever exercised on Arabic poetry. Annotated by Ibn Djinnī [q. v.] and later by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ [q. v.], by al-Wāḥidī, al-Ṭabrizī, al-ʿUkbarī and Ibn Sīda [q. v.], to mention only the most eminent, the *Diwān* of Abu 'l-Ṭaiyib throughout the middle ages and in modern times has been made accessible to scholars and literary men from Persia to Spain by learned men, often more zealous than intelligent. Space does not permit us to estimate what later poetry owes to al-Mutanabbī. We are content to point out that in different ways all Arab panegyrists have been influenced by Abu 'l-Ṭaiyib. At the present day he is still one of the most read in North Africa; Syria and Egypt also hold him in very high esteem and many critics have devoted studies full of praise to him. It seems however that in the last named country al-Mutanabbī attracts at least as much by the boldness of his philosophy and the ardour of his pro-Arab feelings as by his purely literary qualities.

Bibliography: Numerous biographies of al-Mutanabbī have been written by eastern authors; only five of these contain original matter. These are: 1. ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Idāh al-Mushkil li-Shiʿr al-Mutanabbī*, in the *Khiṣānat al-ʿAdab* of ʿAbd al-Kādir al-Baghdādī (Cairo 1299), i. 382—389; 2. al-Thaʿalibī, *Yatīmat al-Dahr* (Damascus 1304), i. 78—162, *passim*; 3. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* (Paris MS., N^o. 2129), fol. 105—106, reproduced in the *Nuzhat al-Alibbāʾ* of Ibn al-Anbārī (Cairo 1294), p. 366—374 and in the *Anṣāb* of al-Samʿānī (Leyden 1912), fol. 506b; 4. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān* (Cairo 1310), i. 36—8; 5. al-Badīʿi, *al-Ṣubḥ al-munbīʿ an Ḥaithiyat al-Mutanabbī* (on the margin of the commentary of al-ʿUkbarī on the *Diwān* of al-Mutanabbī, Cairo 1308), i. 5—245. — Al-Mutanabbī's work has been studied in the east, in addition to

commentators, by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Djurdjānī, *al-Wasāʿta bain al-Mutanabbī wa-Khuṣūmih* (Ṣaidā 1336); by al-Thaʿalibī, *op. cit.*; by Diyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAṭhīr, *al-Maṭhal al-sāʿir* (Bulāḥ 1282). A list of commentators, but incomplete, is given in Ḥadjdji Khalifa, *Lexicon*, iii. 306—312. The most celebrated commentaries are those of al-Wāḥidī, *Mutanabbī carmina cum commentario Wahidii* (ed. Dieterici, Berlin 1861), of al-ʿUkbarī, *al-Ṭibyan fi Sharḥ al-Diwan* (Cairo 1308), Nāṣif al-Yāzidjī, *al-ʿUrf al-ṭaiyib fi Sharḥ Diwān Abi 'l-Ṭaiyib* (Bairūt 1305). Orientalists have often studied the work of al-Mutanabbī either in parts or as a whole. Here we only give general studies: Bohlen, *Commentatio de Motenabbio* (Bonn 1824); Hammer-Purgstall, *Motenabbī, der grösste arabische Dichter* (Vienna 1824); Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 87—88; Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (London 1923), p. 304—313; F. Gabrieli, *La Vita di al-Mutanabbī* (*R. S. O.*, xi.), 27—42; do., *Studi sulla poesia di al-Mutanabbī* (*Rendic. della Accad. . . dei Lincei*, 1927); do., *La Poesia di al-Mutanabbī* (*Giornale della Soc. asiat. italiana*, 1929), 11/i; R. Blachère, *Le Poète arabe al-Motanabbī et l'Occident musulman* (*R. E. F.*, 1929), p. 127 sq.; do., *Motanabbī* (monograph in preparation). (R. BLACHÈRE)

MUTARĀDIF, term in prosody; cf. the art. **QĀFIYA**.

MUTARĀKIB, term in prosody; cf. the art. **QĀFIYA**.

MUṬARRIZĪ, ABU 'L-FATH NĀSIR B. ʿABD AL-SAYYID B. ʿALĪ B. AL-MUṬARRIZ, grammarian, *adīb* and jurist, was born in Khwārizm in Radjab 538 (1144). He was a pupil of al-Mawḥib b. Aḥmad known as Akḥṭab Khwārizm. As he was born in the same province and in the year in which al-Zamakḥsharī died, he was called Khalīfat al-Zamakḥsharī; al-Suyūṭī's assumption that he was a pupil of Zamakḥsharī was deduced from this epithet and is of course wrong. Al-Muṭarrizī was an adherent of the Muʿtazila. As a jurist of the Ḥanafī school he enjoyed particular prestige and his work *al-Mughrib fi 'l-Lughā*, a dictionary, arranged alphabetically, of terms used in tradition and of the legal terms of the jurists of the Ḥanafī school, was regarded by the scholars of this madhhab with the same respect as the *Ḥarib al-Fikḥ* of al-Azhari by the Shāfiʿis. For his son he compiled a lexicon of synonyms entitled *al-ʿIknāʾ li-mā huwayya taht al-Kināʾ*, which the latter was to study after he had learned the Qurʾān by heart. It is a kind of text-book giving a comprehensive survey of the subject. In al-Muṭarrizī's opinion the existing works on this subject were either too big or not full enough. The work deals only with "good and usual" words, omitting the "bad and unusual" ones. Modern and ancient linguistic usage are distinguished and verses often quoted in illustration. His *al-Miṣbāḥ fi 'l-Naḥw*, which deals with the grammar of the Arabic language, was also written for his son. It was much used by students and often commented upon. Super-commentaries were added to the commentaries; one of the latter was even translated into Turkish. Al-Muṭarrizī was also an expositor and prepared a commentary on the *Maḳāmāt* of Ḥariri. He also was a poet, among his efforts being a poem in which he set himself to use nothing but synonyms. In 601 (1204) he was in Baghdād where he had

disputations with the scholars of that city. In *Djumādā I* of 610 (1213) he died in his native town.

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(ILSE LICHTENSTÄDTER)

MUTAŠARRIF. [See SANDJAK.]

AL-MUTAŠIM BIL'LĀH, ABŪ IŠHĀḲ MUḤAMMAD, an 'Abbāsīd caliph, born in 179 (795—796) or 180 (796—7), the son of Hārūn al-Rashīd and a slave-girl named Mārida. In the reign of his brother al-Ma'mūn [q.v.] he took part in the fighting against the Byzantines in Asia Minor and received the governorship of Egypt. After the death of al-Ma'mūn in Radjab 218 (Aug. 833) he ascended the throne and was soon afterwards acknowledged even by his nephew al-'Abbās b. al-Ma'mūn [q.v.] whom the troops had proclaimed caliph and the army also then paid him homage. An 'Alid pretender, Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim, was disposed of by the governor of Khurāsān 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir [q.v.]. After concluding a truce with the Byzantine emperor Theophilus, al-Mutašim sent an army commanded by the Arab general 'Udjaif b. 'Anbasa against the Zoṭṭ [q.v.] who had migrated from India in the Sāsānian period and settled in the swamps between Baṣra and Wāsiṭ. They had been frequently used in their wars by the Muslims. After the death of al-Ma'mūn however, they began to ravage and lay waste the country round as if it were hostile territory. They submitted after seven months' fighting at the turn of the year 219—220 (834—835) and in Muḥarram 220 (Jan. 835) they were brought in ships to Baghdād and banished by al-Mutašim to 'Ain Zarba [q.v.]. In the same year he appointed Ḥaidar b. Ka'su, usually called al-Afshīn [q.v.], commander-in-chief in the war against Bābek [q.v.], but it was only after two years that he was victorious. The intolerance of the caliph against all those who would not share the opinions of the Mu'tazila made him unpopular with the people and in addition there was the dissatisfaction of the citizens of the capital with the undisciplined Berber and Turkish mercenaries whom al-Mutašim took into his service. At the end of 220 (835) he therefore resolved to move his residence to a smaller place. While his son Hārūn al-Wāḥik remained in Baghdād as governor, the caliph established himself first on the al-Ḳāṭal canal and then in Sāmarrā three days' journey up the river. Here in the course of the year 221 (836) there arose a splendid palace with numerous buildings for the troops [cf. the art. BAGHDĀD]. Very soon afterwards the war with the Byzantines blazed up again. The emperor Theophilus invaded Muslim territory on the Upper Tigris, captured Zibāṭra and wrought tremendous havoc in northern Syria and Mesopotamia. In *Djumādā I* 223 (April 838) al-Mutašim himself took the field, accompanied by his ablest generals. The huge force advanced in three columns: the eastern army was commanded by al-Afshīn, the two divisions of the western one by al-Mutašim and Aṣhnās. Al-Afshīn very soon put the emperor to flight and in Shawwāl (Sept.) of the same year

Amorium after 55 days' siege passed through treachery into the hands of the caliph who had the town destroyed. But the victory had no permanent results. As winter was coming on, al-Mutašim had to retire, particularly as a conspiracy in favour of his nephew al-'Abbās b. al-Ma'mūn [q.v.] demanded urgent measures. About the same time the ispahbad of Ṭabaristān Māziyār b. Ḳārin rebelled, but the rising was suppressed by 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir [q.v.]. In 226 (840—841) or 227 troubles again broke out in Palestine where the Umayyads still had many supporters. The leader, Abū Harb al-Mubarka', claimed to be a descendant of the Umayyads and everywhere preached rebellion against the caliph until Radjā' b. Aiyūb al-Ḥiqārī, whom al-Mutašim sent against him, took him prisoner and brought him to Sāmarrā. Al-Mutašim died on 18th Rabi' I 227 (Jan. 5 842) in Sāmarrā. By favouring the Turks and suppressing the Arab element he hastened the decline of the 'Abbāsīd empire. Unlike al-Ma'mūn, he was comparatively uneducated. That learning was not allowed to fall into oblivion in his reign is rather due to the chief ḳāḍī Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād [q.v.].

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-MUTAŠIM, MUḤAMMAD B. MA'N B. MUḤAMMAD IBN ŠUMĀDIH AL-TUJĪBĪ, second ruler of the dynasty of Tuḡībīds [q.v.] of the kingdom of Almería [q.v.], reigned from 443 to 484 (1051—1091). Gifted like his contemporary al-Mu'tamid [q.v.] of Seville with a certain amount of poetic talent, he made his capital during his long reign one of the great centres of culture in the Peninsula. But like the other *mulūk al-ṭawā'if* of Spain, he was for the most of his time at war with one or other of his neighbours. He was without doubt implicated in the conspiracy fomented by the Jew Yūsuf against his master Bādīs, king of Granada [cf. ZIRIDS]. Later his forces took part with those of Yūsuf b. Ṭāshfin in the famous battle of Zallāḳa [q.v.]. Like the other Muslim rulers of Spain he felt in the following year the weight of the Almoravid sultān's arm. After unsuccessfully besieging the fortress of Aledo and inciting Yūsuf to act harshly against al-Mu'tamid, whom he hated personally, he realised on his death-bed that his capital would be besieged by the Almoravids as Seville had been. This is why he advised his son and successor Aḥmad Mu'izz al-Dawla to seek an asylum with the lords of

Bougie [q. v.]. Almeria was taken very soon afterwards by the Almoravids.

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AL-MUTAWAKKIL 'ALĀ 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-FADL **DJĀ'FAR B. MUḤAMMAD**, an 'Abbāsīd Caliph, born in Shawwāl 206 (Feb.—March 822), son of the caliph al-Mu'tašim and a slave-girl from Khwārizm named Shudjā'. He ascended the throne in *Dhu 'l-Hijjā* 232 (Aug. 847) on the death of his brother al-Wathīk. His old opponent, the vizier Ibn al-Zaiyāt, soon fell a victim to the cruelty of the new caliph and a similar fate befell the Turkish general Itākḥ, although the latter along with Waṣīf had helped him to the throne. The caliph dreaded his influence and had him thrown into prison where he died of thirst (*Djumādā* II 235 = Dec. 849—Jan. 850). From the religious point of view al-Mutawakkil was thoroughly orthodox. Soon after his accession he forbade any disputation about the *Qur'ān*. Those who had been arrested because they would not recognise the teachings of the Mu'tazila were released and in 235 (849—850) he revived and intensified the regulations for special dress for Jews and Christians which went back to the caliph 'Omar. The synagogues and churches recently built in Baghdad were taken down and the Mu'tazili chief *qāḍī* Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād [q. v.] with his sons dismissed and the office of chief *qāḍī* given to the Sunnī Yahyā b. Akṭham. The 'Alids also fell under his ban. In 236 (850—851) he had the mausoleum of al-Ḥusain in Kerbelā' destroyed and pilgrimage to this place forbidden. The provinces were frequently ravaged by rebels and foreign foes. In *Aḥḥarbaīdjān* in 234 (848—849) Muḥammad b. al-Ba'ith rebelled; he had earlier been taken prisoner and brought to Sāmarrā but had escaped; he established himself in the strong town of Marand. The caliph's troops could do nothing against him until Bogha al-Sharābī [q. v.] took command. After a long siege the latter offered him a pardon; but when Ibn al-Ba'ith tried to escape he was seized and brought to Sāmarrā, where he soon died in prison. When al-Mutawakkil attempted to treat semi-independent Armenia like a conquered province, a dangerous rising broke out there in 237 (851—852), which was suppressed in the following year, but only with difficulty, by Bogha al-Kabir. About the same time (238), the Byzantines landed in Egypt and plundered Damietta and in Asia Minor the war went on in the traditional fashion against the Byzantines. When the Paulician sect was persecuted by the empress Theodora they went over to the Muslims in masses. The Byzantines, however, succeeded in taking many prisoners. Those who would not become converted were massacred; but when al-Mutawakkil who had moved his residence in *Safar* 244 (May—June 858) to Damascus but left it after only two months, sent Bogha with the Turkish cavalry against the Byzantines, the fortune of war turned. Bogha fought with success against the enemy and in the following year the

emperor Michael himself was defeated at Samosata. In 246 (860—861) the Muslim generals took a considerable number of prisoners; but no permanent change in the situation was produced. In Syria also trouble broke out. Two governors in succession were driven out of Ḥimṣ and only with the help of the troops from Damascus and al-Ramlā was order restored (241 = 855—856). About the same time al-Mutawakkil sent an army under command of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥummī against the rebel Beḍja. The latter were completely defeated but their leader 'Alī Bābā was pardoned. In the reign of al-Mutawakkil the dynasty of the Ṣaffārids [q. v.] was established in *Sijjistān*. To keep the people of Baghdad in check, he sent for the governor of *Khurāsān*, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir [q. v.], and when the turbulent praetorians made trouble he built a new residence at *Djāfariya* in 245 (859—860) outside of Sāmarrā, which swallowed up enormous sums. Poets and scholars were rewarded with princely munificence by this caliph. The extravagance, capriciousness and cruelty of the caliph, however, made him hated, and finally he quarrelled with the commander of the Turkish bodyguard. In *Dhu 'l-Hijjā* 235 (July 850) he had arranged that his eldest son Muḥammad al-Muntašir should succeed him and the two other sons Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Mu'tazz and Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyad were each to receive a governorship with a claim to the throne after al-Muntašir. He began to favour al-Mu'tazz however, and thus aroused al-Muntašir's discontent. The latter conspired with a few others of the same sentiments and in *Shawwāl* 247 (Dec. 861) al-Mutawakkil was murdered [s. AL-FATH B. KHAḲĀN].

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

MUTAWĀTIR (A.), part. act. vi. from *w-t-r*, "that which comes successively". It is used as a technical term in two senses:

a. In the theory of cognition it is applied to historical knowledge (*khabar*), if the latter is generally acknowledged; e. g. the knowledge that there is a city called Makka and that there has existed a king called Alexander.

Definitions of the term show slight differences. According to al-Djurdjānī knowledge is mutawātir, when it is supplied by so many persons that either their number or their trustworthiness excludes doubt of its truth (*Ta'rifāt*, ed. Flügel, p. 210; cf. Sprenger, *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, p. 1471).

According to Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Nasafi († 537 = 1142) reports are mutawātir when handed down without deviation by persons who cannot be supposed to have plotted a lie. Taftāzānī in his

commentary (p. 33 sq.) mentions two objections. The first is, that Jews and Christians accept as mutawātir reports that are rejected by Muslims. To this objection Taftāzānī simply replies that the possibility that these reports should be mutawātir, is excluded. The second objection is, that the reports of every single reporter (*āḥād*, q. v.) represent an opinion only and that an accumulation of opinions cannot be said to afford certainty. To this Taftāzānī replies that often plurality has a power of which singleness is devoid, e.g. a cord made of hair.

For the place of this source of knowledge within the theory of cognition, cf. the *Supplement*, s. v. ‘ILM.

6. In prosody the term is applied to the rhyme in which one moving letter intervenes between the quiescents.

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MUTAWWIF, Meccan pilgrims’ guide. The word literally means one who leads the *ṭawwāf* [q. v.]. The task of the *mutawwif* is however by no means limited to assisting pilgrims from foreign lands, who entrust themselves to their guidance, to go through the ceremonies required at the circumambulation of the Ka‘ba. On the contrary they act as guides at the *sa‘y* also and at all other ceremonies which are prescribed or only recommended for the *ḥadjj* or *‘umra* [q. v.]. The *mutawwifs* also cater very completely for the physical welfare of the pilgrims. As soon as the pilgrims arrive in D̲jidda, their agents are ready on the arrival of the steamers to provide all the services they require from disembarkment to departure for Mecca. In Mecca the *mutawwifs* or members of their families and servants take charge of the pilgrims. During the whole of their stay they provide the pilgrims with lodging, service, food, purchases (necessary and unnecessary), attend them if they fall ill and in case of death take charge of what they leave behind them.

The *mutawwifs* of course do not do all this for nothing. They are appropriately paid for their trouble and see that, if the pilgrim is rich, their friends and relations also make something out of him. Of the money which they themselves receive, they have to hand over a considerable part in the form of fees, presents etc. to the *shāikh* of the gild and to the treasury, — another reason for getting as much as possible out of those entrusted to their care. It is therefore no wonder that many pilgrims have complained bitterly about the covetousness of these particularly prominent representatives of the Meccan pilgrim industry. Recently the fees for guides have been fixed by a legal enactment of the Ḥijāz government (*O. M.*, xii. [1932], 249).

Reference has already been made to the fact that the *mutawwifs* are organised in gilds; they

are divided up into separate groups who sometimes have the right to exploit the pilgrims from a definite area only (e.g. Lower Egypt). All these groups together form the gild with a chief *shāikh* officially recognised at their head. The gild is also very exclusive. “Wild” (i. e. independent) guides (*djarrārs*) have to be content with the scanty pickings left over for them by the organised *mutawwifs*.

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(R. PARET)

AL-MU‘TAZILA is the name of the great theological school which created the speculative dogmatics of Islām. The meaning of the name is clear from al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūdj*, vi. 22: the *Mu‘tazilis* are those who profess the doctrine of *i‘tizāl*, i. e. the doctrine of the *mansila baina ‘l-mansilataini* or the state intermediate between belief and scepticism, the fundamental doctrine of the school (see below). A tradition which emanates from the *ahl al-ḥadīth* derives the name *Mu‘tazila* from a schism which took place in the circle of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī: after laying down their doctrine of the *mansila baina ‘l-mansilataini*, Wāṣil b. ‘Aṭā and ‘Amr b. ‘Ubaid are said to have separated (*iṭazala*) from al-Ḥasan’s circle to found an independent school or rather to have been expelled from it by the latter. These traditions are not entirely without historical foundation but the interpretation of the name deduced from them is certainly wrong. The *Mu‘tazilis* were proud of their name, which they certainly would not have been if it had been a nickname invented by their enemies. We have here, as the variety of versions also shows, a tendentious invention of the *ahl al-sunna wa ‘l-djama‘a* anxious to rehabilitate al-Ḥasan and brand the *Mu‘tazilis* as heretics.

Origins and political history. There are quite definite indications that the *Mu‘tazila* was of political origin and that it arose under the same constellation as the *Shī‘i* and *Kharidjī* movements. The accession of ‘Alī (D̲hu ‘l-Ḥijda 35) is the great watershed in the currents of the history of Islām. It is well known that several notable Companions of the Prophet refused to pay ‘Alī the homage which he demanded or offered it reluctantly. The most frequently mentioned were Ṭalḥa and al-Zubair but the names of many others have been preserved: Sa‘d b. Abī Waḳḳās, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Omar, Muḥammad b. Maslama, Usāma b. Zaid, Ṣuhaib b. Sinān and Zaid b. Ṭhābit (al-Ṭabarī, i. 3072). Of these Ṭalḥa and al-Zubair openly rebelled against ‘Alī but the majority remained neutral. The Medinese in general followed the example of the latter and in Baṣra al-Aḥnaf b. Kays with 6,000 Tamīmīs and a group of Azdis under Ṣabra b. Shaimān also stood aside from the quarrel (al-Ṭabarī, i. 3169, 3178). In

speaking of the latter the text uses the verb *i'tazala*, which still has its proper sense of "to separate from", but which is already on the way to become a political term meaning "to take up a neutral attitude in the quarrel between 'Alī and his adversaries". Now al-Nawbakhtī mentions (*Kitāb Firaḡ al-Shi'a*, ed. Ritter, p. 5) a party which on the accession of 'Alī separated and followed Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Omar, Muḥammad b. Maslama and Usāma b. Zaid. "These separated (*i'tazalū*) from 'Alī and refused either to fight against him or to take his side although they had paid homage to him and had received him favourably; they were called *al-Mu'tazila* and are the ancestors of all the later Mu'tazila". The Mu'tazila as a theological school must therefore have been preceded by a political Mu'tazila, which determined its structure.

This hypothesis seems to be confirmed if we analyse carefully what is recorded of the founders of the theological school. According to a unanimous tradition, this school originated with two natives of Baṣra, Wāṣil b. 'Atā' [q. v.] and 'Amr b. 'Ubad [q. v.]. The period of their activity covers practically the reign of the caliph Hishām and his Umayyad successors, i. e. the years 105–131 (723–48). We have a good deal of quite early information about them, not always free from lacunae, but sufficient to enable us to grasp the leading ideas in their theological work (see *Bibl.*). It is clear from all these traditions that the doctrine of *i'tizāl* formed the starting point for the creation of the school, that Wāṣil was the first to formulate it and that he later won over 'Amr to his teaching. This is how al-Khaiyāṭ records the origin of the idea of *i'tizāl*. Muslims were agreed that he who committed a grave sin deserved the name of *fāsiḳ* and of *fādīr*, but opinions varied as to the character of the individual who received these epithets. The Khāridjīs said he was an infidel. The Murdji'īs said he was a believer in spite of his *fiṣḳ* and his *fudjūr*; al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and his circle described him as a hypocrite (*munāfiḳ*). Wāṣil demonstrates that the description given in the Qur'ān of a believer and an infidel cannot be applied to a believer who has committed a grave sin; the latter is therefore neither believer nor infidel. Now it is impossible to regard him as a hypocrite as al-Ḥasan wants to do, for a hypocrite must pass as a believer until his hypocrisy is brought to light. The only possible course then is to put the *fāsiḳ* in a special category of those who are in an intermediate state (*manzila baina 'l-manzilataini*). These same ideas are found in the conversation by which Wāṣil is said to have won 'Amr over to the doctrine of *i'tizāl* (al-Saiyid al-Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, i. 114 sq. = Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Mu'tazilah*, p. 22 sq.; source probably al-Khaiyāṭ).

There are political problems concealed behind these speculations. The doctrine of *manzila baina 'l-manzilataini* is not the result of interest in pure speculation, but arose out of an clearly defined opinion on the individuals who took part in the quarrels that raged round the caliphate of 'Alī. It is striking how much space is occupied by the question of 'Alī, of Ṭalḥa, of al-Zubair and of 'Ā'isha in the rather scanty information which we possess regarding the theology of Wāṣil and 'Amr; we cannot doubt that here they were dealing with a central problem. Wāṣil and 'Amr took neither side in the dispute

(*Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, p. 97–98). According to them, 'Alī, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubair and 'Ā'isha were originally true and pious believers. But the war which broke out among them divided them into two parties who could not both be right; one of these parties committed a sin but we do not know which. We must therefore leave their cause to Him who knows it but in their relations with one another we cannot regard them as true believers in the strict sense of the word. As a result if one of these individuals bears witness against another of the opposite party, we cannot accept this evidence; relatively to the one, the other is *fāsiḳ* and vice-versa (cf. also Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Farḡ*, p. 100). If we may believe the *ahl al-hadīth*, 'Amr showed himself more severe than Wāṣil; he is said to have refused to accept the deposition made by any member of these parties against any member of the community on any matter whatever (*Ta'rikh Baghdād*, xii. 178; al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Farḡ*, p. 100); for he declared guilty (*fussāk*) *per se* both the parties engaged in the battle of the Camel. It is therefore not surprising that Wāṣil and 'Amr have sometimes been confused with the Khāridjīs (verse of Ishāḳ b. Suwaid al-'Adawī, al-Djāhiz, *Bayān*, i. 13).

However, the opinion of the leaders of the Mu'tazila on 'Alī is based on quite a different foundation. To understand the position correctly it is important to note that 1. Wāṣil and the whole Mu'tazila were definitely enemies of the Umayyads and that 2. Wāṣil adopted a somewhat ambiguous attitude regarding 'Othmān and his murderers (*Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, p. 97–98). This tacitly implies a declaration in favour of the 'Alids, the first actors in the drama played at Mecca in the year 35. Indeed Wāṣil was on somewhat intimate terms with the 'Alids of Medina (Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Mu'tazilah*, p. 20); the Zaidiyya revere him as one of their leaders, and Zaidi theology is essentially based on that of Wāṣil. This is true not only of the speculative theology; there is agreement also on political doctrines. The Zaidis do not say that the first caliphs Abū Bakr and 'Omar were usurpers as the extreme Shi'īs do; Wāṣil and with him the whole Mu'tazila regards the caliphate of Abū Bakr as legitimate (commentary of Ibn Abī Ḥadīd on *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Cairo 1329, i. 3); he left undecided the question of knowing who had the superior claim, Abū Bakr, 'Omar or 'Alī, but he credited 'Alī with a superior claim to 'Othmān. This attitude, a little complicated as regards 'Alī, and therefore prudent towards the extreme Shi'īs, at the same time unreservedly hostile to the Umayyads, can in my opinion only be interpreted in one way. All these apparently dissimilar lines converge on a common centre: the 'Abbāsīd movement. It is precisely Wāṣil's attitude which we must regard as characteristic of the partisans of the 'Abbāsīds. The latter regarding themselves as the true *ahl al-bait*, it was evidently in their interest to lower somewhat the preponderating position attributed to 'Alī by the extreme Shi'īs in order themselves to profit by the prestige enjoyed by the family of the Prophet; but on the other hand, they had every reason not to cut the links with the Shi'īs who were indispensable as allies to them. It is obvious that in these circumstances it was particularly important for them to win over the relatively moderate Zaidī faction to their cause. In a general

way the teaching of Wāṣil on *al-manzila* can only be perfectly understood if we see in it the theoretical crystallisation of the political programme of the 'Abbāsids before their accession to power. Everything leads us to believe that the theology of Wāṣil and of the early Mu'tazila represents the official theology of the 'Abbāsīd movement. This gives an unforced explanation of the fact that it was the official doctrine of the 'Abbāsīd court for at least a century. It seems even probable that Wāṣil and his disciples took direct part in the 'Abbāsīd propaganda. In his *kaṣida*, mentioned below Ṣafwān al-Anṣārī tells us that Wāṣil had emissaries (*du'āt*) in all parts of the Muslim world. Ṣafwān describes them as ardent believers and ascetics who were distinguished from other men in physiognomy and dress; they were the supporters (*awṭād*) of God in all lands and centres in which his commandments were made manifest and in which the art of disputation (with the enemies of the faith) flourished. The period of this activity coincides exactly with that of the most intense 'Abbāsīd propaganda, in which all the forces working for the ruin of the Umayyads were co-operating; it is impossible not to believe there was a connection between the two. That Wāṣil did actually extend his propaganda very far to the west is proved by the fact that there existed long after the fall of the Umayyads a Wāṣilī community at Tāhert (Yāqūt, i. 815) numbering about 3,000 members who had allied themselves with the 'Ibādīs. They had rebelled against Maṣṣūr under Idrīs b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥasanī (al-Shahraṣṭānī, p. 31; on these happenings see Ṭabarī, iii. 561); they were therefore reckoned among the enemies of the first 'Abbāsīd caliphs. It is interesting to note that the connection between Wāṣil and the Khāridjīs, supposed by Ishāq b. Suwaid al-'Adawī to exist (see above) was here an actuality.

The quarrels of Wāṣil and his followers with Ḍjahm b. Ṣafwān [q. v.] form a difficult problem which has not yet been solved. On the one hand, Ḍjahm's theology left distinct traces on that of the Mu'tazila; the doctrine of the created Qur'ān which was later to become a fundamental Mu'tazila thesis was probably formulated by Ḍjahm and in the doctrine of the divine attributes there are coincidences on both sides which cannot be accidental. On the other hand, there are many serious differences which are probably practical and political in their nature. Ḍjahm professed in the most extreme form the doctrine of predestination (*djabr*). All the actions of man are involuntary. Wāṣil maintained the opposite thesis of free will. Now once again we have political problems hidden behind these theological controversies; the Umayyads in general preferred the dogma of predestination while the opposition accepted the dogma of free will in its widest interpretation; in Damascus, Ghailān al-Dimashqī, who figures among the fathers of the Mu'tazila (Ibn al-Murṭadā, *al-Mu'tazilah*, p. 15—17), was put to death by the caliph Hishām for holding the doctrine of free will (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 1733).

Once the hypothesis of a definite connection between the Mu'tazila and the 'Abbāsīds is admitted, the question of the relations between the Mu'tazila founded by Wāṣil and the early Mu'tazila of the period of 'Alī presents itself in a new aspect. It will be admitted that there is a striking resemblance

between the attitude of these former companions of the Prophet and that of the 'Abbāsīds. It is true that 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās entered the service of 'Alī after the death of 'Othmān but his true sentiments were somewhat ambiguous; he was a great friend of 'Othmān but a rather lukewarm partisan of 'Alī and after the latter's death he placed himself at the service of the Umayyads. His descendants did not remain at Medina, probably because the 'Alids were their rivals there; after a stay in Damascus, his son went to Humayma near Adhrūh and here a formal rapprochement took place in 98 between the 'Abbāsīds and the 'Alids (Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p. 312 sq.). Before this event, we may regard the 'Abbāsīds as a kind of Mu'tazila in the old sense of the word.

With 'Amr b. 'Ubaid a new element enters the Mu'tazila as founded by Wāṣil. 'Amr originally was one of the *ahl al-ḥadīth*; brought up in the circle of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, he transmitted a large number of ḥadīths from his master and he is remembered as one of the *muhaddithūn*. His conversion to the doctrine of *ʿiṣṣā* brought about a rupture between him and these circles; but with him a considerable section of the Qadārīs of the *ahl al-ḥadīth* joined the Mu'tazila, thus reinforcing the more politically inclined Qadāriya, of which Wāṣil was the champion. Qadārī and *mu'tazilī* were soon to become synonymous terms. 'Amr seems to have been decidedly anti-'Alid (see above), in any case he preferred Abū Bakr to 'Alī (Ibn Abī Ḥadīd on *Nahāj al-Balāgha*, i. 3). This attitude implies a certain predilection for 'Othmān, which is foreign to Wāṣil; indeed, a section of the old Baṣris, among them al-Djāhīz, is said to have belonged to the party called *al-'Othmāniya*. 'Amr's point of view was of great importance for the development of the Mu'tazila. After their final triumph, the 'Abbāsīds immediately dissolved the alliance with the Shī'a, which had only been a political instrument for them. As regards the extreme Shī'a, the Rawāfiḍ, the Mu'tazila unreservedly followed the direction of their new masters; but it is fairly evident that some of them did not decide to break so abruptly with the moderate Shī'a. It resulted in a schism. One section remained faithful to the alliance with the moderate Shī'a; this section was later to form a special Mu'tazila school in Baghdād. But the Mu'tazilis of Baṣra with 'Amr at their head seem to have attached themselves without protest to the 'Abbāsīd cause. 'Amr even became the intimate friend of Maṣṣūr and so to speak his spiritual father. In the west, the Mu'tazilis allied with the Khāridjīs rebelled against the 'Abbāsīds (see above).

Let us sum up the characteristic features of the Mu'tazila at the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd period. The Mu'tazila was: 1. in general devoted to the cause of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, only a faction being opposed to them; 2. decidedly hostile to the extreme Shī'a, the Rāfiḍa; 3. hostile to the Djahmiya, by which however it was a little influenced; 4. *qadārī* in reuniting several of the old factions of this name; 5. in serious disagreement with the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, who soon declared it heretical. This position had a decisive influence in determining the structure of the Mu'tazila theology. The beginnings of this theology go back to Wāṣil and 'Amr and are connected with the fight against the Rāfiḍa. The extreme Shī'īs had quite early assimilated a good number of

non-Muslim beliefs; we need not doubt that Manichaeism played a part in them; in any case certain gnostic and dualist ideas had found a way into Islām through the intermediary of these *Shī'is*. These tendencies, very marked in Kūfa, were also represented at Baṣra; in the house of an Azdī who was a *sumanī* or Buddhist, Wāṣil and 'Amr had frequent meetings with 'Abd al-Karīm b. Abi 'l-'Awdjā and Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Kuddūs, who professed dualist doctrines (*al-ṭhanawīya*; we should probably understand by this Manichaean views) and the poet Bashshār b. Burd [q. v.] (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, iii. 24). A serious schism broke up this curious *madjlis*. This event decided the whole future of the Mu'tazila. Henceforth the fight against *sandaka* and *ṭhanawīya* is a cardinal point in the programme of the Mu'tazila. Wāṣil himself composed a refutation of Manichaeism which al-Bāhili (c. 300 A. H.) was still able to peruse (*al-Mu'tazilah*, p. 21). But they also found themselves compelled to combat these heresies in a positive fashion; to the doctrine of fire professed by Bashshār they offered a theology of earth, so to speak, a theology based on the natural philosophy of the time. The poems of Ṣafwān al-Anṣārī (al-Djāhīz, *Kitāb al-Bayān*, i. 16—19) afford us a specimen of this theology; here we have one of the fundamental documents for the history of Mu'tazila dogmatics. It is not yet clear whence came the philosophy put at the service of theology but its general character is apparent; it is the philosophy of the alchemists, physicists of late antiquity, a kind of *summa* of the scientific principles which seem to have been accepted everywhere in Asiatic Hellenism. Ṣafwān perhaps gives us a hint as to the circles from which it came to the Mu'tazila, when he tells us that Bashshār called Wāṣil and his friends *Daiṣānis*; this is in any case worth noting. In a general way those who handed on this natural philosophy seem to have been the school called *Dahrīya* by Muslims. The Mu'tazila fought these Dahrīs with a vigour which reveals the dependence on this heretical philosophy of which they were conscious. The true founder of the dogmatic system of the Mu'tazila was Abu 'l-Hudhail Muḥammad b. al-Hudhail al-'Allāf [q. v.]. Abu 'l-Hudhail, his friends and pupils, continued on a large scale the polemic against Manichaeism, a polemic which is certainly not unconnected with the persecution begun by the 'Abbāsids against the open or secret adherents of this religion. On the other hand, he fought the Rāfida most vigorously, then represented by the very remarkable theologian Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [q. v.]; and it was through his disputes with the latter that he was led to study the books of the philosophers, which furnished him with a system of dogmatics, a little bold, but full of fertile new ideas. Alongside of him there was a crowd of important theologians at Baṣra: Mu'ammār, an independent mind whose ideas have not yet been sufficiently analysed; Hishām b. 'Amr al-Fuwaṭi and al-Aṣamm, adversaries of Abu 'l-Hudhail and several others. Among the pupils of Abu 'l-Hudhail mention must first be made of Ibrāhīm b. Saiyār al-Nazzām [q. v.]. These theologians gave Mu'tazila dogmatics its essential character. This theology is: 1. apologetic: it aims at defending the revelation of the Prophet; as a result it is 2. strictly Qur'anic: the sacred book is the only source of the theological denomina-

tions (*asmā'*) and of the precepts of religion (*aḥkām*); it is 3. polemical: it vigorously invaded the domains of other religions and other Muslim parties to fight them on their own ground; it is 4. speculative: it has recourse to philosophical means to refute its adversaries and formulate its dogmas; consequently it is 5. intellectualist: it envisages the problem of religion under the purely intellectual aspect. Nothing could then be less justifiable than to regard the Mu'tazila as philosophers, free thinkers or liberals. On the contrary, they are theologians of the strictest school; their ideal is dogmatic orthodoxy; philosophy for them is only an *ancilla fidei*; they are nothing less than tolerant. What they created was Muslim scholasticism.

Parallel to the school of Baṣra, a Mu'tazila school was founded in Baghdād by Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir (q. v.; d. 210 = 825—826). This school was pro-'Alid ('Alī preferable to Abū Bakr), and Bishr was persecuted by Hārūn al-Rashid. But under Ma'mūn (q. v.; 198—218 = 813—833), a decidedly pro-'Alid caliph, the school of Bishr gained a preponderating influence mainly through the theologians Ṭhumāma b. Aṣhras (d. in 210 = 825—826) and Ibn Abi Du'ād (d. in 240 = 854—855). This school particularly attacked those who held the doctrine of the uncreated Qur'ān [q. v.]. This attack however had disastrous consequences for the Mu'tazila. Abandoned by the caliph al-Mutawakkil (232—247) who adopted the doctrine of the uncreated Qur'ān, it rapidly fell from its influential position and soon found itself surrounded by implacable enemies. In the second half of the third century, Ibn al-Rawandī, a partisan of the Baghdād school, made a stir when he left the Mu'tazila for the most advanced Rāfida; a man of violent temperament, he criticised the Mu'tazila in a scathing way which did it much damage. Towards the end of the third century, the Ḳarmāṭian movement came on the scene, reinforcing the extreme Rāfida and causing trouble in every secular and spiritual sphere. In the struggle against the Ḳarmāṭians it is no longer the Mu'tazila who appear at the head of the defenders of orthodoxy but the *ahl al-ḥadīth*. In the year 300, al-Ash'arī broke with the Mu'tazila of Baṣra, of which he had been a convinced supporter, to introduce speculative dogmatics among the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, who were soon to give its character to Sunnī theology.

Among the Mu'tazila theologians of the third century we may mention the following. At Baṣra the tradition of Abu 'l-Hudhail al-'Allāf was propagated by a flourishing school represented by Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh al-Shahhām, Abū 'Alī al-Aswārī and others. 'Abbād b. Sulaimān was the pupil of Hishām al-Fuwaṭi. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'il known as Ibn 'Ulaiya (d. 218) was the pupil of al-Aṣamm. The school of al-Nazzām developed certain special doctrines which the later Mu'tazila rejected (Faḍl al-Hadāthi and Aḥmad b. Ḥā'it, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, p. 222—223); but among the disciples of al-Nazzām we also find al-Djāhīz [q. v.]. In the second half of the century, the most important Baṣra theologian was undoubtedly Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Djubbā'i [q. v.]. In Baghdād we find in addition to the theologians already mentioned Ṭsā b. Ṣubaiḥ al-Murdār, contemporary of Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir; then "the two *Djā'fars*": *Djā'far* b. Mubashshir (d. 234) and *Djā'far*

b. Harb (d. 236), at a later date Muḥammad b. Shaddād al-Misma'ī Zurkān (d. in 278) und Abu 'l-Husain 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad al-Khaiyāt, the great authority on the history of the Mu'tazila (d. at the end of the century). On the Mu'tazila of Syria we are not well informed; and only a little better on that of Egypt. The first Mu'tazili here was Ibn 'Ulaiya (cf. above) who had disputations with al-Shāfi'ī; with him Ḥafṣ al-Fard came to Cairo; this last represented the official theology in Cairo during the *miḥna* of al-Wāthiq. Ḥafṣ was declared a heretic by al-Khaiyāt (*Kitāb al-Intisār*, p. 133—134). — In Spain the Mu'tazili teaching was disseminated by Abū Bakr Faradī al-Ḳurtubī who had visited the east and studied there with al-Djāhiz; it was therefore al-Djāhiziya — at bottom al-Nazzāmiya — that was known in Spain; very soon the Mu'tazila seems to have become undistinguishable from the Bāṭiniya (Asin Palacios, *Abenmasarra y su escuela*, Madrid 1914, p. 21—22).

The fourth century saw the Shī'a flourishing and 'Abbāsīd power disappearing; the favour of several Būyid governors now to some degree made good the loss of prestige which had been suffered by the Mu'tazila. The schools continued their work and the Mu'tazila spread to the east. At Baṣra, al-Djubbā'ī had left a large number of disciples but his school was soon surpassed by that of his son Abū Ḥāshim [q. v.]; representatives of the latter were among others Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Husain b. 'Alī al-Baṣrī (d. 369); Abū 'l-Husain al-Azraḳ (Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb) al-Tanūkhī (d. 377), a member of the well known al-Tanūkhī family; Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. 'Aiyāsh al-Baṣrī and his pupil the Kādī 'Abd al-Djabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī. The latter, the most remarkable of the Baṣra theologians of the period, migrated in 360 to Raiy where he founded an influential school and died in 415. In Baghdād the school of Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Ikshīdī (d. in 320) dominated the whole century. A very celebrated Baghdādī, Abū 'l-Kāsim 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Balkhī al-Ka'bi, a pupil of al-Khaiyāt, founded a school at Nasaf, where he died in 319; among his pupils we find al-Aḥḍab Abū 'l-Ḥasan. We also find the Mu'tazila in Iṣfahān, where Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Zubairī of the school of Abū 'l-Hudhail had introduced Mu'tazila doctrines; at Kirmīsīn (school of Abū Ḥāshim), Gurgān, Nishāpūr and in several other towns of Khurāsān. During the fifth century it was the theology of 'Abd al-Djabbār which dominated at Baṣra; one of his pupils, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Mattawaihi, handed down the great work on dogmatics of his master, *al-Muḥīṭ bi 'l-Taklif*; another theologian, Abū Rashīd Sa'īd b. Muḥammad al-Naisābūrī (d. in 460), compiled a resumé of the questions disputed in the schools of Baṣra and Baghdād. Several theologians of Baghdād are known; some of them must have belonged to the Zaidiya and generally speaking the Baghdād school becomes more and more merged in the Zaidiya. The last great theologian of the Mu'tazila was al-Zamaḳsharī [q. v.] (d. in 538) but the schools continued to exist long after him, especially in the east. It was probably the invasion of the Mongols that put an end to them; the Mu'tazila has however survived to our day in the Zaidiya.

It was not speculative dogmatics alone that

formed the subject of Mu'tazila activity. Their part in the history of the exegesis of the Qur'ān is a very considerable one; it was they who introduced the strictly grammatical method. There is a very close connection between them and the philological school of Baṣra, the representatives of which in general taught Mu'tazila doctrines (e. g. al-Aṣma'ī). The exegetical works of the Mu'tazila, for the most part now lost, were utilised to a large extent by their adversaries, e. g. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. — All questions of *fiqh* were vigorously discussed in the Mu'tazila schools; the influence of the Mu'tazila on the *uṣūl al-fikh* and the *madhāhib* has still to be examined. — Lastly the science of *ḥadīth* certainly received various stimuli from the Mu'tazila criticism of the *ahl al-ḥadīth*.

Madhhab. Mu'tazila theology is summed up under five principles (*uṣūl*) or fundamental doctrines which one must accept in their integrity to be recognised as a Mu'tazili (al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, vi. 22). As these were probably in origin the principal points in the programme of Mu'tazili propaganda, these *uṣūl* later became a kind of framework of speculative dogmatics.

1. *Aṣl al-tawḥīd*: the strictest profession of monotheism (against any kind of dualism); denial of all resemblance between Allāh and his creatures (against the anthropomorphisms of the *muhaddithūn* on the one hand and those of the Rāfiqa and Manichaeans on the other); the divine attributes recognised (against the Djahmiya) but deprived of their real existence: they are not entities added to the divine being (this would be *shirk*; against the *Ṣifātiya* among the *ahl al-ḥadīth*) but identical with the being (Wāṣil, Abū 'l-Hudhail); allegorical interpretation of the anthropomorphisms of the Qur'ān; denial of the beatific vision; vigorous affirmation of a personal God and creator (against the Dahriya); integral affirmation of the revelation of the Prophet but distinction between a natural theology and a revealed theology. Problems discussed here: 1. The nature of God and his attributes: a. omnipresence: God is in all places, in the sense that he directs everything (Abū 'l-Hudhail; al-Djubbā'ī) — he is not in any place (general thesis); b. perceptibility: he is not perceived by the senses (thesis generally adopted) — he is perceived by the heart (Abū 'l-Hudhail) — he has a hidden *māhiya* which will be perceived in another world with the help of a sixth sense which God will then create (Ḥafṣ al-Fard and others; thesis declared heretical); c. the attributes (eternal; names of the essence): identical with the essence (Abū 'l-Hudhail; thesis generally adopted) — inherent in the essence through *ma'ānī* (Mu'ammār) — through *aḥwāl* (Abū Ḥāshim); expressing positive aspects (Abū 'l-Hudhail and generally) — negative (knowledge: negation of ignorance etc.; al-Nazzām). 2. The structure of the created world: a. starting-point anthropology treated in a positive way (exact definition of religious duties) and negative (refutation of *thanawiya*): man is the empirical phenomenon which we see, the body (*djism*) which is composed of a certain number of indivisible entities (atoms) and which supports the accidents: life, the senses, colours etc.; *nafs* is *ma'nā* and distinct from *rūḥ* (Abū 'l-Hudhail) — man is composed of body (*badan*) and *rūḥ* (identical with *nafs*) which are mutually interpenetrant (*mudākhala*); the colours, senses, sensations, forms and spirits form different categories of *djavāwhir* (not

accidents; not atoms); all that is living forms a single category (*mudjānasa*) (al-Nazzām) — man is an indivisible entity (*djawhar*) characterised by *hayāt*, *ilm*, *kuḍra*; the body is the instrument of this *djawhar*; the accidents (movement, rest, colours etc.) are inherent in it through *ma'ānī* which are inherent in other *ma'ānī* etc. in *infinitum* (Mu'ammār) — man is *bashar* ('Abbād b. Sulaimān) — the *nafs* is an instrument which the body uses; the *rūh* is an accident (Dja'far b. Harb) — the *rūh* is a body and distinct from the life which is an accident (al-Djubbā'i); b. the physical world: dead nature is distinct from that which is living in as much as nature acts through *darūra* while living beings act through their free will (*ikhtiyār*); for the rest, the one and the other category are of the same structure, the problems of physics being those of anthropology (substance, accidents, bodies, atoms etc.); theory of *zuhūr* and *kumūn* formulated by al-Nazzām and which correspond to his theory of penetration (*mudākhala*): things are hidden one in the other, physical development consists in the hidden things becoming manifest (e.g. the fire hidden in the stone). 3. The relation between God and the created world: a. *laisa ka-mithlihi shai'un*: a rigorous distinction between *qadīm* and *muhḍath* (no *hulūl*); b. the activities of God, expressed by his attributes, have for their objects the things of the created world. If these activities are eternal, the things ought to be so also; now these things are created i.e. put into existence after having been non-existent; several solutions of the problem: "thing" is only what exists and before the reaction the thing was not thing which implies that divine knowledge is born with the things (Djāhmī thesis adopted by Hishām al-Fuwaṭī) — before the creation things were posited (*thābit*) as non-existent in God's eternal knowledge but without the accidents which characterise them in existence (al-Shahhām and others) — with these accidents (al-Khaiyāt, al-Ka'bī and several theologians of Baghdād [school of *ma'dūniyya*]). God created all things at one time, one in the other and these things are manifested in the created world one after the other (al-Nazzām); c. are the objects of divine knowledge and power limited? Yes (Abu 'l-Hudhail) — no (the others); d. divine power does not extend to the accidents (Mu'ammār) — to the phenomena resulting spontaneously from human action (*tawallud*, see under *aṣl al-'adl*). 4. Revelation: prophecy: a prophet is *ma'sūm*, i.e. free from grave sins; b. the Qur'an: created; God creates the word in a substratum (*lawh al-mahfūz*; the Prophet; the bush etc.). The Qur'an is miraculous in composition and style — denied by al-Nazzām; distinction (which goes back to Wāsil) between *muḥkam*, the precepts of the Qur'an which are clear and without ambiguity and *mutashābih*, the precepts which are not immediately clear and evident; distinction between *nāsikh* and *mansūkh*.

II. *Aṣl al-'adl*: God is just; all that he does aims at what is best for his creation (*aṣlah*); he does not desire evil and does not ordain it (*amr* and *irāda* identical). He has nothing to do with man's evil deeds; all human actions result from man's free will; man has a *kuḍra* and an *istiṭā'a* *qabla* 'l-f'i'l; man will be rewarded for his good deeds and punished for his evil ones. Problems discussed here: 1. Divine power: a. can God commit an injustice? No: al-Nazzām — yes, but

he does not: general thesis; b. theodicy: could God prevent evil? yes, for he possesses a store of hidden grace (*tuṭf*) which would be sufficient to destroy evil completely at once: Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir and several Baghdād theologians — no, for he always does what is best and wisest for his creation: general thesis. 2. Human power: created by God; physical evils, diseases etc. are not subject to the human will; man's actions are movements; distinction between *af'al al-kuṭūb* and *af'al al-djawāriḥ*; problem of *tawallud* stated by Abu 'l-Hudhail and particularly discussed in the school of Baghdād: the effects of an action are attributed to him who performs it, and even after his death he remains responsible for it.

III. *Aṣl al-wa'd wa 'l-wa'id* (or *al-asmā' wa 'l-aḥkām*): practical theology. Problems here discussed: a. belief and unbelief: belief consists in all the acts of obedience, obligatory or supererogatory; sins (*ma'āṣi*) are divided into grave (*kabā'ir*) and petty (*ṣaghā'ir*); the following are *kabā'ir*: *tashbīh Allāh bi khalqihī, tadjiwiruhū fī ḥukmihi* and *takdhībuhū fī khabarihi, radd al-idjīmā' 'anī 'l-nabī*; God of his grace may forgive *ṣaghā'ir*; he who is not a Muslim obeys God if he does something which God has commanded in the Qur'an (*qā'a lā yurādu 'llāhu bihā*): Abu 'l-Hudhail (thesis rejected by al-Nazzām and the Baghdād school); distinction between *imān bi 'llāh* and *imān li 'llāh* from Hishām al-Fuwaṭī onwards; belief consists in avoiding *kabā'ir* i.e. acts regarding which God has laid down a threat (*wa'id*): al-Nazzām; b. *al-asmā' wa 'l-aḥkām*: the good (*al-ḥasan*) is what God has ordained in the Qur'an, evil (*al-kabīh*) what he has forbidden. Questions of *fiqh* in general; c. Tradition: the authenticity of a tradition is only guaranteed by 20 believers one of whom is predestined to Paradise; there are in each generation 20 believers who are free from grave sins (*ma'sūm*): Abu 'l-Hudhail and Hishām al-Fuwaṭī; the *tawātur* does not necessarily presuppose believers; the Muslim community can agree upon what is an error or a mistake: al-Nazzām and others.

IV. *Aṣl al-manzila baina 'l-manzilataini*: 1. Problems of theocracy: a. the caliphate of Abū Bakr was legitimate but not based on a divine revelation: general thesis; b. superiority of Abū Bakr over 'Alī (Abū Bakr superior to 'Omar, the latter to 'Othmān, the latter to 'Alī): the old Baṣrīs and Thumāma; superiority of 'Alī to Abū Bakr: the Baghdādīs and some later Baṣrīs (al-Djubbā'i towards the end of his life; 'Abd al-Djabbār); neutral attitude (*tawakkuf*) on all that concerns the question of knowing who was entitled to the superiority: Abū Bakr, 'Omar or 'Alī; 'Alī superior to 'Othmān: Wāsil, Abu 'l-Hudhail, Abū Hāshim. 2. The problems of *fāsiḳ*; the old problem being no longer a live one, petty sins (*al-ṣaghā'ir*) were discussed under this head.

V. *Aṣl al-amr bi 'l-ma'rūf wa 'l-nahy 'anī 'l-munkar*: programme of Mu'tazila activity before the coming of the 'Abbāsids; the faith must be spread by the tongue, the hand and the sword; later this *aṣl* is little discussed; al-Aṣamm denies its obligatory character.

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(H. S. NYBERG)

AL-MU'TAZZ BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD (OF AL-ZUBAIR) B. DJĀ'FAR, an 'Abbāsīd

caliph, son of al-Mutawakkil and a slave-girl named Kābiḥa. After al-Musta'in had been forced to abdicate, al-Mu'tazz was proclaimed caliph on 4th Muḥarram 252 (Jan. 25, 866). When he wanted to get rid of the two Turkish generals Waṣīf and Bogha the younger, they got wind of his intentions and went back to Sāmarrā. On the other hand, he succeeded in putting his brother and successor designate al-Mu'aiyad to death and throwing the third brother Abū Aḥmad into prison. In the following year Waṣīf was killed by the troops when they mutinied for their pay and he attempted to appease them. After the death in Dhū 'l-Kā'da 253 (Nov. 867) of the governor Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh [q.v.], trouble broke out in Baḡhdād and in the following year Bogha was murdered at the caliph's instigation. As the latter could not pay the troops they mutinied. Al-Mu'tazz applied to his mother who possessed immense wealth, but she refused to help him and at the end of Rabiab 255 (July 869) the cruel and faithless caliph was deposed. He was put in a subterranean dungeon where he died of starvation in 3 days at the age of 24. In his reign the dynasty of the Ṭūlūnids was founded and Ya'kūb b. Laith [q.v.] was recognised as governor of Siḡdīstān. The Khāridjīs sacked al-Mawṣil and in Asia Minor the Muslims were defeated by the Byzantines. Cf. also the articles AL-MUTAWAKKIL, AL-MUNTAṢIR and AL-MUSTA'IN.

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MUTHALLATH, also MUTHALLATHA, plur. always *muthallathāt*, triangle; it forms the first category of plane surfaces bounded by straight lines (*al-basā'it al-musattāha al-mustakīmat al-khuṭū'*) (cf. al-Khwarizmi, *Mafātīḥ*, p. 206). Following Euclid's *Elements*, i., "Ὅπως 24–29, the Arab mathematicians classify triangles from two points of view: either according to the sides (*dīl'*, pl. *adlā'*) into equilateral (*al-muthallath al-mutasāwi 'l-adlā'*, in Euclid *τρίγωνον ἰσοπλευρον*), isosceles (*al-muthallath al-mutasāwi 'l-dīl'ain*, *τρίγωνον ἰσοσκελές*) and scalene (*al-muthallath al-mukhtalif al-adlā'*, *τρίγωνον σκαληνόν*), or according to the angles (*zāwiya*, pl. *zawāyā*), into right-angled (*al-muthallath al-kā'im al-zāwiya*, *τρίγωνον ὀρθογώνιον*), obtuse-angled (*al-muthallath al-munfaridj al-zāwiya*, *τρίγωνον ἀμβλυγώνιον*) and acute-angled (*al-muthallath al-hādd al-zāwiya* [*zawāyā*], *τρίγωνον ὀξυγώνιον*).

In the equilateral triangle the base is called *al-kā'ida*, the apex *al-ra's*, the sides *al-dīl'an* (see above), in the right-angled triangle the hypotenuse is called *al-kutr*, i. e. "diameter" (because the hypotenuse represents the diameter of the circle described around the right-angled triangle); for the two sides the term *al-dīl'an* is generally used.

Misāḥat al-muthallathāt as a technical term

means trigonometry (cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, i. 163a).

MUTHALLATHA (always with the feminine ending) is a technical term in astrology. Astrology divides the zodiacal circle (*minṭaḡa* [q. v.]) into four *muthallathāt* (Gr. *τρίγωνα*, Lat. *trigona*, *triguetra*), each of which includes three signs 120° apart. These "are situated together in the trigonal plane" (*tathlith*, Gr. *τρίγωνον*, Lat. *aspectus trinus*); the word *tathlith* itself is frequently found as a synonym of *muthallatha* which comes from the same root (*th-l-th*) (cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, p. 162b).

In star nomenclature *Kawkab al-Muthallath* is the constellation of the (northern) Triangle (in Eratosthenes *Δελτωπτόν*, in Ptolemy *Τρίγωνον*) which is adjoined in the east by Perseus, in the north by Andromeda, in the west by Pisces and in the south by Aries. According to Ptolemy (*Almagest*) and al-Sūfī (ed. Schjellerup, p. 123 sq.), it consists of three stars of the third magnitude and one of the fifth. The star at the apex (α Trianguli) is an astrolabe star and is called *Ra's al-Muthallath*. The latter name is found in *Libros del saber de astronomia del rey D. Alfonso X de Castilla* in the corrupted form "alcedeles".

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AL-MUTṬĪ. [See ALLĀH, ii.]

AL-MUTṬĪ LI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-ḲASIM AL-FADL, an 'Abbāsīd caliph, son of al-Muktadir [q. v.], brother of al-Rāḍī and of al-Muttaḳī [q. v.]. Al-Muṭṭī was a bitter enemy of al-Mustakfi [q. v.] and therefore went into hiding on the latter's accession and after Mu'izz al-Dawla [q. v.] had become the real ruler, al-Muṭṭī is said to have taken refuge with him and incited him against al-Mustakfi. After the deposition of the latter in *Djumādā II* or *Shābān* 334 (Jan. or March 946) al-Muṭṭī was recognised as caliph. His reign marks a very unfortunate period in the history of the 'Abbāsids. The caliph himself had not the slightest authority; the power was in the hands of Mu'izz al-Dawla and after his death (356 = 967) in those of his son Bakhtiyār. The Fātimids were growing more and more powerful and the Sāmānids also declined to recognise al-Muṭṭī as the legitimate suzerain. The Ḥamdānids were weakened by their wars with the Būyids and the Fātimids. In Baghdad the Sunnis and Shī'is were fighting one another and several Shī'ī usages were introduced by the Būyids who had 'Alid sympathies. At last the weak and sickly caliph was forced by the Turks to abdicate in favour of his son 'Abd al-Ḳarīm al-Ṭā'īf (13th *Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da* 363 = August 5, 974). Al-Muṭṭī died in Muḥarram 364 (September—October 974) in *Dair al-Aḳūl*.

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MUTLAḲ (A.), part. pass. IV from *t-l-ḡ*, "to loose the bond (*ḡaid*) of an animal, so as to let it free" (e. g. Muslim, *Djihād*, trad. 46; Abū Dāwūd, *Djihād*, bāb 100). The term is also applied

to the loosening of the bowstring (Bukhārī, *Djihād*, b. 170), of the garments, the hair etc. Thence the common meaning absolute, as opposed to restricted (*muḳaiyad*), and further the accusative *mutlaḳan* "absolutely". The use of the term is so widely diffused, that a few examples only can be given.

In grammar the term *ma'fūl mutlaḳ* denotes the absolute object (cognate accusative), i. e. the objectivated verb of the sentence, such as "a sitting" in the sentence: he sat a sitting.

In the doctrine of the roots of *fikh* the term is applied to the *muḍṭahids* of the heroic age, the founders of the *madhhabs* who are called *muḍṭahid mutlaḳ*, an epithet which none after them has borne [cf. *ḌJTIHĀD*].

In dogmatics the term is applied to existence, so that *al-wuḍjūd al-mutlaḳ* denotes Allāh, as opposed to His creation, which does not possess existence in the deepest sense.

In ontology the term is also applied to existence (*wuḍjūd*) in connection with the question of the nature of the latter. Here *al-wuḍjūd al-mutlaḳ* is opposed to *al-wuḍjūd al-mahmūl li 'l-mawḍū'*. See the art. *MANTIḲ*, supra p. 259b.

In other surroundings the term has the meaning "general" as opposed to *khāṣṣ*; cf. the definition in *Djurdjānī's Ta'rifāt*: *Mutlaḳ* denotes the one without specification. Cf. further the *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*.

On the meaning of *rawī mutlaḳ* in prosody, cf. Freytag, *Darstellung d. arab. Verskunst*, Bonn 1830, p. 311.

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AL-MUTTAḲĪ LI 'LLĀH, ABU ISHĀḲ IBRĀHĪM, an 'Abbāsīd caliph, son of al-Muktadir [q. v.] and a slave-girl named *Khalūb*. In Rabī' I 329 (Dec. 940) he succeeded his brother al-Rāḍī [q. v.]; by this time the caliphate had sunk so low that five days passed after the death of al-Rāḍī before steps were taken to choose his successor. Al-Muttaḳī at once confirmed the Amīr al-Umarā' *Bedjekem* [q. v.] in office; after his death however, the Turks and Dailamis in the army began to quarrel with one another. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Barīdī [see *AL-BARIDĪ*] seized the capital but could only hold it a few weeks. He was driven out by the Dailamī chief *Kürtegin* who however was soon overthrown by Ibn Rā'īḳ [q. v.]. When Abū 'Abd Allāh sent his brother Abū 'l-Ḥusain with an army against Baghdad, the caliph and Ibn Rā'īḳ escaped to al-Mawṣil to the Ḥamdānids (*Djumādā II* 330 = Feb.—March 942). After the assassination of Ibn Rā'īḳ the Ḥamdānīd Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan was appointed Amīr al-Umarā' and received the honorific title of *Nāṣir al-Dawla*. The occu-

pation of Baghdād offered him no difficulty; the Turkish general Tuzun rebelled a little later and Naṣir al-Dawla had to evacuate the capital which was entered by Tuzun in Ramaḍān 331 (Juni 943) as Amīr al-Umarāʾ. Al-Muttaqī soon found himself forced to seek the protection of the Ḥamdānids again and at the beginning of the following year (autumn 943) he fled to al-Mawṣil. Then he settled in al-Raḡḡa but when Tuzun made peace with Naṣir al-Dawla, al-Muttaqī appealed for help to the Ikhshīd of Egypt; the latter came to al-Raḡḡa in Radjab 332 (March 944); the negotiations however were unsuccessful and finally the caliph put his trust in Tuzun, who after assuring him of his loyalty by the most sacred oaths had him blinded (Ṣafar 333 = Oct. 944). Al-Muttaqī was then declared to have been deposed. He died in Shaʿbān 357 (July 968).

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AL-MUTTAQĪ AL-HINDĪ, author of several works in Arabic, whose real name was ʿALĪ B. ḤUSĀM AL-DĪN ʿABD AL-MALIK B. QĀDĪ KHĀN AL-SHĀDHILĪ AL-QĀDIRĪ, was born at Burhānpūr in Guḍjarāt of a respectable family of D̲j̲awnpūr [q. v.]. He first joined the Čishtī order, as a disciple of ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Shaikh Bāḍjan at Burhānpūr and afterwards went to Multān where he read with Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Muttaqī, after whom he is called al-Muttaqī. He spent the remaining portion of his Indian life at Aḥmadābād during the reign of Bahādur Shāh, but left India for Mecca after Ḥumāyūn defeated Bahādur Shāh in 941 (1534). He spent his last days in Mecca where he lived for thirty years more, during which he read with Ibn Ḥaḍḡar al-ʿAsḡalānī and others and entered the Qādirī and Shādhilī orders. His high spiritual life and learning led many people to become his murīd (spiritual disciple). He died a highly respected saint and scholar in Mecca 975 (1567) at the age of ninety. He is the author of the following works:

1. *al-Burhān fī ʿĀlāmāt Maḥdī ākḥīr al-Zamān*, an account of the Maḥdī and of his coming at the end of the world;

2. *al-Burhān al-d̲j̲alī fī Maʿrifat al-Walī*;

3. *Talkḥiṣ al-Bayān fī ʿĀlāmāt Maḥdī ākḥīr al-Zamān*;

4. *D̲j̲awāmiʿ al-Kalīm fī ʿl-Mawāʿiḡ wa ʿl-Ḥikam*, a collection of sentences on morals;

5. *Ḥidāyat Rabbi ʿinda Faḡḡad al-Murabbī*;

6. *al-Ḥikam*;

7. *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl fī Sunan al-Aḡwāl*, a combined edition of Suyūṭī's *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-Masānīd* or *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-D̲j̲awāmiʿ* or *al-D̲j̲āmiʿ al-kabīr*, newly arranged according to chapters (printed in Haidarābād 1312);

8. *al-Mawāḥib al-ʿaliya fī D̲j̲āmiʿ al-Ḥikam al-kurʿāniya wa ʿl-ḥadīthiya*;

9. *Minḥaḍj al-ʿUmmāl fī Sunan al-Aḡwāl*, an abridgement of Suyūṭī's well-known alphabetically arranged work *al-D̲j̲āmiʿ al-saḡḡir* containing a collection of traditions from authentic sources,

newly arranged according to chapters together with a supplement;

10. *Mukḥṭaṣar al-Nihāya*, an abridgment of D̲j̲azarī's dictionary of traditions entitled *al-Nihāya fī Ḡharīb al-Ḥadīth*;

11. *Niʿam al-Miʿyār wa ʿl-Miḡyās li-Maʿrifat Marātib al-Nās*, a short tract on the classification of man.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḥaḡḡ al-Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-Akḡyār*, p. 249; ʿAzād al-Bilgrāmī, *Subḡat al-Mard̲j̲ān*, p. 43; Faḡīr Muḡammad al-Lāḡorī, *Ḥadāḡik al-Ḥanafīya*, p. 382; Šiddīḡ Ḥasan al-Kannūḡḡī, *Abḡḡad al-ʿUlūm*, p. 895; Rieu, *Persian Cat.*, p. 356; and Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 384. (M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUWALLAD (A.) means properly one born of non-Arab parents but brought up among Arabs. This is how it is usually to be translated in the Ḥadīth (e.g. Mālik, *Nikāḡ*, bāb 42). Later it was used to distinguish from the new convert the children of converts, who were brought up in Islām. The common translation "renegade" is wrong as is the *adoptado* of Pedro de Alcalá. In theory they had equal rights with the old Muslims but the caliph ʿOmar in the interest of the state's finances ordered that they should pay the land-tax (*kharaḡ*) while the old Muslims only paid a tenth of the yield. The muwalladūn were of special importance in Muslim Spain, especially from the time of ʿAbd al-Raḡmān II, when conversions to Islām became more and more numerous. Some even retained their old family-names (Banū Angelino, Banū Sabarico). This section of the population among whom were often crypto-christians (*Christiani occulti*) played the largest part in the frequent revolutions against Muslim authority in Spain.

The post-classical poets were called muwalladūn in contrast to the *Islāmiyūn*, their language was no longer considered a model of grammar, lexicography and prosody. The boundary between the two lies about the end of the first century. Among best known muwalladūn were al-Buḡturī, al-Mutanabbī and, according to some, also al-Farazḡaḡ and D̲j̲arīr.

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(HEFFENING)

MUWASHSHAḤ, MUWASHSHAḤA or TAWSHĪḤ, an ode or poem intended to be sung, is so called by comparison with the *wishāḡ*, which is a double belt ornamented with pearls and rubies or a band of leather studded with pearls which a woman wears across her body from the shoulder to the opposite hip, thus going round the body. The muwashshaḡ is composed of two parts one of which contains complete lines and the other hemistiches.

The muwashshaḡ, which belongs to the "seven kinds or branches" (*funūn*) considered to be post-classical, is composed according to the rules of the purest syntax.

The muwashshaḡ is divided into "stanzas", the technical name of which is not exactly settled; they are usually called *d̲j̲us* or *bait*. In its most perfect form, it usually begins with one or two lines, a sort of prelude to the actual poem; this prelude is called *madḡḡhab*, *ghuṣṣn* or *maḡla*; we

also sometimes find the *taṣrīʿ*; if it is a distich, the first hemistich of each verse rhyme together and the two second hemistichs also. If A be the rhyme of the first hemistich and B that of the second, the *madhhab* or *ghuṣn* is of the following form:

2 lines	}	_____ A _____ B
		_____ A _____ B
1 line	}	_____ A _____ B

After the *madhhab* or *ghuṣn* come the stanzas proper called: *djuzʿ* or *bait*.

The *djuzʿ* or *bait* contains two parts: the first consisting of a varying number of hemistichs with the same or alternate rhymes, which however are never those of the *madhhab* or *ghuṣn*. This first part is called *dawr* or *simt*. The second part which is exactly like the *madhhab* or *ghuṣn*, both as regards number of lines and rhymes, is called *kafla* or *kust*. The stanza therefore presents the following form:

First type	_____ C
	_____ C
	_____ C
	_____ A _____ B
Second type	_____ C
	_____ D
	_____ C
	_____ D
	_____ C
	_____ D
	_____ D
	_____ A _____ B
	_____ A _____ B

The rhyme or rhymes of the *dawr* or *simt* vary from one stanza to another; but those of the *kafla* are always the same as those of the *madhhab* or *ghuṣn*. The *kafla* is a sort of refrain which does not fail to make an impression on the listeners by the repetition of the same sounds and rhythms.

These are the most usual models of the *muwashshah*; but the poets, not being bound by hard and inflexible rules, have, each according to his temperament, exercised their imagination considerably in this genre.

Thus Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk composed a poem in which the first foot of each hemistich is *fāʿilun* and has the same rhyme as the hemistich of which it forms part. This is the scheme:

<i>madhhab</i> or <i>ghuṣn</i>	}	_____ A _____ A
		_____ A _____ A
<i>dawr</i> or <i>simt</i>	}	_____ B _____ B
		_____ B _____ B
		_____ B _____ B
<i>kafla</i>	}	_____ A _____ A
		_____ A _____ A
<i>dawr</i>	}	_____ C _____ C
		_____ C _____ C
		_____ C _____ C
<i>kafla</i>	}	_____ A _____ A
		_____ A _____ A

etc.

The blind poet of Tudela shortened the hemistichs which gives a more lively rhythm:

_____ A _____ B
_____ C
_____ A _____ B
_____ C

It would be wearisome to give all the forms of stanzas which are found in the *muwashshah*.

From the point of view of metre, very great variety is found. Martin Hartmann recognised 146 which may go back to the 16 classical metres. Three other types which are found do not seem to be derived from any well defined form:

maʿūlātu new type
mutafāʿilatun type approaching the *ḥabab*
mustafʿilatun mustafʿilun
 a type which might be connected with *dū bait*

From the historical point of view, Freytag thinks that the *muwashshah* belongs to an old type which has now disappeared. There is certainly no doubt that the pre-Islamic poets composed poems similar to the *muwashshah*; these are known as *musammaʿ*; we find here again the word *simt* applied to the longest part of the stanza or couplet of the *muwashshah*.

The *musammaʿ* began with an opening line with *taṣrīʿ*; then came four hemistichs rhyming together on a different rhyme from the first line; next came a fifth hemistich rhyming with the first and completing the stanza. A new stanza followed with four hemistichs not rhyming with those of the first stanza; it ended with a hemistich rhyming with the opening line. Here is the scheme:

_____ A _____ A
_____ B _____ B
_____ B _____ B
_____ A
_____ C _____ C
_____ C _____ C
_____ A

Imru 'l-Kais is said to have composed a piece of this nature but it does not seem to be genuine.

The inventor of the *muwashshah* is said to have been Muḥaddam b. Muʿāfā, a poet at the court of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Marwānī who ruled in Spain (275—300 = 888—913). He was followed by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, author of *al-ʿIḥd al-farīd*. Their *muwashshah* are however believed to be lost.

The first to shine in this genre was ʿUbādat al-Ḥazzāz, a poet of al-Muʿtaṣim b. Ṣumādīh, prince of Almeria. Al-Aḥam al-Baṭalyawī records that he heard Abū Bakr b. Zuhr say: "All the composers of *muwashshah* are simply children beside ʿUbādat al-Ḥazzāz". In the opinion of all men of letters no contemporary writer could rival ʿUbādat al-Ḥazzāz in the days of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*.

After him comes Abū ʿAbd Allāh Irfaʿ Raʿsah, the court poet of al-Maʾmūn b. Dhū 'l-Nūn, prince of Toledo. In the time of the Almoravid dynasty there flourished a group of poets among whom may be mentioned the blind poet of Tudela, Ibn Baḳī, Abū Bakr b. al-Abyaḍ, Abū Bakr b. Bādja.

In the time of the Almohads the most famous

composers of muwashshah were Muḥammad b. Abū 'l-Faḍl and Ibn Ḥaiyūn. At a later period we have Ibrāhīm b. Sahl al-Isrā'īlī, a poet of Seville and of Ceuta, Ibn Khālaf al-Djāzārī (of Algiers), Ibn Khazar of Bougie, the vizier and celebrated man of letters, Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb.

Eastern poets have followed those of Spain. One of them, Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk al-Miṣrī (551—608 = 1156—1212), acquired a reputation in both east and west.

As to the subjects of the muwashshah they are the same as those of the traditional *qaṣidas*; but as they are composed with the definite object of being sung to the accompaniment of stringed instruments they are usually love-poems.

On the musical origins of the muwashshah see the article TIK.

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AL-MUẒAFFAR, the honorific *laḡab* by which the second of the 'Āmirid dictators of Muslim Spain is best known, the son of the celebrated al-Manṣūr [q. v.], ABŪ MARWĀN 'ABD AL-MALIK IBN ABĪ 'ĀMIR AL-MA'AFIRĪ. He was invested with the office of *ḥājib* by the caliph Hishām II, on the death of his father, on 28th Ramaḍān 392 (Aug. 10, 1002) and ruled as absolute master the territory of al-Andalus until his death of angina as he was setting out on an expedition against Castille on 16th Ṣafar 399 (Oct. 20, 1008).

The relatively short period of the *ḥājibate* of 'Abd al-Malik al-MuẒaffar was until quite recently almost unknown for lack of documents and in his

Histoire, Dozy had to pass it over almost in silence in spite of its importance in the history of the early 11th century in Spain. I have been able in the course of recent years to fill this gap, thanks to the discovery of accounts of the *ḥājibate* of al-MuẒaffar in the *Dhakhira* of Ibn Bassām and the *Bayān* of Ibn 'Idhārī and the unpublished chapter devoted to him by Ibn al-Khaṭīb in his *I'māl al-I'lām*. The result is the discovery that the septennium of 'Abd al-Malik was for Muslim Spain a period of peace and prosperity, a regular golden age, just on the eve of the first upheavals which preceded the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate; the chroniclers compare this period to the first week of a marriage (*sābi' al-'arūs*; cf. Dozy, *Suppl. Dict. Ar.*, i. 626—627).

Al-Manṣūr had actually left his son and successor an empire not only completely pacified and solidly organised but also enjoying an economic prosperity hitherto unprecedented. 'Abd al-Malik aimed at following scrupulously the line of conduct laid down for him in his father's last wishes: to preserve and justify the popularity of the 'Āmirid régime by peace at home and the continual harassing of the Christian foe beyond the marches (*ṭughūr*). Every year of MuẒaffar's rule was therefore marked by a summer expedition (*ṣā'ifa*) or a winter one (*shātīya*); in 393 (1003) he led his armies against Catalonia (*bilād al-Ifranj*), laid waste the country round Barcelona and destroyed 35 strongholds before returning to Cordova; in 395 (1005) an expedition was led against Castille by the *ḥājib*; in the following year his objective was the town of Pampeluna [q. v.], which he seems to have approached but not reached; in 397 (1007) took place, against Catalonia, the expedition known as the "victorious" (*ghazāt al-naṣr*): 'Abd al-Malik forced his way into Clunia and carried off a vast booty. This triumph earned for him from the nominal sovereign the title of "Victor" (*al-MuẒaffar*) which henceforth replaced his previous *laḡab* of Saif al-Dawla. In the course of the winter of 398 (1007—1008) there was an expedition which ended in the capture of a castle of San Martin which has not been identified. The last expedition undertaken by him as mentioned above came to nothing but at least enabled him to die like his father on the way to wage war on the infidel.

At home al-MuẒaffar maintained intact the strong administrative organisation which dated from the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III [cf. UMAIYADS, ii.] which al-Manṣūr had maintained intact, while removing from it the representatives of the Arab aristocracy. On his accession to office, he won the good graces of the Cordovans by reducing taxes by a sixth. He was easily able to dispose of several conspiracies against him. He left to his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sancho a heritage which the latter might easily have preserved if he had not at once exasperated his subjects against him by displaying a hateful partiality and attempting to arrogate to himself the caliphate completely.

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Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934 (in print), p. 97 sqq.; al-Maḡḡarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭib* (*Analectes*), ed. Leyden, index; Ibn Khaldūn, *Iḥṣār*, iv.; E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane au X^{ème} siècle, Institutions et vie sociale*, Paris 1932, index.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-MUẒAFFAR B. 'ALĪ. [See 'IMRĀN B. SHĀHĪN.]

AL-MUẒAFFAR 'OMAR B. AİYŪB. [See AİYŪBIDES, HAMĀ.]

MUẒAFFAR AL-DĪN, fifth Shāh of Persia of the Kādjār [q. v.] dynasty, was born on March 25, 1853. He was Shāh Nāṣir al-Dīn's second son, the eldest son Zill al-Sultān being of lower birth by his mother. As crown prince MuẒaffar al-Dīn had been some time governor of Ādharbāidjān (a description of him as crown prince in Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, i. 413). After his father's assassination MuẒaffar al-Dīn was enthroned on June 8, 1896. With this new reign the rivalry between England and Russia for commercial and political influence in Persia became ever more apparent. The sympathy of the high officials, which was divided between the two powers, and the economic and military strength of the country was since long too weak to enable Persia to follow an independent policy. Under the relatively strong rule of Nāṣir al-Dīn popular discontent with the increasing misery had been suppressed; the new Shāh, however, though well-intentioned, did not possess the character of a strong ruler and, besides, did nothing to check the extravagancy of the court. His financial difficulties made Persia the debtor of Russia; in 1898, 1900 and 1901 considerable loans were given by Russia, guaranteed by large parts of the custom receipts, the collecting of the custom duties being administered by Belgian officials. A good deal of the borrowed money was used for the expensive journeys to Europe undertaken by the Shāh in 1900, 1902 and 1905. In the meantime, the condition of the people became more and more miserable; headed by some influential merchants and some high ecclesiastics they protested against the heavy taxes and the tariffs as fixed in the commercial agreements with Russia and England of 1903. The growing discontent took several forms; some wished to call in the Turkish Sultān as Caliph and at other times there were outbursts against the Bābī's in Yazd and Iṣfahān. Besides there were special grievances against several high officials, amongst them the chief Belgian inspector of taxes. In December 1905 a popular movement took place in Ṭeherān, with the aim of obtaining the deposition of the then grand vizier 'Ain al-Dawla (since 1903). An ever increasing number of merchants, mulla's and citizens took refuge (*bast*) in the shrine of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm. At last the Shāh promised 'Ain al-Dawla's dismissal and some reforms, but in the course of the following year none of these promises were fulfilled. So in 1906 the discontentment reached again a culminating point, directed this time by some more or less secret patriotic associations. In July large crowds of the people of the capital went with the mullas to Ḳum, to take refuge in the sanctuary there; at the same time the British Legation accorded asylum to a considerable number of merchants and citizens. The results were that on July 30 'Ain al-Dawla was dismissed and that on August 5, all the demands of the protesting people were granted, including

a constitution. The ecclesiastical leaders returned from Ḳum. There followed some friction with the government about the elections and other matters, but at last, on October 7, 1906, the first Persian *Maḡlis* or National Assembly was opened by the Shāh. The new *Maḡlis* had to face immediately some difficult problems and showed from the beginning its determination not to be a mere toy in the hands of the court party. Progress was hampered, however, by dissensions amongst clerical and non-clerical members of the popular party, while there were disturbances in Tabriz, owing to the tyranny of the crown prince Muḡammad 'Alī. The Constitution (*Ḳānūn-i Asāsī*; q. v.) was ratified by the Shāh only on December 30, 1906. MuẒaffar al-Dīn himself died on January 8, 1907 after a long illness, leaving his country to the eventful reign of Muḡammad 'Alī Shāh.

Bibliography: E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905—1909*, Cambridge 1910, p. 98 sqq.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUẒAFFARIDS, a Persian dynasty. Their ancestors came from Arabia and had settled in Ḳhurāsān at the time of the Muslim conquest, where they lived for several centuries. On the approach of the Mongols, the emir Ghīyāth al-Dīn Ḥādjdjī, with his three sons Abū Bakr, Muḡammad and Manṣūr, retired to Yazd. The two first named entered the service of the Atābeg of Yazd, 'Alā' al-Dawla, and when Hūlāgū [q. v.] marched on Baghdād, Abū Bakr followed him with 300 horse. After the capture of Baghdād he was sent with an army to the Egyptian frontier. Here he fell in an encounter with the Arab tribe of Ḳhāfādja whereupon his brother Muḡammad succeeded him as a vassal of the Atābeg of Yazd while Manṣūr remained with his father in the little town of Maibudh near Yazd. Manṣūr had three sons, Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḡammad, Zain al-Dīn 'Alī and Sharaf al-Dīn MuẒaffar, the latter of whom became the ancestor of the dynasty of the MuẒaffarids. Appointed governor of Maibudh by Yūsuf Shāh, 'Alā' al-Dawla's son and successor, he cleared the hills of the robber bands from Shirāz and when Yūsuf Shāh, who had put to death the envoys of the Ilkhān Arghūn had to take to flight and went to Sistān, Muḡammad followed him but left him on the way and went to Kirmān where he was kindly received by Sultān Djalāl al-Dīn Sūrghatmush Ḳara Khitāi (685 = 1286—1287). After some time he returned to Yazd and was presented to Arghūn who took him into his service. He was also on good terms with Arghūn's successors Gaikhātū and Ghāzān. The latter appointed him *amīr-i hazāra* "commander of a thousand", and after the accession of Uldjāitū (703 = 1303—1304) he was given custody of the roads from Ardīstān to Kirmānshāh and from Herāt and Marw to Abarkūh. MuẒaffar died on 13th Dhū 'l-Ḳa'da 713 (March 1, 1314). He was succeeded by his 13 year old son Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḡammad who is described as brave and devout but at the same time cruel, bloodthirsty and treacherous. He continued to live at the court of Uldjāitū; on the latter's death in Shawwāl 716 (Dec. 1316) and the accession of his son Abū Sa'īd he returned to Maibudh. Along with the lord of the southern coast of Persia, the emir Kaikhūswar b. Maḡmūd Shāh Indjū, he very soon fell upon the Atābeg of Yazd, Ḥādjdjī Shāh, and succeeded in taking

the town from him (718 or 719 = 1318 or 1319). A short time after this event the people of Sistān, the Nikūdars, arose in rebellion; Muḥammad attacked them and their leader Nawrūz was defeated and slain. The rebels however gathered together again and Muḥammad had to fight no less than 21 battles before they were finally suppressed. After the death of Abū Saʿīd (736 = 1335–1336), complete chaos began and pretenders arose in different parts of the wide empire. The emir Abū Ishāq b. Maḥmūd Shāh Indjū endeavoured to take the town of Yazd but was driven back. After some time Muḥammad took this province from the Mongol governor in Kirmān, Malik Ḳuṭb al-Dīn. In the end however, Abū Ishāq succeeded in taking Shirāz and had the *khutba* read and coins struck in his name. In Ṣafar 748 (May–June 1347) he set out to subjugate Kirmān and laid waste Sirdjān, but returned when he heard that Muḥammad was ready to offer vigorous resistance to his advance. One of the viziers of Abū Ishāq then undertook a campaign against Kirmān but was defeated, whereupon Abū Ishāq put himself at the head of a new army and marched on Kirmān to take vengeance on Muḥammad. But this effort also failed; Abū Ishāq was completely defeated and had to take to flight. In 751 (1350–1351) he went to Yazd and began to besiege the town but returned, having achieved nothing. In spite of all his failures however, Abū Ishāq never lost heart. In the following year he sent a new army under the emir Beg Djakāz to Kirmān and when the latter met Muḥammad on the plain of Pandj Angusht in Djumādā I 753 (June–July 1352) a battle resulted. Djakāz was defeated. Muḥammad to follow up his victory, went to Shirāz and laid siege to it. On the 3rd Shawwāl 754 (Nov. 1, 1353), the governor had to surrender and Abū Ishāq fled to Isfahān. In the following year Muḥammad took the oath of homage to the ʿAbbāsīd caliph in Egypt. Isfahān was now besieged. But as Muḥammad had also to deal with other rebels the siege was somewhat prolonged. Resistance was in the end overcome and the town had to surrender. At the same time Abū Ishāq fell into his hands and was at once executed (21st Djumādā I 757 or 758 = May 22, 1356 or May 11, 1357). After Muḥammad had defeated all his enemies and become undisputed lord of Fārs and the ʿIrāk, an envoy appeared from the ruler of the Golden Horde, Djānī Beg Khān b. Uzbeg Khān, who announced that the Khān had taken Tabriz and wanted to appoint Muḥammad *yasāwul* "Marshal". Muḥammad gave the envoy an arrogant and unfriendly answer; but when he heard soon afterwards that Djānī Beg had returned home and left the emir Akhī Djūk in Tabriz he decided to take the town. Soon afterwards the news of Djānī Beg's death arrived; Muḥammad at once set out and met Akhī Djūk at Miyāna in Ādharbāidjān. The latter was defeated and Muḥammad entered Tabriz. But as a large army was approaching from Baghdad he dared not risk remaining but decided to begin to retreat. In Ramaḍān 759 (Aug. 1358) he was surprised and taken prisoner by his own son Shāh Shudjāʿ [q.v.] who believed himself suppressed and ill-treated by his father, in concert with some other relatives. Muḥammad was blinded and kept in prison for several years until his death at the end of Rabiʿ I 765 (Jan. 1364) at the age of 65. He was succeeded by Shāh Shudjāʿ who shortly before his death

appointed his son Zain al-ʿĀbidīn ʿAlī his successor in Shirāz and gave his brother ʿImād al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad the governorship of Kirmān. As soon as Zain al-ʿĀbidīn had begun to reign his cousin Shāh Yahyā b. Sharaf al-Dīn Muzaffar set out from Isfahān to attack him. Fortunately however, the threatened war was averted by a friendly agreement; but Shāh Yahyā could not stay long in Isfahān; he was driven out by the turbulent and fickle inhabitants and fled to Yazd whereupon Zain al-ʿĀbidīn appointed his maternal uncle Muzaffar-i Kāshī governor of Isfahān. In 787 (1385–1386) an envoy from Timūr arrived in Kirmān bringing assurances of his peaceful and friendly intentions and Sulṭān Aḥmad hastened to offer his humble homage to the powerful conqueror. In Shawwāl 789 (Oct.–Nov. 1387) it was reported that Timūr had invaded the ʿIrāk and that Muzaffar-i Kāshī had given him the keys of the towns and fortresses whereupon Zain al-ʿĀbidīn left Shirāz and went to Baghdad while Shāh Yahyā endeavoured to procure suitable gifts to pacify Timūr and ordered that a sufficient sum should be paid out to maintain his army. But when Timūr's officials appeared in Isfahān to take the money, they were attacked and killed by the citizens. In consequence the Mongols carried out a dreadful massacre among the people of Isfahān, in which 200,000 were said to have perished. Timūr then went to Fārs and confirmed Sulṭān Aḥmad as lord of Fārs, the ʿIrāk and Kirmān, whereupon he returned to Samarḳand. When Zain al-ʿĀbidīn had left Shirāz, he met his cousin Shāh Maṣṣūr b. Sharaf al-Dīn Muzaffar at Shūstar and was at first welcomed, then suddenly attacked and imprisoned. Shāh Maṣṣūr was now able to occupy Shirāz without opposition, while Shāh Yahyā retired to Yazd. After the former had established himself securely in Shirāz, Zain al-ʿĀbidīn was released by his jailers and brought to Isfahān where the people welcomed him. In the meanwhile he had been persuaded by Shāh Yahyā to combine with Sulṭān Aḥmad to take vengeance on Shāh Maṣṣūr. The plan failed however, the allies were defeated and Shāh Maṣṣūr seized the whole of the ʿIrāk. When Zain al-ʿĀbidīn wanted to escape to Khurāsān, he was treacherously seized by the governor of al-Raiy and brought to Shāh Maṣṣūr who at once had him blinded. The latter then tried to form a coalition against Timūr. In 795 (1393) however, Timūr left his winter quarters in Māzandarān and marched on Shūstar. After storming Ḳalʿa-i Sefid which was considered impregnable he marched on Shāh Maṣṣūr's capital and a battle was fought near Shirāz. Although Shāh Maṣṣūr's chief emir abandoned him with most of his troops, the battle lasted till far into the night. The undismayed Muzaffarid fought with desperate courage, but finally fell in the mêlée, after fighting his way to Timūr and giving him two cuts with his sword, which however the strong helmet of the Mongol leader averted. Shāh Maṣṣūr's relations then submitted; nevertheless Timūr a week later (Rajab 795 = May 1393) had all the Muzaffarids executed.

Bibliography: Maḥmūd Ḳuṭbī in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī-i Ḳazwīnī, *Tārīkh-i Guzida* (ed. Browne), i. 613–755; Defrémery, *Mémoire historique sur la destruction de la dynastie des Muzaffariens*, in *J. A.*, ser. iv., vol. iv., v.; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii. 693—

716; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, ii. 264 sq., 296 sq.; Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, p. 249 sq.; do., *Diwān-i islāmīye* (transl. Khalil Edhem), p. 395 sq.; E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, Hanover 1927, p. 254.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

MUZĀWADJA, a term in rhetoric (*badīʿ*) which means the association of two things in the relation of condition (*shart*) and result (*djazāʿ*) and then employing the same combination for two other things in the same conditions. Here is an example from the *Diwān* of al-Buḥturī (Cairo 1329, p. 317):

Idha 'htarabat yawman fa-fādat dimū'uhū
tadhakkarat al-kurbā fa-fādat dimū'uhū

"When they (the horsemen) are one day fighting and their blood flows in profusion, they remember their bonds of kinship and their tears flow abundantly". The poet associates fighting with recalling bonds of kinship in the two parts of the conditional statement, then he completes the first by adding their blood flows in profusion and the second by saying their tears flow abundantly.

Bibliography: al-Ḳazwīnī al-Khaṭīb, *Tal-khīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, Cairo 1322, p. 354; Ibn Ḥudjdjāt al-Hamawī, *Khiṣānat al-Adab*, Cairo 1304, p. 435; Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétor. et prosod. des lang. de l'Or. Mus.*, Paris 1873, p. 87.

(MOH. BENCHENEB)

AL-MUZDALIFA, a place roughly halfway between Minā and 'Arafat where the pilgrims returning from 'Arafat spend the night between the 9th and 10th Dhu 'l-Ḥijja, after performing the two evening ṣalāts. On the next morning they set off before sunrise and climb up through the valley of Muḥassir to Minā. Other names for this place are *al-Mash'ar al-ḥarām*, from Sūra ii. 194 and *Djam'* (cf. *Lailat Djam'*: Ibn Sa'd, ii/i. 129, 6); but *Djam'*, according to another statement, comprises the whole stretch between 'Arafat and Minā, both included, so that *Yawm Djam'* (*Kiṭāb al-Aghānī*, vi. 30, 11) is explained as the day of 'Arafat and *Ayyām Djam'* as the days of Minā. The rites associated with the night of Muzdalifa go back to the old pagan period, which the Arabs themselves recognise when they make Ḳuṣayy introduce the kindling of the sacred fire in this night and say that guiding of the departure for Minā is a privilege of the family of Adwān.

The sacred place in Muzdalifa was the hill of Ḳuzāḥ [q. v.]. Even after Muḥammad in deliberate contrast to the pagan practice had declared all Muzdalifa to be *mawḳif* [cf. HADJJI, I, c.], this hill retained its ancient sanctity. According to Azrakī, there was a thick round tower upon it on which the Muzdalifa fire was kindled; in the time of Ḥārūn al-Raṣhīd it was a fire of wood; later it was illuminated with wax-candles. In the Muslim period a mosque was built about 400 yards from the tower, of which Azrakī gives a detailed description while Muḳaddasī speaks of a place of prayer, a public fountain and a minaret. Burton also mentions a high isolated tower at Muzdalifa but the illumination in the night of Muzdalifa now takes place on the mosque.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 77; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, i/i. 41; ii/i. 125, 129; Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1105, 1755;

Azrakī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 36, 130, 411 sqq., 415 sqq.; B. G. A., i. 17; ii. 24; iii. 76 sq.; Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 243 sq., 509 sq.; Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 519 sq.; Burckhardt, *Reisen in Arabien*, p. 412 sq.; Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to el-Medīnah and Meccah*, iii., 1856; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, p. 154—158; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 81 sq., 120; Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, p. 157.

(FR. BUHL)

MUZDAWIDJ means among philologists the use of two terms in which the form of one is changed to make it resemble that of the other. For example in this *ḥadīth* (Ibn Mādjā, *Sunan*, Cairo 1313, ii. 246): *irdjī'na ma'zūrāt ghair ma'djūrāt*, "return home laden with sin and not with rewards", the word *ma'zūrāt* from the root *w-z-r* has been changed into *ma'zūrāt* to give it the same form as *ma'djūrāt*. It is similar in the phrases (cf. *Lisān*, xix. 353): *ghadiyāt wa-'ashiyāt*, *ghudaiyānāt wa-'ushaiyānāt*, *bi'l-ghadāyā wa'l-'ashāyā* "mornings and evenings" in which the form of the first word has been adapted to that of the second.

The muzdawidj, among rhetoricians, consists in establishing a kind of alliteration between two adjacent words having the same form, the same metrical quantity and the same rhyme (*rawī*); e.g. in this verse of the *Ḳur'ān* (xxvii. 22): *wa-djī'luka min Saba'in bi-naba'in* "I have brought thee news from Saba'" where we have the resemblance between *Saba'in* and *naba'in*. We may give as another example this *ḥadīth* (Ibn al-Aṭṭār, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1911, iv. 291 under *h-y-n*): *al-mu'minūna hainūna lainūna* "Believers are peaceable and mild in character" and the phrase (cf. *Lisān*, xvii. 280, 331) *hainun lainun, haiyinun laiyinun*.

The object of the muzdawidj among poets is to make the hemistichs of a poem rhyme together two by two. As a rule, it is only used in didactic *urdjuzas* (like the *Alfiya* of Ibn Mālik); al-'Amīlī, however, in his *Kashkūl* (Cairo 1302) has used it with the *wāfir* and *ramal* metres (p. 76, 78, 83). In Persian and Turkish, it is called *maḥṣawī* (*masnawī*) and composed in the metres *ramal*, *hazaj* and *mutakārib*. In this kind of composition, it is necessary that the last foot of the two hemistichs should be alike. Among the Arabs there is a kind of poem in the *radjaz* metre (and sometimes some verses follow strictly the *sarī'* metre) called *muzdawidjāt* (a collection of them was published in Cairo in 1299); they consist of strophes of five hemistichs in which the first four hemistichs rhyme together and the fifth have a common rhyme. Sometimes the strophe has only four hemistichs, the first three rhyming together and the fourth rhyming jointly as in *al-l'ām bi-Muthallath al-Kalām* of Ibn Mālik (Cairo 1329) and *Nail al-Arab fī Muthallathāt al-'Arab* of Ḥasan Ḳowaidir al-Khalilī (Bulāḳ 1301).

Bibliography: Djurdjānī, *Ta'rifāt*, Constantinople 1307, p. 142; Muḥammad 'Alī b. 'Alī al-Tihānawī, *Kashshāf Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Funūn*, Constantinople 1317, i. 199, 672; Muḥammad b. Kaīs al-Rāzī, *al-Mu'djam fī Ma'āyir Ash'ār al-'Adjam*, Leyden 1909, p. 390; Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et prosodie des langues de l'Or. Musul.*, Paris 1873, p. 375.

(MOH. BENCHENEB)

AL-MUZZAMMIL, title of sūra lxxiii, taken from the first verse: "O thou wrapped up", viz. Muḥammad, who wrapped himself up in his garment or was wrapped up by others. For explanations of the allusion cf. Sale's note as well as the commentaries on the Qurʾān. Variants of al-muz-

zammil, which stands for *al-mutazammil*, are *al-muzammal*, *al-muzammil* (Baidāwī).

Bibliography: Besides the works mentioned in the art., cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurʾāns*, i., Leipzig 1909, p. 98.

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AL-NABAʾ, title of sūra lxxviii, taken from the opening verses: "Concerning what do the unbelievers ask questions of one another? Concerning the great news". According to the commentaries the great news alluded to is the resurrection, the subject of lively discussions among the Meccans.

Bibliography: The commentaries and translations of the Qurʾān; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurʾāns*, i., Leipzig 1909, p. 104.

NABATAEANS, an Arab people who lived in ancient times in Arabia Petraea. — As early as the seventh century B. C. the Nabayāti are mentioned by Assurbanipal (*Keilinschr. Bibl.*, ii. 216 sqq.). Whether the Nebayōth of the Old Testament are to be identified with them is uncertain (against the identification: Nöldeke in Schenkel's *Bibelllexicon*, s.v. Nabatäer; for it amongst others: Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, New York 1927, p. 492). The Nabataeans were never completely subjected either by the Assyrians, or the Medes, Persians or the Macedonian kings (Diodor. ii. 48). In 312 B.C. Antigonos sent two expeditions against them without success. They were then a nomadic people of shepherds and traders, with a few natural fortresses like Petra, Boṣrā, Salkhad, al-Ḥidjr which served as depots for their arms and riches. Living round the Dead Sea they exploited from time to time the remunerative asphalt deposits on its eastern shore. They were often on friendly terms with their neighbours; e.g. with the Jews under the Maccabees and especially with the Salamians (Arab. Sulaim; cf. Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 594, s.v. Birma), with whom according to Stephanos Byzantios and the testimony of the Nabataean inscriptions, they were in close alliance (cf. SULAIM B. MANṢŪR and B. Moritz, *Salamii*, in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realenzykl.*, vol. i. A, col. 1824 sq.). The capital of the kingdom, called Nabātu in the inscriptions, was Petra on the Ḍjabal Ḥārūn, according to Nöldeke (*Z. D. M. G.*, xxv. 259 sq.) Hebrew Selaʿ, Arab. Ḥiṣn Salʿ in the Wādī Mūsā in the hills of al-Sharā (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii. 117, 13; *Mushtarak*, p. 252, 2), while Musil (*Arabia Petraea*, II/i. 337, note 2, on p. 318) identifies this with Kṣēr es-Selʿ. The ruins reveal a peculiar mixture of Nabataean and Hellenistic architecture while they have yielded remarkably few Nabataean inscriptions (on these see Dalman, *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer*, 1908; do., *Neue Petra-Forschungen*, 1912; Bachmann, Watzinger, Wiegand, *Petra*, 1921; A. B. W. Kennedy, *Petra, its History and Monuments*, 1925).

The Nabataean kingdom comprised the lands

of southern and eastern Palestine as well as Idumaea and Peraea, from 88 B. C. also Ḥawrān; twice (85 B. C. and c. 34—62 A. D., perhaps also in the interval, cf. Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.*, v. 476, note 3), Damascus also belonged to it [cf. i., p. 903]. In the southwest it stretched over the ancient Midian as far as the coast of the Red Sea where ʿObodat I founded the town of Ḥawarā (Steph. Byz., s.v. *Ἀβαρα*, probably = *Δευκή κάμη*, now perhaps al-Ḥawrāʾ), in the interior as far as al-ʿUla (Dedan) and al-Ḥidjr [q.v.] on the frontier of the Ḥidjāz. The Nabataeans also penetrated into the nome of Arabia in the eastern Nile delta as an inscription from Tell el-Shughāfiye in the Wādī Tūmilāt shows (Clermont-Ganneau, *Les Nabatéens en Egypte*, in *Recueil d'Arch. Or.*, viii. [1924], p. 229—257). A number of their kings can be dated with approximate exactness: Ḥārithat (Aretas) I 169 B. C., Ḥārithat II c. 110—96, ʿObodat (Obodas) I c. 90, Rabbʿel Rabilos I c. 87, Ḥārithat III (Ἀρέτας Φιλέλλην) c. 86—62, [ʿObodat II c. 62—47?], Māliku (Malichos) I c. 47—30, ʿObodat II (III?) before 25—c. 9 B. C., Ḥārithat IV Raḥem-ʿammeh (Φιλόπατρις) c. 9 A. D.—40 A. D., Māliku II 40—70/71, Rabbʿel II Σωτήρ 70/71—106 A. D. [Māliku III, 106 A. D.?, cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil*, viii. 247]. The real founder of their power is said to have been king Erotimos, who is probably the same as Ḥārithat III whose reign fell in the period of decline of the Seleucid empire (E. Täubler, in *Klio*, x. 251—253). As "allies", the Nabataeans were able to maintain to some extent their independence of the Romans. At a very early date, like the Palmyrans, they attained through their trade the position of monopolists in Nearer Asia. At the beginning of the Roman empire they dropped their nomadic life and became peacefully settled. Just as in the east they have left their inscriptions particularly on the trade-routes followed by their caravans, e.g. from Petra to Damascus and Tadmor, to Forat at the mouth of the Euphrates, to Gerrha (Arab. al-Djarʿāu near al-Katif), to the Sinai peninsula and Egypt and to Gaza, so we find in the Roman empire epigraphic traces of Nabataean merchants as far as Upper Egypt (Dendera), in Miletus, Rome and Puteoli. In 106 A. D. the emperor Trajan conquered Petra and made the most important part of the Nabataean kingdom the Roman *Provincia Arabia*. The remainder of the territory left to the Nabataeans in the desert suffered economic ruin about 200 A. D. when the Palmyrans gradually obtained control of the remunerative carrying trade.

The king, who was assisted by a vizier, the highest official (Greek ἐπίτροπος), with the title "brother", had under him a number of *shaikhs* (ἐπαρχοί) of the separate tribes (φυλαί); we also find the titles eparchos and strategos. The high social position of women is noteworthy; they could possess property independently and dispose of it as they liked (Nöldeke in Euting, *Nabat. Inscr.*, p. 79 sq.); the coins often bear portraits of the queens (Kammerer, *Petra et la Nabatène*, Paris 1929, p. 377; *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Greek Coins: Arabia* etc., London 1922, Plates I and II).

Our only source for Nabataean law is their epitaphs, the threats of punishment in which are based on a formula of the Greek law of property and contract which elsewhere is only found in tomb-inscriptions in Asia Minor (B. Keil, *Hermes*, xliii. [1908], p. 567—572).

As nomads, simple in their customs and rarely owning slaves, the Nabataeans, as a trading people, had a great respect for wealth. The mention in inscriptions of physicians, wise men and poets, shows a certain level of intellectual culture. Whether circumcision was practised among them is uncertain (Kammerer, *op. cit.*, p. 375 sq.).

The Nabataean pantheon is known to us mainly from tomb and votive inscriptions. The principal god was Dūsharā [cf. DHU 'L-SHARĀ], the principal goddess Allāt [cf. AL-LĀT]; the goddesses Manūthu (= Aram. Menāwātā; cf. MANĀT), Kaisha, Mutaba and Hubal [q.v.] are also mentioned. Their kings were perhaps worshipped as gods after their deaths (cf. *C. I. S.*, ii. 354).

As Nöldeke was the first to emphasise, the Nabataeans were pure Arabs as their names show; but in written intercourse they used Aramaic, the usual written and business language of Nearer Asia. Many aramaisms thus entered their language in the north of the country (like *kabrā*, *nafshā*, *arnā*). Arab writers therefore even used the term "Nabataean" for "Aramaic"; in the southern Hīrā (al-Hidjr) on the other hand, the Nabataean Arabic retained its greatest purity; the Arabic script developed out of the Nabataean cursive at the close of the ancient period [cf. ARABIA, d.].

In the Muslim period the Arabs called those inhabitants of Syria and of the 'Irāk, who were neither shepherds nor soldiers, "Nabataeans" (Ibn al-Kalbī in Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 634), a term also applied in a somewhat contemptuous tone to the Aramaic-speaking peasants (Nöldeke, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxv. 124). When then we find "Nabataeans" (Nabīṭ, Nabṭ etc.) mentioned in Malatya as well as on the Djaīhān, in Syria, on the Khābūr and in the 'Irāk, in 'Omān and Bāhrain, the name is not to be taken in the ethnographical sense (Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 125). As the grammarians of the 'Irāk paid special attention to the "Nabataean" language of the Aramaic country people, by "Nabataeans" was frequently meant the inhabitants of the 'Irāk and especially of the Baṭā'ih (Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 127).

The inhabitants of the district of Hismā in the most northern part of the Hīdjāz, once the Djudhām [q.v.], now the Huwaitāt [q.v.], are regarded as the descendants of the Nabataeans [cf. ARABIA, a.].

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NABI (A.), prophet, borrowed from Hebr. *nābī* or Aram. *nebīā*, is found in the Qur'an from the second Meccan period in the singular and plural *nabīyūn*; in the Medina period we find also the broken plural *anbiyā'*. Lists of the *nabīyūn* are given in Sūra vi. 83 sqq.; iii. 34; iv. 161 sqq.; further information about them is given in several passages of Sūra xix. and in xvii. 57. The list consists exclusively of names from the Old and New Testaments (if we leave out Idrīs in Sūra xix. 57, whose name Muḥammad had however also learned from a Christian source; see above ii., p. 442—450; Horovitz, *Koran. Unters.*, p. 88 sq.); while messengers of God (*rasūl* [q.v.], plur. *rusul*; *mursalūn*) had also been sent to other peoples of the past — e.g. Hūd or Šālīh —, according to the Qur'anic idea "prophets" had appeared only among the *Ahl al-Kitāb* [q.v.]. Only a minority of the individuals called prophets in the Qur'an are so described in the Bible, and Yūnus b. Mattai [q.v.] is the only one of the *anbiyā'* of the Qur'an who appears among the literary prophets of the Bible. Muḥammad himself did not claim the name nabī until he was in Medina when he was addressed as the Prophet (*yā aiyuha 'l-nabī*) and, as finally closing the series of prophets, is called their "seal" (*khātam*). When Muḥammad in Sūra vii. 156 and 158 is called *al-nabī al-ummī*, this is to distinguish him as the prophet who has arisen among the heathen; the Jews called the heathen *ummūt ḥā-ḍām* ("peoples of the world") and also recognised prophets who had arisen among them: among these they included e.g. Balaam and Job. This Jewish name for the heathen became the *al-ummīyūn* of the Qur'an (Sūra lxii. 2; iii. 19, 69); that

ummiyūn refers to the heathen is quite clear from Sūra iii. 19, where they are contrasted with those who have received the scripture. When Sūra ii. 73 refers to the *ummiyūn min Ahl al-Kitāb*, the reference is most probably (with Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iv. 13, note 2) to originally pagan Arabs who had adopted Judaism. The derivation of *ummi* from Hebrew *ummōt hā-ʿōlam* therefore fits all the Qurʾānic passages, while that most generally adopted from Hebrew *ʿam hā-ʾāres* "people of the country", a term for Jews who did not know the Jewish law, would at best fit only Sūra ii. 73, but even for this passage is not absolutely essential.

The post-Qurʾānic ideas about the prophethood of Muḥammad are discussed in the article MUḤAMMAD (cf. also Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads in Lehre und Glaube seiner Gemeinde*, Stockholm 1918). The accounts of the other prophets which found a way into Islām in the post-Qurʾānic period are collected in the works on the *Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*. These, however, are not confined to the prophets proper who appear in the Qurʾān by name or anonymously, and to other figures of Jewish and Christian Biblical and post-Biblical tradition, but deal also with the history of such personalities as Djirdjis and Bulukyā to whom there is not the slightest reference in the Qurʾān.

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(J. HOROVITZ)

NĀBĪ, YŪSUF, an Ottoman poet; Yūsuf Nābī came from Urfa (Ruhā, hence Ruhāwī, not Rūhānī as one often finds). From there he came in the reign of Muḥammad IV to Stambul and became a favourite of the grandvizier Kara Muṣṭafā. He held a post as *kiaya*, made the pilgrimage after Kara Muṣṭafā's death and later settled in Aleppo. When the governor there, Muḥammad Balṭadji [q. v.], became grandvizier, he took Nābī to Stambul and gave him the post of superintendent of the department of the Anatolian chief accountant (*Anadolu mühasebedjisi*). Later he gave up this office for another and died aged about 90 on 3rd Rabiʿ I 1124 (April 10, 1712). He was buried in Skutari in the Qaradja Aḥmad cemetery near the Miskinler monastery; the inscription on his tombstone is given by Saʿd al-Din Nūzhet, *Mezār Kitābelerī*, Stambul 1932, p. 11.

Nābī wrote several historical works in a florid style which was considered classical in his time and even later, such as an account of the conquest of Kameniec in Podolia (1083 = 1672) called *Taʾriḫ-i Weḳāʾi-i Kaminā, Fethnāme-i Kaminā* or simply *Taʾriḫ-i Kaminā*. He also wrote in prose and verse a description of his pilgrimage to the holy places (1089 = 1678; the work was written only in 1093 = 1682) entitled *Tuḥfat al-Ḥaramain*. His very popular *Dirwān* with supplement earned him the title of "king of poets". In his *Khairi-nāme*, usually called *Khairiye*, he gives his son Abu 'l-Khair moral admonitions and advice. His letters (*Munshaʾāt*) were at one time highly esteemed and are of some historical value. He continued Waisi's *Siyar* in a *Dhail-i Siyar-i Waisi*. Printed works: *Dirwān*, Bulāḳ 1257 and Stambul 1292; *Dhail-i Siyar-i Waisi*, Bulāḳ 1248; *Khairiye* in: *Conseils de Nābī Efendi à son fils Abou 'l-Khair*, publiés en turc avec la traduction française et des

notes par M. Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1857; *Taʾriḫ-i Kaminā*, Stambul 1281; *Sūrat-i Hudūd-i Ṭiḡāniye*, s.l. (= Stambul, about 1870), deals with questions of pedagogics; *Tuḥfa*, Stambul 1288; *Tuḥfat al-Ḥaramain*, s.l. [Stambul] 1265. For further information see F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 237—239.

Bibliography: Cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 239, where it should be noted that there is also a MS. of *Dhail-i Siyar-i Waisi* in London, Brit. Museum, Add. 7863 (cf. Rieu, *Cat. of Turk. Mss.*, N^o. 37) and in Heidelberg, Univ.-Library, Cod. or., N^o. 439 (copy of the year 1175 A.H.), *Tuḥfat al-Ḥaramain* in Paris, coll. Cl. Huart, Stambul, *Ḥamidiye*, N^o. 400—401, and the *Khairiye* in Agram, Ak. der Wiss., coll. Babinger, N^o. 826, i. On the printed copy of the *Taʾriḫ-i Kaminā* cf. *J. A.*, 1868, i. 471 sqq. — On a Nābī-zāde Nazim Bey cf. Brūsalī Muḥammad Tāhir, *ʿOṭmānī Mūʿellifleri*, ii. 467 sqq. (FRANZ BABINGER)

NĀBĪ YŪNUS. [See NINAWĀ.]

NABĪDH (A.), a comprehensive designation for intoxicating drinks, several kinds of which were produced in early Arabia, such as *misr* (from barley), *bit* (from honey: Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, bāb 60; *Ashriba*, bāb 4; *Adab*, bāb 80; or from spelt: Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv. 402), *faḍīḫ* (from different kinds of dates: Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 3, 21).

Grapes being scarce in Arabia, it is said that in al-Madīna "wine" was usually prepared from kinds of dates, exceptionally from grapes (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 2, 3; Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 3, 6). This may be true. Yet even these traditions betray a tendency connected with the question whether the prohibition of wine included that of intoxicating drinks. Generally speaking *ḥadīth* favours the affirmative answer and is consequently anxious to point out that the *ḥamr* which was prohibited by Muḥammad included nabīdh.

The question was difficult in so far as these kinds of drinks were intoxicating to degrees which partly depended upon the duration of the process of fermentation. This appears e.g. from the copious traditions in which ʿĀʾisha relates how nabīdh was prepared for Muḥammad and at what time the beverage was done away with [cf. *KHAMR*], as well as from the traditions in which the previous prohibition of certain vessels (*ḥantam*, *muzaffat*, etc.) was abrogated and all kinds of vessels declared allowed, provided the drinks prepared in them were not intoxicating (Muslim, *Djanāʾiz*, trad. 106; *Ashriba*, trad. 63—65, 67—75 etc.). A series of traditions which could be adduced by the Ḥanafites in favour of their view, according to which nabīdh is not included in the prohibition of wine, is to be found in al-Nasāʾī's collection, *Ashriba*, bāb 48. Cf. further the art. *KHAMR*.

Side by side with milk and honey nabīdh was also the beverage that was offered to the pilgrims in Makka. The institution, *al-sikāya* (also the name of the building, close to Zamzam, where the distribution took place), was an office held by the ʿAbbasids (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i. 372; Muslim, *Ḥadīdī*, trad. 347; Abū Dāwūd, *Manāṣik*, bāb 90). The descriptions by Ibn Saʿd († 230 = 845) and al-Azraqī († 244 = 858) give the impression of referring to the present state of things; in the time of al-Muḥaddasī († about 1000 A.D.) the institution had already passed into desuetude. For details, cf. the work of Gaudefroy-Demombynes.

Bibliography: cf. the *Bibliography* of the article KHAMR; further: *Fatāwā 'Alamgiri*, Calcutta 1251 (1835), vi. 607; Santillana, *II "Mub-taṣār"*, Milan 1919, ii. 739 sqq.; Ibn Ḥaǧǧar al-Haitamī, *Tuhfa*, Cairo 1282, iv. 118 sqq.; Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Muḥaǧǧikī, *Kitāb Sharā'i al-Islām*, Calcutta 1255, p. 522; Querry, *Recueil de lois conc. les musulmans schyites*, Paris 1872, ii. 237 sqq.; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de moh. wet.*, Leyden 1925, p. 173; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het mekkaansche Feest*, Leyden 1880, p. 169 (*Verspr. Geschr.*, i. 111); Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923 (*Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibl. d'études*, N^o. 23), p. 71 sqq.; al-Azraqī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 335 sqq.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

NĀBĪGHA AL-DHUBYĀNĪ, a famous poet of the pre-Muḥammadan period. His real name was Ziyād b. Mu'āwīya and he belonged to the tribe of Dhubyān. He probably flourished in the second half of the century which preceded Muḥammad and died shortly before the beginning of Islām. Caussin de Perceval (*Histoire des Arabes*, 2nd ed., ii. 502) puts the date of his birth in 535 A. D. and Father Cheikho (*Poètes arabes chrétiens*, p. 640) dates his death in 604 A. D. These dates however can only be conjectural.

The surname Nābigha has been variously interpreted by Arab writers. According to some, our poet was so called because in one of his verses he uses the verb *nabagha*: "She stopped among the Banū Kain b. Djasr and they felt the effects of our attacks". But this verse is apocryphal and the process recalls that used to justify the etymologies of Muhāhil and of Mutalammiṣ [q. v.]. According to others, he was so called because he did not write poetry until he reached manhood or more simply because in Nābigha poetry "flows from the spring".

We know nothing about his family; his noble birth asserted by the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (ix. 162) and Ibn Qutaiba (ed. de Goeje, p. 74) is doubtful and we know nothing definite about his childhood and youth.

At some date which it is impossible to ascertain definitely, Nābigha was admitted to the court of the Lakhmid princes [cf. LAKHM] of al-Hira, vassals of Persia; in the reigns of the kings al-Mundhir III and al-Mundhir IV in particular this Christian semi-Persian, semi-Arab city had become an important literary centre and the focus of a brilliant culture.

Our poet sang the praises of these two sovereigns and received gifts from them but his fortunes reached their zenith in the reign of Nu'mān Abū Qabūs whose boon companion and favourite singer he became. The poet lived on intimate terms with the king in the lap of luxury and opulence. Such favour could not fail to excite the envy and jealousy of the other courtiers: hence his enemies, notably Murra b. Ša'd, resolved to break the king's attachment to him. The trick attempted by his enemies was a crude one and the king was not deceived by it: the attack on the poet failed.

Far from being discouraged, Murra patiently awaited another opportunity to avenge himself: this soon appeared. According to the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Nābigha, who had free access to the palace of Nu'mān, one day unexpectedly entered the apartments of queen Mutadarrida, famous for her beauty. Taken by surprise, she dropped her

veil, showing to the delighted eyes of the poet "a part of her statue-like body". By the time she could replace it, it was too late. Struck to the heart, Nābigha composed in honour of this "beauty" his famous poem which begins with the line "Go and leave Maiya in all haste . . ." (Derenbourg, *Divan*, xiv.). Unfortunately he was imprudent enough to recite it to his enemy Murra who hastened to report it to Nu'mān. The latter in his anger decided on the poet's ruin.

According to another tradition, one evening when Nābigha was seated beside the queen in company of the king and another poet, Munakhkhal al-Yashkuri, Nu'mān asked Nābigha to describe Mutadarrida to him. Nābigha at once obeyed and recited the poem which he had composed shortly before. Munakhkhal, who was said to be the queen's lover, exclaimed: "Sire, this description is that of an eye-witness"; and the poet's days were now numbered. Warned by his friend, the chamberlain 'Isām, the poet hurriedly fled and sought refuge with the princes of Ḡhassān.

These stories, on the whole little probable, seem to have been invented to explain Nābigha's disgrace. In his book *Fi 'l-Adab al-ādhilī* (Cairo 1927, p. 332), Ṭahā Ḥusain disputes their authenticity and acutely points out that nothing in poem viii.: "It has reached me, mayest thou avoid the censure etc." supports these stories. He supposes on the other hand, relying on this *ḡaṣida*, that the princes of Ḡhassān won the good graces of Nābigha at some time by their largesse and the poet showed his gratitude by singing their praises; this having come to the ears of Nu'mān, the latter took umbrage and decided on the ruin of his favourite.

Nābigha was by no means unknown to the Ḡhassānids, phylarchs of Byzantium and rivals of al-Hira. He had been very well received by the princes al-Hārith b. Abū Ṣhammār and al-Hārith al-Aṣḡhar. The former at the poet's request had released a large number of the Banū Asad taken prisoner at the battle of Ḥalima; the latter, also at Nābigha's request, had released a number of the Banū Asad and Banū Fazāra after the battle of 'Ain Ubāgh. This leads us to say a word about Nābigha's political activities.

The poet in the course of the wars of his tribe never lost interest in his fellow tribesmen and their allies; we have mentioned his interventions on their behalf with the Ḡhassānids; during the celebrated war of Dāḥis between 'Abs and Dhubyān, it was his constant care to maintain the alliances contracted with the Banū Asad and Banū Tamīm. In the reign of the Ḡhassānid Nu'mān b. Hārith Abū Karib, he had once more to intercede on behalf of the Banū Dhubyān defeated in the battle of Dhū Ukur; later, in view of his devotion to his patron and his love for his own tribe, he appealed to Nu'mān to abandon his war on the Banū Dhubyān allied with the Banū Hunn. As a result of refusing to listen to him, the king was defeated.

At the court of Ḡhassān, Nābigha was overwhelmed with favours by 'Amr b. Hārith and later by his successor Nu'mān. He celebrates the former's generosity in a *ḡaṣida* full of gratitude (Derenbourg, iii.) and his elegy on the death of Nu'mān (Derenbourg, xxiv.) is characterized by deep emotion.

In spite of his luxurious life, Nābigha felt his heart and his thoughts turning towards al-Ḥīra and its king. Therefore on the death of Nu'mān b. Ḥārith Abu Karib he decided to return to al-Ḥīra to attempt to regain the favour of the son of al-Mundhir.

Learning that Nu'mān was ill, he set out accompanied by two Fazāris, Manthūr b. Zabbān and Saiyār b. 'Amr, friends of the prince; when they arrived at al-Ḥīra, Nu'mān had recovered. Hearing of the arrival of his two friends, he had a tent of leather pitched for them and sent them a woman singer to entertain them. He himself often came to visit them. One evening at a party the singer sang Nābigha's poem "O abode of Maiya" (*Diwān*, i.); the prince delighted exclaimed: "That is an excellent poem!". The Fazāris thereupon seized the opportunity to intercede on behalf of Nābigha and the generous prince forgave the poet. A little later Nu'mān was put to death by order of the Sāsānian king Kisrā Parwiz for having refused to give him one of his relatives as a wife. Nābigha lamented his patron and retired to his tribe. We do not know when he died.

Before giving an estimate of Nābigha as a poet, we have still to discuss his religion. Derenbourg makes him a monotheist, and in support of his opinion quotes a number of verses in which the poet speaks of God, of the feast of palms, of the cross of Zawra'. On the other hand, Cheikho thinks he was a Christian. We find, he says (*Christianisme en Arabie avant l'Islam*, Bairūt 1923, p. 429—430), in the poems of Nābigha evidence of his belief in God, of his religion and piety, but the arguments are not numerous or of great cogency: a vague mention of God, of David and his son Solomon, of priests present at the obsequies of Mundhir, of the cross of Zawra'. As a matter of fact, Nābigha was a pagan and there is nothing Christian in his poems. The allusions in his poems, even if we accept them as authentic, are in reality only rather faded memories of the Christian ceremonies which the poet had witnessed at al-Ḥīra, and Ghassān and a distant echo of the religious ideas current in the peninsula at this period. As to the word Allāh, it is undoubtedly the result of a substitution for al-Lāt [q. v.] made at a later date by some Muslim purist.

Nābigha al-Dhubyānī holds a high position among the poets of ancient Arabia; he is unanimously placed "in the first rank of poets".

In our opinion he possesses in a high degree the two qualities which make a great poet: sensitiveness and imagination. To sincerity of feeling, he adds splendour of imagery and freshness of expression. In him ideas and words, feeling and turn of phrase, matter and form are in perfect harmony. His satires are often bitter, ironical and scathing.

He is also an artist who skilfully uses all resources, all effects and all artifices. His verse is compact, solid and uniform and readily impresses itself on the memory with the idea which it expresses. Of course it is not without its faults: we find a few weaknesses and examples of lack of care.

Ṭāhā Ḥusain (*al-Shi'r al-djāhili*, Cairo 1926) has recently raised the question once more of the authenticity of the poems of Nābigha and other pre-Islāmic poets. Rejecting all that has been handed down about it he regards the old poetry as apocryphal. The discussion of this question however,

as can readily be understood, lies outside the scope of this article.

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NABOB. [See NĀ'IB.]

NĀBULUS, a town in central Palestine, the name of which is derived from that of Flavia Neapolis built in honour of Vespasian. Its Old Testament predecessor was Shechem, which however lay more to the east, on the site of the present village of Balāṭa (the name is explained by S. Klein, in *Z. D. P. V.*, xxxv. 38 sq.; cf. R. Hartmann, *ibid.*, xxxiii. 175 sq., as "platanus", from the evidence of the pilgrim of Bordeaux and the *Midrash Gen. rb.*, c. 81, § 3). According to Eusebius, the place where the old town stood was pointed out in a suburb of Neapolis. The correctness of this identification of the site of Shechem has now been completely proved by Sellin's excavations; and this also explains how the old name did not as usual drive out the late Greek one. In the time of the Arab writers, the name Shechem was long forgotten and what they tell us refers to Neapolis-Nābulus.

Nābulus is in a long valley (running from east to west) formed by two chains of hills, on the south side Garizim, Arabic Djabal al-Ṭūr or al-Kibli (2,900 feet high), on the north side Ebal, Arabic Djabal Eslāmiya or al-Shamālī (3,140 feet high). G. Hölscher (*Z. D. P. V.*, xxxiii. 98) refers the older name of Neapolis: Mabartha (Mamortha) in Pliny and Josephus (i. e. "crossing", *ma'barta*) to the low saddle running right across the valley. The town with its 22 springs is unusually rich in water, which is heard running everywhere and produces a very luxuriant vegetation. Where the road from the south turns westwards into the valley there is a well with the ruins of a church. Unanimous tradition since the fourth century A. D. locates here Jacob's well and it is undoubtedly the same as is mentioned in John iv. 5. About a thousand yards to the north is a building where tradition locates Joseph's grave.

In the post-exilic period Shechem belonged to the territory of the mixed people of the Samaritans whose capital it became after they had built on the hill of Garizim (the Samaritan text of Deut. xxvii. 5 has this name instead of Ebal) a temple as a rival to that of Jerusalem. They were continually at strife with the Jews and in the end John Hyrcanus

in 129 B.C. destroyed Shechem and its temple. At a later date this always turbulent people was equally hostile to the Romans, which caused Vespasian to attack them on Garizim when a large number were slain. Christianity gradually spread in the country and Neapolis became a bishopric. The result was that the Samaritans now turned their arms against the Christians and treated them with great cruelty. After a deadly raid by them, the Byzantine emperor Zeno (474—491) had them driven from Garizim and built a church there. They wrought still greater havoc in the time of Justinian who punished them with great severity and destroyed their synagogues while he rebuilt the churches. This finally broke their spirit; many of them fled to Persia while others became Christians. Their part had been played by the time when Nābulus with many other towns fell into the hands of the Muslims.

The notices of the Arab authors about the town are very scanty. They know that it was inhabited by Samaritans [cf. AL-SĀMIRI] and some add that, according to the Jews, they are found nowhere else, but it should be noted that Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje, p. 158) speaks of Samaritans in Filāṣṭīn and Urdunn. Ya'qūbī mentions (p. 328), Nābulus a town near two sacred hills with a population of Jews, foreigners and Samaritans. Below the town is a subterranean city, hewn out of the rock. Muḳaddasī says "Nābulus lies in a valley between two hills, is rich in olive-trees and a stream flows through it. The houses are of stone and there are mills there; the mosque in the centre has a beautiful paved courtyard". In the Crusading period Nābulus is mentioned as unfortified. On Jan. 23, 1120, an assembly of prelates and secular notables was held here with the object of improving the morals of the Christians. Idrīsī mentions the well of Jacob where Christ had the conversation with the woman of Samaria; a fine church had then been built on the spot. The Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela (1160—1173) records that there were no Jews in Nābulus, but about 100 Kutaeans (Samaritans) who offered burned offerings on the altar on Garizim at the passover and on other feast-days. His contemporary 'Alī al-Harawī says the Samaritans are very numerous. He, as does Yāqūt, always writes Garizim as Kazirim, a corruption which we already have in the "Agazaren" of the pilgrim of Bordeaux. A terrible earthquake in 1202 added to the miseries inflicted on the town by the continual wars between Franks and Muslims. Under the great Mamlūk Sultān Baibars [q.v.] it finally passed into possession of the Muslims. Yāqūt remarks on the wealth of water and fertility of the district; here, he says, is the hill on which according to the Jews, Abraham wanted to sacrifice Isaac (not Ishmael as the Muslims say). When praying, the Samaritans turn towards Garizim. Dimashqī says that Nābulus is like a palace surrounded by gardens; he mentions the pilgrimages of the Samaritans to Garizim where they sacrificed lambs. The Muslims had a fine mosque in the town, where the Qur'an was recited day and night. According to Khālil al-Zāhiri (d. 872=1467), the area included 300 villages.

The people of Nābulus retained their unfriendly character and fondness for rebellion so that the town was less visited by pilgrims. Only the modern period has brought order and greater security, but even now the dislike of the Samaritans to strangers as spectators during their passover sacrifices may give rise to trouble.

Bibliography: Sellin, in *Z.D.P.V.*, xlix. 2295 sq.; l. 205 sqq., 265 sqq. (on the excavations in the ancient Shechem); Hölscher, *ibid.*, xxxiii. 98 sqq.; R. Hartmann, *ibid.*, xxxiii. 175; P. Thomsen, *Loca sancta*, p. 93, 108 sq.; Robinson, *Palästina*, iii. 336 sqq.; Guerin, *Samarie*, i. 390 sqq.; Ya'qūbī, in *B.G.A.*, vii. 32; Iṣṭakhri, *ibid.*, i. 58; Muḳaddasī, *ibid.*, iii. 174; Idrīsī, *ibid.*, viii. 122 (text, p. 4); Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 512; Sir George Adam Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, index, s.v. Nablus; *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. A. Ascher, 1840, i. 66—68; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 724; Dimashqī, ed. Mehren, p. 200; Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Königreichs Jerusalem*, p. 146, 205, 411, 684 and *passim*; Propst, *Die geogr. Verhältnisse Syriens und Palästinas nach Wilhelm von Tyrus*, i. 55 sq. (FR. BUHL)

AL-NĀBULUSĪ. [See 'ABD AL-GHĀNĪ.]

NADHR (A., plural *nudhur*; Sūra liii. 57), used as a nomen agentis from *n-dh-r* iv., with the meaning of warner; sometimes also as an infinitive, e.g. Sūra lxvii. 17. The plural *nudhur* is also found in the sense of an infinitive, e.g. Sūra lxxvii. 6. The term occurs frequently in the Qur'an; it is even said to be synonymous with *rasūl*; its opposite is *bashīr*, *mubashshir*. *Nadhr* as well as *bashīr* are applied to the prophets, the former when they are represented as warners, the latter as announcers of good tidings (cf. Sūra xvii. 106; xxv. 58; xxxiii. 44; xlviii. 8: *mubashshiran wa-nadhīran*). As an epithet it is used especially in connection with Noah, the great warner before the Deluge, and with Muḥammad himself who thereby receives the stamp of a second Noah (cf. Sūra xxvi. 115; l. 51; lxxi. 2 with Sūra xxix. 49; xxxv. 21; xxxviii. 70; lxvii. 26). Sometimes Muḥammad emphasises his being only a warner (Sūra xli. 8), or his being the first warner who was sent to his people (Sūra xxviii. 46; xxxiv. 43).

The term is found in ḥadīth apart from the common use, known from the Qur'an, in the curious expression *nadhīr 'uryān* (Bukhārī, *Riḳāḥ*, bāb 26; *I'tisām*, bāb 2; Muslim, *Faḍā'il*, tr. ad. 16) with which Muḥammad denotes himself. The tradition runs as follows: "Myself and my mission are like a man who went to some people saying: I have seen the army (of the enemy) with my eyes and I am the naked warner". Several anecdotic stories are told by the commentators in explanation of this expression. It is also said by some of them, that in early Arabia a man who saw an approaching danger, stripped himself of his clothes and wound them around his head in order to warn his tribespeople. — The meaning Nazirite which in several dictionaries is given to the term *nadhīr* in the first place does not occur in the Qur'an, nor in ḥadīth, nor in *Lisān al-ʿArab* nor in *Tāj al-ʿArūs*; it is, however, used in translations of the Bible.

Bibliography: *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vii. 54 sqq.; *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, iii. 561 sq.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, iv. 136; Kaṣṭallānī, ix. 305; Nawawī's commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, v. 71.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

NADHR, v o w, was taken over into Islām from the pre-Muḥammadan Arabs and underwent modification by the new religion. The idea of dedication is associated with the root *n-dh-r* which is also found in South Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic and to some extent in Assyrian. An animal could

be the object of dedication among the Arabs. For example, they dedicated by *nadh*r certain of their sheep etc., for the *‘atira* feast in Rādjab (*Lisān al-‘Arab* and *Djawhari*, s.v.); the dedication which was expressed in solemn formulae signified that the animals were removed from the mundane sphere and placed in the sacred one.

As a rule, a sacrifice was dedicated in order to obtain good fortune in a particular respect. The promise to dedicate an animal when the herd had reached the number of a hundred (*op. cit.*) had an effect on the prosperity of the animals because the word anticipated the fact. According to the story, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib similarly dedicated a son to be slain beside the Ka’ba if he should have ten sons and they grew up (Ibn Hishām, p. 97 *sq.*) but for his *nadh*r 100 camels were substituted. — A childless woman could also vow if she had a son to dedicate him to the sanctuary (*ibid.*, p. 76; perhaps this story is a literary borrowing). According to the *ḥadīth* of Maimūna bint Kardam, her father promised to sacrifice 50 sheep if he had a son (Yāqūt, i. 754; Abū Dāwūd, *Aimān*, bāb 19; Ibn Mādjā, *Kaḥḥarāt*, bāb 18). If a child was sick, its mother could dedicate it by a vow as *aḥmas* (from *ḥums*) if it recovered (Azrakī, p. 123, 8 *sqq.*). Escape from every difficulty was sought by a *nadh*r. During a battle a camel used to be dedicated as a sacrifice (Wākidi-Wellhausen, p. 39). The traveller in the desert used to make a vow on account of the danger (see the verse in Lane and *Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v.). In distress at sea one promised offerings to God or a saint or vowed to do something oneself, such as fasting (Sūra x. 23; xxix. 65; Abū Dāwūd, *Aimān*, bāb 20; see also Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii. 311). During a drought ‘Omar vowed to taste neither *samn*, nor milk nor meat till the rain fell (Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 2573, 12 *sq.*).

Even if a sacrifice were promised, the vow also affected the person concerned, as we see from the fact that he had his hair shorn not only on the ḥadjj but also, for example, when sacrificing after a journey (Ibn Hishām, p. 15, 749; Wākidi-Wellhausen, p. 324, 381, 429 *sq.*; Bukhārī, *Ḥadjj*, bāb 125); for the cutting of the hair ended, as in the case of the Israelite Nazirite, the state of consecration. The vow therefore had always more or less the character of a self-dedication. This aspect was often quite prominent. Ordinary sacred duties such as participation in the ḥadjj were assumed as a consecration by *nadh*r (Sūra xxii. 30) at which special obligations were assumed e.g. to go to the sanctuary on foot, or barefooted (Bukhārī, *Ḍjaṣā’ al-Ṣaid*, bāb 27; Tirmidhī, *al-Nuḍhūr wa ‘l-Aimān*, bāb 17). The sacred condition of *‘itikāf* was assumed as a *nadh*r; thus before his conversion ‘Omar vowed to make a nightly *‘itikāf* in the Meccan sanctuary (Bukhārī, *Maḡhāzī*, bāb 54; *Aimān*, bāb 29). Such a vow to separate oneself from everyday life in some special way was very frequent among the ancient Arabs; for Labīd (p. 17, 17) compares an antelope buck alone among the bushes to one fulfilling his vow (*kāḍi ‘l-nuḍhūr*).

This isolation had the definite object of spiritual concentration and strengthening the soul and thereby influencing the deity. Abstinence was therefore practised in preparation for great deeds, especially in war. The Arabs “touched no perfume, married no woman, drank no wine and avoided all pleasures

when they were seeking vengeance, until they attained it” (*Ḥamāsa*, p. 447, v. 5 *schol.*); avoidance of wine (*Ḥamāsa*, p. 237, v. 4 *sqq.*) and women (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xv. 161; 2nd ed., p. 154) is specially mentioned. These abstentions like the ḥadjj rites and the *‘itikāf* are also the objects of a *nadh*r. The form of this vow is for example “wine and women are *ḥarām* to me until I have slain 100 Asadis” (*Aghānī*, viii. 68; 2nd ed., p. 65). A definite term may be fixed, such as drinking no wine for 30 days in order to obtain vengeance (Ḳais b. al-Ḳhaṭim, ed. Kowalski, iv. 28). Forms of abstention are not to eat meat, not to wash the head, so that the *ḡjanāba* is not removed (*Aghānī*, ix. 149; 2nd ed., p. 141; xiii. 69; 2nd ed., p. 66; Ibn Hishām, p. 543, 980; *Hudhailienlieder*, ed. Wellhausen, N^o. 189), not to anoint oneself (Wākidi-Wellhausen, p. 201). Refraining from meat, wine, ointment, washing and sexual intercourse are mentioned together (*Aghānī*, vi. 99; 2nd ed., p. 97; viii. 68; 2nd ed., p. 66; Ibn Hishām, p. 543; Wākidi-Wellhausen, p. 73, 94). There is also evidence of complete fasting (Wākidi-Wellhausen, p. 105, 402). The abstentions, the offering and the deed to be done form the content of the *nadh*r. It is said: *nadh*hartu ‘alā nafsi and *nadh*hartu malī (Djawhari and *Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v.) as well as *nadh*hara dama fulān (‘Antara, p. 21, 84; Ḳais al-Ruḳaiyāt, p. 52, 5). After a wish has been fulfilled a vow of gratitude may also be taken (Wākidi, p. 290).

The consecration placed the person making the vow in connection with the divine powers, the *nadh*r was an *‘ahd* (Sūra ix. 76; xxxiii. 27; xlviii. 10), whereby he pledged himself. A neglect of the *nadh*r was a sin against the deity (Imra’ al-Ḳais, p. 51, 10). The sacred obligation of living made this a *nadh*r or (synonymous) *naḥḥ*, which one should fulfil (*kāḍā*), instead of wandering aimlessly (Sūra xxxiii. 23; Wākidi, p. 120; Labīd, p. 41, 1; Kumait, *Hāshimiyāt*, ed. Horowitz, p. 4, 48). The importance of the binding pledge gradually becomes more prominent (cf. *Lisān al-‘Arab*, where *nadh*hara is explained by *awḍjaba*, ironically *Aṣma’iyāt*, p. 7, 2); the emphasis on the material dedication gradually became less. The abstinences mentioned receive their importance on the one hand from works meritorious to the deity, on the other from the unpleasant deprivations, by which the person taking the vow disciplines himself. Both points of view are seen in the examples quoted. The releasing of slaves or divorcing of wives often form the subject of a kind of vow by which a man pledges himself under certain conditions. A man many also vow to sacrifice all his camels if he is lying (*Ḥamāsa*, p. 667, v. 3). The strict obligation inherent in the *nadh*r makes it closely related to the oath [see *ḲASAM*].

One can also bind one’s family by a vow. A mother swears not to comb her hair or to seek shade until her son or daughter fulfils her wish (*Aghānī*, xviii. 205; 2nd ed., p. 205; Ibn Hishām, p. 319; ii. 90). The strength of this kind of “conjuración” is based on the relationship between the two partners. If a dying man vows that his tribe shall slay 50 to avenge him, this binds the tribe (*Ḥamāsa*, p. 442 *sq.*). There thus arose in Islām the problem of how far unfulfilled vows had to be fulfilled by the descendants (Muslim, *Nadh*r, trad. 1; Bukhārī, *Waṣāya*, bāb 19; cf. Goldziher, *Zāhiriten*, p. 80).

In Islām the vow and the oath are treated together. In the Qur'ān it is prescribed that unconsidered expressions (*laghw*) in an oath may be broken and expiated (Sūra ii. 225; v. 91). The context shows that the reference is to vows of abstinence, especially relating to food and women. Sūra ii. 226—227 in continuation says that those who bind themselves by *ilā'* not to touch a woman should either break the vow after 4 months or pronounce the formula of divorce. The breach of the oath then requires the *kaffāra*. The *ḡihār* formula is absolutely forbidden (Sūra lviii. 1—5; cf. xxxiii. 4); it is a great sin in the eyes of the law, while the *ilā'* is not a sin (see Juynboll, *Handbuch*, p. 284 sqq.; Sachau, *Muh. Recht*, p. 13, 68 sqq.). The "release from the oath" promised in Sūra lxvi. 2 refers to a vow of continence. The same *kaffāra* holds for a broken vow as for an oath. It is probable in this case that we have Jewish influence (cf. *Mishna*, *Nedārīm*) but the principle of releasing oneself from a vow by doing something else is certainly also originally Arab. But with Islām comes the view that *nudhūr* are useless because they cannot influence God (Bukhārī, *Aimān*, bāb 26; *Ḳadar*, bāb 6; Muslim, *Nadhr*, trad. 2). Thus we find ḥadīths which urge the fulfilment of vows as well as those that forbid them. Following hints in the ḥadīths, we find a systematic division into vows of piety (*nadhr al-tabarrur*), which are intended to acquire merit by a pious deed (*ṭā'a*), and vows by oaths which, since they are conditioned, serve to incite, prevent or strengthen. The latter are called *nadhr al-ladjiādī wa 'l-ghadab*. They are deprecated but must be treated like oaths. Their matter must not be sinful; according to some, such a vow is invalid, according to others, it is valid but must be broken. Their matter must not already be an individual duty (*wādji'b aini*). The person taking the vow must, like him taking an oath, be *mukallaf* and be acting of his own free-will.

Bibliography: J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², Berlin 1897, p. 122 sqq.; W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, ed. S. A. Cook (1927), p. 332, 481 sqq.; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, Leyden 1910, p. 268 sq.; Khalil b. Ishāk, *Mukhtaṣar*, transl. I. Guidi (1919), p. 371—383; Johs. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, Strassburg 1914, index, s.v. Gelübde; W. Gottschalk, *Das Gelübde nach älterer arabischer Auffassung*, Berlin 1919; the ḥadīth-material quoted here and A. J. Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s.v. Vow. (JOHS. PEDERSEN)

AL-NADİM, ABU 'L-FARAJ MUHAMMAD B. ABI YA'QUB ISHĀK AL-WARRĀK AL-NADİM AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, Arabic bibliographer, compiled the *Fihrist* in 377 (987—988). Little is known about his life. According to a statement which goes back to Ibn al-Nadji'djār's (d. 643 = 1245) *Dhail Ta'rikh Baghdād* (see Flügel's edition, p. xii., note 2), he died in 385, according to another statement (see Ibn Hadjar al-'Askalānī, *Lisān al-Mizān*, v. 72) probably 388 (? the figure is damaged in the Haidarābād edition). Both dates are in contradiction to the fact that in the *Fihrist* events of 392 (p. 87, 6) and "after 400" (p. 169, 13) are mentioned, unless these are additions by another hand. A clue to the date of his birth is given from his account (p. 237, 6) of a meeting with a learned

man in the year 340; this suggests 325 as the latest date for his birth. Nothing is known of his family. There is no reason to connect him with Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī al-Nadīm (d. 235 = 849) or with Yaḥyā b. al-Nadīm, a pupil of al-Balādhuri (d. 279 = 892). His father was a bookseller (*warrāk*) (p. 303, 24, 318, 6, 351, 14). Whether the epithet *al-Nadīm* "table companion", i. e. member of the circle of a caliph or other great man, refers to the father or to a remoter ancestor is unknown. It is not impossible that it refers to the author of the *Fihrist* himself; against this however is the fact that he is usually quoted as Ibn al-Nadīm. That Baghdād, if not his birthplace, was at least his place of abode is evident from passages, like p. 337, 26, 349, 17 (see below) and the frequent mention of Baghdādīs among his acquaintances (p. 132, 6, 219, 25, 236, 12, 266, 2). He several times mentions a stay in Mōsul (p. 86, 12, 160, 2, 190, 2, 265, 23; cf. also p. 283, 2). We know nothing of other journeys by al-Nadīm (Dār al-Rūm, p. 349, 14 is the name of the Latin quarter in Baghdād as V. v. Rosen has shown). His teachers and authorities also point to Baghdād. He most frequently quotes the authority of the grammarian al-Sirāfi (d. 368) (all the quotations can be found in the latter's *Akhbār al-Nahwīyīn al-Baṣriyīn*). Personal relations are indicated by p. 56, 13 and the mention of his sons (p. 31, 23, 45, 11, 62, 23). Al-Nadīm also studied under Ibn al-Munadjjim (p. 144, 11). He gives traditions heard from Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Nākiṭ (p. 24, 14, 25, 8). He also gives traditions from Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī (p. 141, 17 = *Kitāb al-Aghānī*³, i. 5 sq.) and from Abu 'l-Faḥ b. al-Nahwī (p. 145, 25) celebrated for the reliability of his transcripts (p. 145, 25). He also mentions as his teacher Abū Sulaimān al-Manṭiqī (p. 241, 14) whom we know from Abū Haiyān's *Muḳābaṣāt*. He was friendly also with the logician Ibn al-Djarrāḥ (p. 244, 6, 245, 12) and with the Christian philosopher Ibn al-Khammār (p. 245, 12) and with Yaḥyā b. 'Adī (p. 264, 8). This circle of friends is very much in keeping with al-Nadīm's friendly nature, the breadth of his intellectual interests, his intelligent interest in other religions and his tolerance, which finds expression in *Maḳāla*'s 5 and 9 of his work. That he was a Shī'ī and Mu'tazilī did not escape his biographers (cf. Goldziher, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxvi. 278 sqq.); thus he uses *khāṣṣī* and *ammī* in the sense of Shī'ī and Sunnī respectively, calls the Sunnī traditionalists *al-Hashwīya* (p. 231, 12), claims many of their leaders for the Zaidiyya (p. 178, 9, 25), says that al-Shāfi'ī was a man of decidedly Shī'ī outlook (p. 209, 19) and praises al-Wākidī (p. 98, 20) as a Shī'ī. Shī'īs were numerous among his friends (p. 139, 27 and p. 154, 25) and acquaintances (p. 178, 6, 190, 2, 11, 197, 11, 198, 4). Al-Nadīm like his father was a bookseller. This is nowhere expressly stated but is evident from the whole plan of his work in which he faithfully records not only scientific literature but also the numerous diwāns of contemporary poets and the vast mass of anonymous light literature, love stories, fairy tales and books of adventure, indeed even works of a popular nature neglected alike by scholars and bibliophiles, books on good manners, cookery books, books on poison, books dealing with hunting and sport, down to collections of farces, books on magic and on prophecy, in brief everything that was on the Baghdād book market in the fourth

(tenth) century. That he was a bookseller is also indicated by the frequent particulars about the size of the books dealt with (cf. especially, p. 159, 18), about copies in the hand of famous scholars, about the demand for books (p. 70, 5; 8; 77, 14; 79, 23) and about the book trade (p. 271, 5; 359, 20). He several times mentions other booksellers (p. 264, 8; 299, 4; 355, 12).

The *Fihrist* exists in two recensions (on the manuscripts, see *Z.D.M.G.*, lxxxiv. 111 sqq. and the literature there given; to these may now be added a fragment in Tonk and a private manuscript in Medina). Both were made in the year 377 (987). The longer contains ten *maḳālāt*, of which the first six deal with the literature of Islām (1. *Qurʾān*, 2. grammar, 3. history etc., 4. poetry, 5. dogmatics, 6. law), while the last four deal with non-Islāmic literature (7. philosophy and "ancient sciences", 8. light literature, 9. history of religion, 10. alchemy). The shorter version contains only the four last *maḳālāt* of the longer one, i.e. the Arabic translations from the Greek, Syriac, Persian and Sanskrit and the other literature based on these models. It is mentioned by Ḥādjdī Khalifa (Sambul, ii. 211) under the title *Fawz al-ʿUlūm*. The two recensions have in common an introductory section on the various forms of writing. — A survey of the contents of the *Fihrist* follows the preface (see also Flügel, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xiii. 190 sqq.). The arrangement there given is strictly adhered to in the book. The special quality of the book and its value lies in the fact that it gives the Arabic literature of the first four centuries in a bibliographical arrangement while the biographical method is the only one used in other contemporary sources. Al-Nadīm, it is true, as a rule treats of his subjects in biographical sketches but it is the list of works of the author that is the main thing. Sometimes a branch of literature is treated purely bibliographically under its various branches (e.g. the literature of *Qurʾān* exegesis, p. 33, 20—37, 11; also p. 87, 88, 170, 171). This arrangement was necessary with the anonymous literature, especially in the eighth *maḳāla* (p. 305 sqq.). A further step towards treatment from the point of view of the literary historian is found in the brief introductions and surveys (e.g. on the pre-Othmānic recensions of the *Qurʾān*, p. 26 sqq., on the beginnings of Arabic grammar, p. 40 sqq.). In the last four *maḳālāt*, such sections (e.g. on the origins of philosophy, of medicine, of alchemy, the beginning of the translated literature, the origin of the "1000 tales") are so extensive that they have the character of a regular history of literature to a much greater degree than the more bibliographical first six *maḳālāt*. The ninth *maḳāla* occupies a special position; it is a treatise on the history of religion in which the bibliographical element is not at all prominent. — The sources used by al-Nadīm are mainly of a literary nature. He prefers to use works in copies from the hand of reliable copyists. He comparatively rarely quotes personal authority. — Although a younger contemporary of al-Nadīm's, al-Wazīr al-Maghribī (d. 418 = 1027), prepared an improved edition of the work, it seems at first to have had only slight influence. The earliest author to make considerable use of the first four *maḳālāt* (in al-Maghribī's edition) was Yāqūt (d. 626 = 1228) (see Bergsträsser, in *Z.S.*, ii. 185). He claims to have consulted a copy in al-Nadīm's own hand, as does the lexicographer

al-Ṣaghānī, d. 650 (1252) (see *Khizānat al-Adab*, iii. 83 pu). Ibn al-Kifī (d. 624 = 1226) and Ibn Abī Uṣaib'a (d. 668 = 1269) copied much from the *Fihrist*. In later times it is only occasionally quoted, e.g. by al-Dhahabī (d. 748 = 1347) and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsḳalānī (d. 852 = 1448) and lastly by Ḥādjdī Khalifa (d. 1067 = 1656) and al-Khafādī (d. 969 = 1561). — Al-Nadīm also wrote a *Kitāb al-Awṣāf wa'l-Tashbihāt* (*Fihrist*, p. 12, 2) which has not come down to us.

Bibliography: *Das Kitāb al-Fihrist* mit Anmerkungen hrsg. v. G. Flügel, 2 vols., Leipzig 1871—1872; reprinted Cairo 1348 (also contains the text of the Leyden fragments published by Houtsma, in *W.Z.K.M.*, iv. 217 sqq.). A new edition is in preparation for the *Bibliotheca Islamica*. — The earlier literature is given in the preface and in the notes to Flügel's edition. — Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arib*, ed. Margoliouth, vi. 408; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Lisān al-Miẓān*, Ḥaidarābād 1331, v. 78; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 147; J. Fück, *Eine arab. Literaturgeschichte aus dem 10. Jahrhundert* (*Z. D. M. G.*, lxxxiv. 11 sqq.); H. Ritter, *Zu den Handschriften des Fihrist* (*Isl.*, xvii. 15 sqq.). Considerable sections of the *Fihrist* are dealt with separately in the following works: A. Müller, *Die griechischen Philosophen in d. arab. Überlieferung*, Halle 1872; Suter, *Das Mathematikerverzeichnis im Fihrist* (*Abh. z. Gesch. d. math. Wiss.*, vi., 1892); do., *ibid.*, x., 1900 and xiv., 1902; M. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen a. d. Griech.* (*s. Z. D. M. G.*, l. 371 sqq.); Kessler, *Mani*, Berlin 1889, i. 331 sqq.; Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen-âge*, Paris 1893, iii. 26 sqq. (JOHANN FÜCK)

NADİM, AḤMAD, an Ottoman poet, born in Sambul, the son of a judge named Muḥammad Bey who had come from Merzifun. His grandfather (according to Gibb, *H. O. P.*, iv. 30) was a military judge named Muṣṭafā. Aḥmad Rafīk mentions as his great-grandfather Kara-Čelebi-zāde [q.v.] Maḥmūd Efendi who also was a military judge. The genealogy given by Aḥmad Rafīk is however wrong because he confuses Karamānī Muḥammad Paṣha [q.v.] with Rūm Muḥammad Paṣha. The statement that Aḥmad Nadīm is descended from Djalāl al-Dīn is therefore simply the result of confusion. Little is known of his life. He was a *müderriş*, later on intimate terms with Aḥmad III and his grandvizier Dāmād Ibrāhīm Paṣha [q.v.]. He probably got his *laḳab* al-Nadīm from this friendship. Latterly he held the office of librarian in the library founded by his patron Dāmād Ibrāhīm Paṣha. On hearing of the end of Ibrāhīm Paṣha and the deposition of the sultān, Nadīm lost his life at the beginning of October 1730 (Rabīʿ I, 1143) in a horrible way; while escaping from the mob leaving the grand-vizier's palace he fell from the roof and was killed. He was buried in Ayās Paṣha in Pera beside the historian Fındıklı Silāhdār Muḥammad Agha.

Aḥmad Nadīm is regarded as one of the greatest of Ottoman poets, who is still appreciated for his pure language, free from foreign additions. Many literary historians have discussed his merits as a poet (cf. the specimens collected by Gibb, *H. O. P.*, iv. 30 sqq.). His collected poems (*Diwān*; printed Būlak, n. d.; a more recent critical edition with introductions by Aḥmad Rafīk Bey and Muḥammad Fuʿad Bey appeared in 1338—1340 in Sambul; there are manuscripts of the

Diwān in Europe in Munich, London and Vienna) enjoys great popularity. Nadīm translated into Turkish the history of Mūnedjdīm-bāshī Aḥmad Efendi (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 234 sq.; cf. thereon *J. A.*, ser. 7, xiii. 272); he was also one of the Turkish translators of 'Aini's history (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 259 sqq.; the edict relating to this is in Aḥmad Rafīk, *Hicri on ikinci asırda İstanbul hayatı, 1100—1200*, Stambul 1930, p. 84 sq.) but the MS. seems to be lost.

Bibliography: Aḥmad Rafīk's preface to the new edition of the *Diwān*; *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 549 (very superficial; here his grandfather is said to have been a certain *Şadr* Muşlīh al-Dīn and his father the judge Muḥammad); Brūsālī Muḥammad Fu'ād, *'Othmānī Müellifleri*, ii. 453 sq.; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *G. O. D.*, iv. 310 sqq. (who does not appreciate him highly); Gibb, *H. O. P.*, iv. 30 sqq.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

NĀDIR SHĀH, king of Persia (1147—1160 = 1736—1747).

Origins. Nādir b. Imām-kūli b. Nadhr-kūli belonged to the Kīrīklū clan of the Turkoman tribe of the Afshārs, of which a section had settled in northern Khurāsān, and was born on the 28th Muḥarram 1100 (Oct. 22, 1688) at Kūbkān. Entering the service of Tahmāsp II, he was called Tahmāsp-kūli Khān but after his coronation his original name was improved to Nādir, "the rare one". At an early date Nādir distinguished himself in the incessant fighting with the Turkomans of Nasā, the Čamishgazaḳ Kurds of Kha-būshān (Kūcān), the Ōzbeks, the Tatars of Marw and even against his Afshār fellow tribesmen. The little nucleus around Nādir consisted of his Afshār relatives, some Kurds of Daragaz and Abīward, and 300—400 families of Djalāyir Turkomans with their chief Tahmāsp-kūli Wakil.

Fighting in Khurāsān. During the Afghān invasion of Persia, Mashhad was occupied by Malik Maḥmūd, a scion of the Sistān family. Nādir fought against Malik Maḥmūd at first on his own initiative. When the Šafawid Tahmāsp II, driven from his other lands, arrived in Khurāsān, Nādir very cleverly supplanted the commander-in-chief Fath 'Alī Khān Kādjār and on 16th Rabi' II (Dec. 22) captured Mashhad with the help of treachery. Henceforth it became his headquarters. There were already signs of a breach between Nādir and Tahmāsp II at this time.

The Shāh urged Nādir to set out against his enemies the Ghilzā'i Afghāns but Nādir wished first of all to dispose of the nearer enemy, the Abdālī Afghāns of Herāt, but the campaigns of 1728 (against the Abdālī and the Turkomans) had no success. Nādir however was able to extend the sphere of his activities; he ousted from Astarābād and Māzandarān the governors appointed by Tahmāsp and came into conflict with the Russians and the Ghilzā'i Afghāns.

The Abdālī. In the meanwhile trouble had broken out in Herāt between Allāh-yār Khān and Dhu 'l-Fiḳār Khān. Nādir re-established Allāh-yār Khān but transplanted many tribes to Khurāsān (1141 = 1727).

The Ghilzā'i. At this time Ashraf Ghilzā'i laid siege to Simnān while his general Saydāl had gone to Bistām. On the 6th Rabi' I (Nov. 27, 1729), Nādir defeated the Afghāns on the banks of the river Mihmāndūst. This victory he followed up by others.

Nādir in S. W. Persia. Tahmāsp appealed to Nādir to complete the deliverance of the country. Leaving Shirāz and crossing Luristān, Nādir arrived in Burūdjird where the Shāh sent him a crown set with precious stones and a commission ('*ahd-nāma*) as wālī of all Khurāsān along with Māzandarān, Yazd, Kirmān and Sistān (cf. also 'Alī Ḥazīn, p. 189). Tahmāsp also gave his sister Gawhar-šād to Nādir and betrothed his other sister Fāṭima-sultān to Riḍā-kūli Mirzā.

The Ottomans who then occupied the whole of western Persia and the greater part of Transcaucasia were reluctant to leave Persia. Nādir occupied Nihāwand, defeated the Turks at Malāyir, retook Hamadān and on the 27th Muḥarram 1143 (Aug. 13, 1730) Tabriz was retaken.

Nādir returns to the east. Nādir learned in Tabriz that Dhu 'l-Fiḳār Abdālī having driven Allāh-yār Khān from Herāt was fighting Nādir's brother Ibrāhīm Khān under the walls of Mashhad. Nādir at once set out for Khurāsān, crossing the steppe of the Yomut Turkomans and towards the end of Rabi' II (Nov. 1730) was at Mashhad where he reviewed 56,000 families of the tribes transplanted from other provinces.

On the 4th Shawwāl (April 12, 1731) Nādir was 3 farsakhs from Herāt. In the month of August the Abdālī restored Nādir's candidate Allāh-yār Khān but the latter regaining contact with his tribe now rebelled. It was not till Ramaḍān 1, 1144 (Feb. 27, 1732) that Herāt was taken.

Failure of Tahmāsp II. Taking advantage of the absence of his commander-in-chief, the Shāh resumed the initiative in the military operations and in Djumādā II 1143 (end of Dec. 1730) set out against the Ottomans. Fearing the return of Nādir the Ottomans on Jan. 10, 1732 signed a preliminary treaty at Baghdad by which the Persians retained only the lands south of the Araxes. Later on Jan. 21—Feb. 1, 1732 the Shāh's representatives signed at Rasht a treaty with the Russians by which the latter bound themselves to evacuate the lands south of Sāliyān (on the Kur) while the return of Bākū and Darband was made dependent on the reconquest of Transcaucasia by the Persians.

Deposition of Tahmāsp II. Nādir was indignant at the peace with the Turks signed after a defeat. Setting aside the Shāh's authority, Nādir Shāh denounced the treaty and appointed his own governors everywhere. Tahmāsp was deported to Khurāsān and his son 'Abbās III, an infant in the cradle, proclaimed king on the 17th Rabi' I 1145 (July 7, 1732).

First campaign against the Ottomans. Having punished the Bakhtiyāris and the Kurds, Nādir occupied Zohāb and besieged Baghdad (Jan. 1733). Aḥmad Pāshā made the negotiations drag on until the army commanded by Topal 'Othmān Pāshā had time to come to Mesopotamia. On 6th Šafar 1146 (July 19, 1733) Nādir Shāh lost the battle fought on the Tigris and returned to Hamadān via Bahrīz and Mandaldjīn (Mandalī).

Arriving there on 22nd Šafar (Aug. 4) Nādir set out again for Zohāb on the 22nd Rabi' II (Oct. 2) and then attacked Memiş Pāshā who had occupied the pass of Agh-darband (1st Djumādā II = Nov. 9, 1733). Then Topal 'Othmān Pāshā with the bulk of his army intervened in the battle but lost it and had his head cut off. The Ottomans hastened to abandon Aḥdarbājdjān. By the 15th Radjab (Dec. 22) Nādir was already on his way

to Persia via Baghsāy (Bā-kusāyē), Bayāt, Bayān and Shūshār.

Maḥmūd Balūč. The reason of this hurried move was the rebellion raised by Maḥmūd Khān Balūč in S. W. Persia. Maḥmūd Khān was quickly driven from the pass of Shulistān and on 27th Shābān (Feb. 1, 1734) Nādir reoccupied Shīrāz.

Campaign in Transcaucasia. In Iṣfahān Nādir received the Turkish ambassador ʿAbd al-Karīm Efendi and informed him that the retrocession of Transcaucasia was a *sine qua non* of peace. On the other hand, prince S. D. Golitsine was received at Iṣfahān on May 20–31, 1734 and thereafter by Nādir's order accompanied him everywhere (his itinerary in Lerch-Schneise). On the 12th Muḥarram 1147 (June 17, 1734) Nādir left Iṣfahān for Ādhar-bāidjān and as the Turks did not reply, Nādir began by attacking the Daghestān chief [Ghāzī-Kūmūk] Surkhāy whom the Porte had appointed governor of Shīrwan. Tahmāsp Quli Djalāyir defeated the Daghestānians near Dāwā-batan (in the district of Kābala) while Nādir to cut off the retreat penetrated into the heart of the extremely difficult region of Ghāzī-Kūmūk. In spite of the exploits of the Abdālī the success gained in Daghestān was only partial for Surkhāy had escaped to the north.

On 6th Djumādā II (Nov. 3, 1734) Nādir was before the walls of Gandja, which was defended by ʿAlī Pāshā. The siege necessitated considerable works and prince Golitsine procured Russian engineers for Nādir. On March 21, 1735 a treaty was signed at Gandja by which Russia and Persia became practically allies.

On 1st Muḥarram 1148 (May 26, 1735) Nādir went first to Kars but the encounter with ʿAbd Allāh Pāshā Köprülü-zāde took place near Eriwān on the plain of Baghāward; on 26th Muḥarram (June 18, 1735) the Ottomans were defeated. Gandja thereupon capitulated on the 17th Ṣafar (July 8) and Tiflis on 22nd Rabīʿ I (Aug. 13).

Nādir returns to Daghestān. Via Tiflis [q. v.], from which 6,000 families were transferred to Khurāsān, Nādir attacked the Lezgī of Djār and Tala (north of the Alazan). The Khān of the Crimea Kaplan Girāy, who had in the meanwhile advanced as far as Darband and had placed his nominees everywhere, withdrew to the Crimea and Nādir endeavoured to pacify Daghestān but Surkhāy still evaded capture.

Nādir proclaimed king. On 13th Ramaḍān (Jan. 27, 1736) Nādir came to Mughān [q. v.] where in the meanwhile the governors and notables of the province had assembled. It was explained to them that Nādir, having liberated Persia, wished to retire to Khurāsān and that the delegates were free to put the government in the hands of Tahmāsp II or ʿAbbās III "who were alive". Nādir finally accepted the crown but on condition that the Persians abandoned the Shīʿa practices introduced by Ismāʿīl I which were "contrary to the beliefs of Nādir's ancestors". The Persians were to form a fifth orthodox madhhab, placed under the patronage of the Imām Djaʿfar Ṣādiq. A document to this effect was sealed by the assembly. The five clauses of the treaty to be proposed to Turkey were next drawn up: 1. the Turks were to recognise the new Djaʿfarī rite; 2. the latter was to be given a place of prayer (*rukṇ*) at Mecca; 3. Persia was to send an amīr al-ḥadjj every year through Syria; 4. prisoners should be exchanged and 5. ambas-

sadors were to be exchanged after mutual approval of the appointments. The formal coronation of Nādir took place on Thursday, 24th Shawwāl 1148.

Kandahār. This principality in which Husain Khān, brother of Maḥmūd, still asserted himself remained the only black spot on the horizon. Leaving Iṣfahān on 2nd Shawwāl (Feb. 3, 1737), Nādir was before Kandahār before Nawrūz 1149 (March 1737) and had a new town built on the site of his camp (Surkha-Shīr) which was called Nādirābād.

Kandahār capitulated on the 2nd Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 1150 (March 23, 1738). The citadel was dismantled.

Expedition into India. So far Nādir's military expeditions had been dictated by a desire to reestablish the old frontiers of the Ṣafawid empire. The expedition to India was provoked solely by the attraction of ill-guarded provinces and by the desire to replenish the treasury exhausted by repeated campaigns. Ghazni was occupied on the 22nd Ṣafar 1151 (June 11, 1738), Kābul on 12th Rabīʿ I (June 30), Djalālābād on 8th Djumādā II (Sept. 17). From the neighbourhood of the latter town, the prince Riḍā-Quli was sent back to Persia to act as regent; he and his brother Naṣr Allāh were given crowns.

Going via Sarṭōba Nādir avoided the Khaibar Pass and took prisoner Naṣir-Khān, governor of Peshāwar. On 15th Ramaḍān (Dec. 27) Nādir left this town. He next took Lahore and reappointed the local governor Zakariyā-Khān (a Khurāsānian). (Naṣir-Khān also was restored to his post). Leaving Lahore on 26th Shawwāl (Feb. 6, 1739) Nādir learned that Muḥammad Shāh had reached Karnāl and was in a place between the jungle and the river. He succeeded in cutting Muḥammad Shāh off from his capital and hastened to attack the reinforcements which Saʿadat-Khān (a Khurāsānian) was bringing from the province of Oudh. Thus began the decisive battle of 15th Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 1151 (Feb. 24, 1739) in which the commander-in-chief Khān Dawrān was mortally wounded and Saʿadat-Khān captured. Nādir and Muḥammad Shāh entered the capital where Nādir's name was inserted in the *khutba* and coins struck in his name. On the 15th Dhu 'l-Hidjdja (March 26, 1739) a rumour spread that Nādir had been assassinated and the populace massacred 3,000–7,000 of his soldiers. Next morning Nādir went to the mosque and gave the signal for the massacre of the inhabitants. On 26th Dhu 'l-Hidjdja (April 6) Naṣr Allāh Mirzā was married to a Mughal princess. On 3rd Ṣafar 1152 (May 12, 1739) a great council was held in Dihlī in the course of which Nādir replaced the crown on the head of Muḥammad Shāh but the latter had in return to cede to Nādir all the provinces north of the Indus. The amount levied by Nādir cannot be estimated. According to Ānandrām, who was attached to the vizier's office, it amounted to 6,000,000 rupees in specie and 500,000,000 in jewels and precious stones, including the Kōh-i Nūr diamond and the Peacock throne. Large sums were distributed among the soldiers and the people of Persia exempted from taxation for three years.

Nādir left Dihlī and reached Kābul on 1st Ramaḍān (Dec. 12). Now took place one of the most remarkable of his expeditions. He suddenly turned back to reduce the lord of Sind Khudā-yār Khān ʿAbbāsī (a native of Siwī, cf. Malcolm, *op. cit.*, ii. 88) and going via Bangash, Lārkāna and Shahdādpūr penetrated into the desert south of

the Indus and took *Khudā-yār* prisoner; he had shut himself up in 'Umarkot (north of Thar and Parkar in the province of Bombay). Having organised his Indian possessions in three provinces Nādir returned to Nādir-abād (via Siwī and Shāl) on 7th Šafar (May 5, 1740).

Nādir in Turkeṣtān. Nādir returned to Herāt on 10th Rabī' I (June 5) and after a fortnight devoted to festivities set out for Balkh which he reached on 7th Djumādā I (July 31). Arriving before Bukhārā on 19th Djumādā II (Sept. 22), Nādir treated Khān Abu 'l-Faiḍ kindly and renewed his investiture by crowning him with his own hands. The Oxus was proclaimed the frontier and the Khān had to supply Nādir with 20,000 Özbegs and Turkomans, which indirectly left in the hands of the conqueror the control of the internal affairs of Bukhārā.

On the 16th Radjab (Oct. 7), Nādir had set out for Khwārizm. The fleet followed the army. The Khān II-Bars of Hazārasp retired to his fortress of Khanqah which surrendered on 24th Sha'bān after bombardment. Finally Kīhiwa, the capital of the kingdom, also capitulated. By 4th Shawwāl (Dec. 23) Nādir had returned to Čardjūy and entered Mashhad at the end of Shawwāl.

Nādir sets out again for Transcaucasia. While in India, Nādir had learned of the death of his brother Ibrāhīm Khān who had been killed by the Lazgī rebels of Džār and Tala. To punish them, Nādir left Mashhad and on his way learned that the Abdālī troops who had been sent in advance had already ravaged Džār, Djawukh (?) and Akzibir, but the pacification of Daghestān was by no means complete.

An incident that followed marks the turning-point in the career of Nādir Shāh. On the 28th Šafar (May 15, 1741) near Kal'a-yi Awlād (Māzandarān) an unknown man concealed in the brush wood shot at Nādir, wounding him slightly. Connecting this with events in Daghestān Mahdī Khān says that the crime was committed by a slave of the son of Dilāwar Khān Tāimani [q. v.] but suspicion very soon turned upon the prince Riḍā-Kūli who had besides not behaved well during his regency. He was sent for the time to Tihrān while Nādir continued his march via Kaḏwīn, Kaḏjadagh, Barda' and Kaḏala.

In June 1741, for the third time, Nādir entered Daghestān and remained there a year and a half. The *shamkhāl* of Tarkhū, the *usmi* of the Kara-Kaytak and Surkhāy Khān of the Ghāzi Kumūk came over to Nādir but new difficulties kept cropping up. Relations with Russia became somewhat strained for the Russian representatives suspected Nādir of designs on the northern Caucasus. As a precaution the Russians in May 1742 concentrated 42,000 men at Kizlar (s. Butbow, i. 220). Cares were undermining the health and character of Nādir. At the beginning of Dec. 1742 when the camp was at Baṣlu the heir to the throne Riḍā-Kūli, denounced by the author of the attempt on Nādir in Māzandarān, was blinded after a form of trial. Nādir himself was thoroughly upset by this incident. Rebellion was now threatening everywhere (in Khwārizm and in Balkh).

Third campaign against the Turks. In Dhu 'l-Kāda I 1742, the Turkish ambassador brought from Constantinople a letter from the Sulṭān refusing to recognise the fifth *madhhab*. Nādir then reminded the Sulṭān that the whole

of Persian territory had not been regained from Turkey and added that he soon would take the field to make his own terms.

Nādir left Daghestān on the 16th Dhu 'l-Hidjja (Feb. 7, 1742) and came to Kirkūk (14th Djumādā II = Aug. 5, 1742) which capitulated as did Irbil. On the 26th Radjab (Oct. 5) Nādir arrived near Mawṣil but the siege of this fortress was unsuccessful and on 2nd Ramaḍān (Oct. 20) he retreated to Kirkūk and Khanāqīn. Friendly relations were established with Aḥmad Paṣha of Baghdād. Nādir with his wives made the pilgrimage to the Shī'ī and Sunnī sanctuaries of Mesopotamia and on the 24th Shawwāl 1156 (Dec. 12, 1743) summoned a great assembly of ecclesiastics at Nadjaf. The document drawn up by Mahdī Khān summing up the discussions confirmed the renunciation by the Persians of the "heresy of Shāh Ismā'īl", while the 'ulamā' of Mesopotamia and Transcaucasia recognised the claims of Dja'far al-Šaḍīq and declared the special features (*furū'āt*) of the Persian beliefs compatible with Islām. The Sunnī theologian 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥusain al-Suwaīdī, *Kitāb al-Hudjjaḍi al-kaḍ'iya li'ttifāk al-Firaq al-Islāmiya*, Cairo 1324, also gives a very interesting summary of this dispute; cf. Ritter, *Isl.*, xv., 1926, i. 106 and the detailed account by Prof. A. E. Schmidt, *Istoriia sunnitsko-shiitskikh otnosheniy* in the *Ikḍ al-Djumān* (Barthold Festschrift, Tashkent 1927, p. 69-107).

Rebellions. The strange abandonment of the campaign in Mesopotamia is to be explained by the new risings in the east. Much more important was the rising in Fārs led by the beglerbegi Taqī Khān, a great favourite of Nādir. He was ultimately captured and castrated. In Astarabād the Kādjārs rose against the oppression of the governor's son (Hanway, *Hist. Account*, i. 192). Nādir had to send his nephew 'Alī Kūli to Khwārizm. Finally the Ottomans of Kaḏs disseminated in Ādharbāidjān letters from the new pretender Šafī Mirzā (Muḥammad 'Alī Rafsindjānī) and then refused to begin an exchange of prisoners.

Fourth Campaign against the Turks. In the meanwhile the Porte equipped a new army (150,000 horse and 40,000 janissaries) which advanced on Erzerum and Kaḏs under the command of the former vizier Yegen Muḥammad Pāshā while 'Abd Allāh Pāshā Djebedji's army went via Diyārbakr and Mawṣil. On the 21st Radjab (Aug. 20) came the news of the victory won by Naṣr Allāh Mirzā over 'Abd Allāh Pāshā's army (near Mawṣil) and at the same time Yegen Muḥammad Pāshā died leaving his army in complete disorder. Nādir again won a brilliant victory (on the very scene of his first victory in 1735) but then, quite unexpectedly, wrote to the Sulṭān saying he was abandoning the first two clauses of Muḡhān. Personal fatigue may explain why Nādir could not exploit his success.

On Sept. 4, 1746, peace was signed with the Turkish envoys and on 10th Muḥarram 1160 (Jan. 22, 1747) the Shāh's representatives (Muṣṭafā Khān Shāmlu and the historian Mahdī Khān) set out for Constantinople with the *ṣulḥ-nāma*. Nādir renounced his famous religious clauses in favour of the Sulṭān, "the Khālifa of the people of Islām and the glory of the Turkoman race". By the treaty the frontier was restored to that of the time of Murād IV [cf. TABRIZ] but in a platonic fashion, Nādir expressed the wish to receive one

of the provinces which had belonged to the "Turkoman Sultāns".

On the 10th Muḥarram, Nādir left for Kirmān marking his route by piles of skulls erected everywhere. After the Nawrūz, Nādir returned to Mashhad and devoted himself to "spilling the blood of the innocents". His conduct was now clearly abnormal. In an epilogue to his history written after the death of Nādir, Mahdī Khān records the denunciations, executions and extortions carried out by the agents of the treasury and the ruin of the country, which had however begun before the Indian expedition (Otter, *Résidents russes*, Hanway, i. 230). The Shī'ī opposition must also have been intensified in view of the frankly Sunni turn which Nādir's "Khurāsānī" policy had taken.

The rising in Sīstān, which brought matters at a head was provoked by the activities of the tax collectors who were demanding a contribution of 300,000 tumāns from the province. 'Alī Qulī Mirzā, nephew of Nādir, put himself at the head of the rebels. Even Tahmāsp Qulī Khān Djalāyir, the most faithful prop of the throne, wanted to proclaim one of Nādir's sons as king. The troubles spread to Khurāsān and the Kurds of Khabu-shān raided the royal stables at Rādkān. Nādir marched on them but on the eve of 11th Djumādā II 1160 (June 20, 1147) he was assassinated in his camp near Fathābād by the Kādjar and Afshār chiefs in conspiracy with the bodyguard. Father Bazin was a witness of the disorder which broke out in the camp after the assassination. On the 27th Djumādā II (July 5, 1752) 'Alī Qulī Mirzā came from Herāt and was proclaimed king. All the royal princes were massacred.

The treasure amassed by Nādir was soon scattered to the winds; the country, utterly exhausted, was in the throes of crisis. Nādir's attempts to compose religious difficulties had failed completely, but Persian territory and its periphery were cleared of enemies. But for Nādir Shāh, Persia would probably not exist, even in its present bounds.

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Turkish sources: Hammer, *G.O.R.*, chap. lxiv.—lxvi. and lxviii.—lxix., cf. the edition of 1831, vol. vii. and viii.; 2nd ed., vol. iv.; French transl., vol. iii. (from the chronicles of Subḥī and of 'Isī, but especially based on Mahdī Khān and Hanway). Cf. the list of 6 Turkish accounts of the campaigns against Nādir in Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 289, and *ibid.*; 'Abd al-Razzāk Newres, *Tebriziye-i Ḥekīm-oghlu 'Alī Pāshā* (campaign of 1143 = 1730); Mehmed Rāghib Pāshā, *Tahkīk ve-Tewfīk* (negotiations of 1149 = 1736); Sirri, account of the campaign of 1157 = 1744; Nu'mān Ṣāliḥ-zāde, *Tedbirāt-i pesendide* (journey to Hamadān with Aḥmad Pāshā Kesiriyeli in 1160 = 1747).

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NADIR (NAZĪR AL-SAMT or AL-NAZĪR *naṭ'* ἐξοχήν), the bottom, the pole of the horizon (invisible) under the observer in the direction of the vertical, also the deepest (lowest) point in the sphere of heaven. The nadir is the opposite pole to the zenith [q. v.].

The word *naẓir* (from *naẓara*, "to see", "to observe") originally (and generally) means the

point diametrically opposite a point on the circumference of a circle or the surface of a sphere; we find *muḳābal* as a synonym of *naḍīr* in this general meaning [cf. also *MUḲĀBALA*].

(WILLY HARTNER)

NADĪR (BANU 'L-'), one of the two main Jewish tribes of Madīna, settled in Yathrib from Palestine at an unknown date, as a consequence of Roman pressure after the Jewish wars. Al-Ya'qūbī (ii. 49) says they were a section of the Djudhām Arabs, converted to Judaism and first settled on Mount al-Naḍīr, whence their name; according to the *Sira Ḥalabiya* (Cairo, iii. 2) they were a truly Jewish tribe, connected with the Jews of Khaibar. This seems the more probable, but a certain admixture of Arab blood is possible; like the other Jews of Madina they bore Arabic names, but kept aloof from the Arabs, spoke a peculiar dialect, and had enriched themselves with agriculture, money-lending, business in armour and jewels.

They were clients of the Aws, siding with them in their conflicts with the Khazraǧ, and entering with them into the compact with Muḥammad known as the Constitution of Madina in 1 A.H. Their most important chief at this time was Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab, whose daughter Ṣaḥīya became Muḥammad's wife in 7 A.H. For a list of Muḥammad's worst enemies among the Banu 'l-Naḍīr see Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, p. 351—352.

Their fortresses were half a day's march from Madina, and they owned land in Wādī Buḥān and Buwaira; their dwelling places were south of the city.

The Banu 'l-Naḍīr seem to have been in (commercial?) relations with Abū Sufyān before the battle of Uhud. In 4 A.H., in Rabi' I, owing to difficulties about the Banu 'l-Naḍīr's contribution to certain blood-money which was being collected from the whole Muslim community in Madina, Muḥammad, who had personally negotiated the matter with their chiefs, became convinced of their enmity towards himself and suspected them of intending to kill him. He decided to get rid of such dangerous neighbours, and ordered them through Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Awsī to leave the city within ten days, under penalty of death, allowing them to take with them all their movable goods, and to return each year to gather the produce of their palm-groves.

The tribe, having no hope of help from the Aws, agreed to leave, but 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy al-Khazraǧī, chief of the *munāfiqūn*, persuaded them to resist in their fortresses, promising to send 2,000 men to their aid. Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab, hoping the Banū Ḳuraiza would also help them, prepared to resist, in the face of opposition from moderate elements in the tribe.

The siege lasted about a fortnight, help from the *munāfiqūn* was not forthcoming, and when the Muslims began to cut down their palms the Banu 'l-Naḍīr surrendered. Muḥammad's conditions were much harder than formerly; their immovable property was forfeited, and nothing left them but what they could take away on camels, arms alone excepted. After two days' bargaining the tribe departed with a caravan of 600 camels; some went to Syria, others to Khaibar.

The Banu 'l-Nadīr's booty Muḥammad did not divide in the usual manner; the land was distributed among the *muḥāǧirūn*, so as to relieve the *Anṣār*

of their maintenance; part of it the Prophet kept for himself.

Sūrat al-Ḥaṣr (lix.) was revealed upon the expulsion of the Banu 'l-Naḍīr.

From Khaibar the exiles planned with the Ḳuraish the siege of Madina in Dhū 'l-Ḳa'da 5 A.H. The treasure of the Banu 'l-Naḍīr was captured by Muḥammad in Khaibar in 7 A.H.

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AL-NADJAF (MASHHAD 'ALĪ), a town and place of pilgrimage in the 'Irāq 6 miles west of al-Kūfa. It lies on the edge of the desert on a flat barren eminence from which the name al-Nadjaḥ has been transferred to it (A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 35).

According to the usual tradition, the Imām al-Mu'minīn 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib [q.v.] was buried near Kūfa, not far from the dam which protected the city from flooding by the Euphrates at the place where the town of al-Nadjaḥ later arose (Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 760), also called Nadjaḥ al-Kūfa (Zamakhshari, *Lexicon geographicum*, ed. Salverda de Grave, p. 153). Under Umayyad rule the site of the grave near al-Kūfa had to be concealed. As a result it was later sought in different places, by many in al-Kūfa itself in a corner above the *ḡibla* of the mosque, by others again 2 farsakhs from al-Kūfa (al-Iṣṭakhrī, ed. de Goeje, *B. G. A.*, i. 82 sq.; Ibn Ḥawqāl, *ibid.*, ii. 163). According to a third story, 'Alī was buried in al-Madīna near Fāṭima's grave (al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūǧ al-Dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, viii. 289), according to a fourth, at Ḳaṣr al-Imāra (Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, x., 1926, p. 967 sq., A.H. 40, § 99). Perhaps then the sanctuary of al-Nadjaḥ is not the real burial-place but a tomb held in reverence in the pre-Islāmic period, especially as the graves of Adam and Noah were also shown there (Ibn Baṭṭūta, *Tuhfa*, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, i. 416; G. Jacob in A. Nöldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Husains zu Kerbelā*, Berlin 1909, p. 38, note 1). It was not till the time of the Ḥamdānid of al-Mawṣil Abū 'l-Haidǧā [see 'ABD ALLĀH B. ḤAMDĀN] that a large *ḡubba* was built by him over 'Alī's grave, adorned with precious carpets and curtains and a citadel built there (Ibn Ḥawqāl, *op. cit.*, p. 163). The Shī'ī Būyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla [q.v.] in 369 (979—980) built a mausoleum, which was still in existence in the time of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, and was buried there, as were his sons Sharaf and Bahā' al-Dawla. Al-Nadjaḥ was already a small town with a circumference of 2,500 paces (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ed. Tornberg, viii. 518; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 32: in the year 366 = 976—977). Ḥasan b. al-Faḍl, who died about 414 (1023—24) built the defensive walls of Mashhad 'Alī (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ix. 154). The Mashhad was burned in 443 (1051—1052) by the fanatical populace of Baghdād but must have been soon rebuilt. The Saldjūq sultān Malikshāh and his vizier Nizām al-Mulk who were in Baghdād in 479 (1086—1087) visited the sanctuaries of 'Alī and Ḥusain (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, x. 103). The Ilkhān Ghāzān (1295—1304),

according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, built in al-Nadjaf a Dār al-Siyāda and a dervish monastery (*khanqāh*). The Mongol governor of Baghdad in 1263 led a canal from the Euphrates to al-Nadjaf but it soon became silted up and was only cleared out again in 1508 by order of Shāh Ismā'īl. This canal was originally called Nahr al-Shāh (now al-Kenā') (*Lughat al-ʿArab*, Baghdad, ii., 1930—1931, p. 458). This Shīʿī Safawid himself made a pilgrimage to the *maṣḥadān* of Kerbelā' and al-Nadjaf. Sulaimān the Magnificent visited the holy places in 941 (1534—1535). A new canal made in 1793 also soon became silted up, as did the Zeri al-Shaikḥ and al-Ḥaidariya canals, the latter of which was made by order of ʿAbd al-Ḥamid II. In 1912 iron pipes were laid to bring water from the Euphrates to al-Nadjaf (*Lughat al-ʿArab*, ii. 458 sq., 491). A considerable part of the ʿIrāk with Baghdad, al-Nadjaf and Kerbelā' was temporarily conquered by the Persians in 1623.

According to the Arab geographers, al-Ḥira lay on the eminence of al-Nadjaf (al-Yaʿqūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, *B. G. A.*, vii. 309). Massignon thinks (*M. I. F. A. O.*, xxviii. 28, note 1) that al-Ḥira lay on the site of the present al-Nadjaf, while Musil (*The Middle Euphrates*, p. 35, note 26) places the centre of the ruins of al-Ḥira S. E. of the *tell* of al-Knēdre which lies halfway between al-Kūfa and al-Khawarnaq. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa entered Maṣḥad ʿAlī which he visited in 726 (1326) through the Bāb al-Ḥaḍra gate which led straight to the Maṣḥad. He describes the town and sanctuary very fully. According to al-Yaʿqūbī (*loc. cit.*), the ridge on which al-Nadjaf stands once formed the shore of the sea which in ancient times came up to here. For the number of its inhabitants and its architectural beauty, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa reckoned the town among the most important in the ʿIrāk. It has now about 20,000 inhabitants (Persians and Arabs), has a Shīʿī college and celebrated cemetery in the Wādī al-Salām. Near al-Nadjaf were the monasteries of Dair Mār Fāṭhiyūn (Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii. 693) and Dair Hind al-Kubrā' (Yāqūt, ii. 709), also al-Ruḥba (5 hours S. W. of the town; Yāqūt, ii. 762; Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 110, note 61) and Kaṣr Abi ʿl-Khaṣīb (Yāqūt, iv. 107). The lake of al-Nadjaf marked on many older maps has long since completely dried up (Nolde, *Reise nach Innerarabien*, p. 105).

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Paris 1809, p. 75—77; Nolde, *Reise nach Innerarabien*, Braunschweig 1895, p. 103—111; M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii. 137, 274, 281; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905 [repr. 1930], p. 76—78; A. Nöldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Husains zu Kerbelā*, Berlin 1909 (= *Türk. Bibl.*, xi.), *passim*; H. Grothe, *Geographische Charakterbilder aus der asiatischen Türkei*, Leipzig 1609, p. XIII and table lxxv.—lxxix. with illustr. 132—134, 137; L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie (1907—1908)*, Cairo 1910, i. 50^b—51^b; ii. 88, note 1, 114, 138, note 3 (= *M. I. F. A. O.*, xxviii., xxxi.); G. L. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, London 1911, p. 160, 162; St. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925, index, p. 372 (*Najf*); A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, p. 35, note 26 (= *American Geographical Society, Oriental Explorations and Studies*, No. 3). (E. HONIGMANN)

BANU NADJĀḤ, a dynasty of Abyssinian Mamlūks at Zabīd [q. v.] from 412 to 553 (1022—1158). When the last Ziyādi [q. v.] had been put to death in the vizierate of the Abyssinian Mardjān by one of his Mamlūk governors Nafīs, the other Nadjāḥ came forward to avenge him. After desperate fighting, Nafīs was slain and Nadjāḥ in Dhū ʿl-Ḳaʿda 412 (Feb. 1022) entered Zabīd where he had the vizier built alive into a wall in exact revenge for the Ziyādi. As his rival Nafīs had already done, Nadjāḥ assumed the insignia of royalty, struck his own coins and inserted his own name in the *khutba* after that of the ʿAbbāsīd caliph. The latter found himself forced to recognise him under the title al-Muʿaiyad Naṣīr al-Dīn. His kingdom extended over al-Tihāma, while the highlands beyond remained divided up among petty chiefs. When among the latter the Ṣulāihīs [q. v.] came to considerable power, their relationships with the Banū Nadjāḥ decisively affected the history of the latter. The first Ṣulāihī ʿAlī is said to have had this first Nadjāḥ poisoned about 452 (1060) through a slave girl sent him as a present. In the confusion that followed, ʿAlī occupied Zabīd itself and Nadjāḥ's sons fled to the island of Dahlak [q. v.]. While the eldest Muʿārik committed suicide, the other two resolved to regain their lands: Saʿīd al-Aḥwal and Abu ʿl-Ṭāmi Djaīyāsh, whose lost work *al-Mufīd fī Akhbār Zabīd* was the foundation for ʿUmāra's work (in Kay, see *Bibl.*). Saʿīd made his preparations in a place of concealment in Zabīd and had Djaīyāsh come later; the two then came out openly, fell upon and killed ʿAlī al-Ṣulāihī, who was on a campaign against Mecca, probably in 473 (1081). Zabīd at once recognised Saʿīd as its lord; he had appealed less to the Sunnis against the Shīʿīs than to the racial feeling of the numerous Abyssinian soldier-slaves (*anā radjūlun minkum wa ʿl-ʿizzu ʿizakum*: Djaīyāsh in ʿUmāra, p. 63, 3—4). But Asmā, the widow of ʿAlī al-Ṣulāihī who was kept a prisoner in Zabīd, persuaded her son al-Mukarram to relieve the town (475 = 1082—1083). The Nadjāḥ again escaped to Dahlak. In 479 (1086) Saʿīd again returned as ruler but in 481 (1088) was put to death at the instigation of the Ṣulāihī queen al-Saiyida, the wife of al-Mukarram. Djaīyāsh escaped to India with his vizier Khalaf b. Ṭāhir, said to have been an Umayyad, returned to Zabīd disguised as an Indian, plotted with his compatriots and easily

regained power in 482 (1089). With his death in 498 or 500 (1105—1106) disruption set in. He himself had had domestic difficulties. He executed the *qaḍī* Ibn Abī 'Akāma whose ancestor had come to the country with the first Ziyādī; his former helper *Khalaf* had to seek refuge in flight. A certain degree of strain in his relations with his brother Sa'īd is already evident from *Djajyāsh*'s account and there were fierce family feuds among his descendants. His son Fātik I, the son of a girl bought in India, had to defend himself against his half-brothers Ibrāhīm and 'Abd al-Wahid and died young in 503 (1109—1110). The latter's infant son al-Manšūr was set aside by his uncles, who were quarrelling with one another, and fled to Saiyida, whose favourite al-Muzaffar b. Abi 'l-Barakāt brought him back in 504 (1110—1111) as vassal of the *Ṣulaiḥis*.

On account of the new ruler's minority, events repeated their course under the Ziyādīs. The Mamlūk Anīs was Manšūr's vizier and he even assumed royal honours. When he attained his majority Manšūr disposed of him by murdering him with his own hand in 517 (1123) after inviting him to the palace. Manšūr however was at once poisoned at the instigation of the next vizier Mann Allāh. In the following year, the latter defeated under the walls of Zabīd Nadjīb al-Dawla, whom the Fātimids had sent as the *Ṣulaiḥī* power was weakening to restore their suzerainty in the land. Mann Allāh had made the boy Fātik II nominal king, the son of Manšūr and a slave girl singer 'Alam who had been purchased from Anīs's estate. This woman (d. 545 = 1150) endeavoured with great skill to preserve the rights of her house against the encroachments of the viziers and played among the Nadjāḥ a part similar to that of Saiyida among the *Ṣulaiḥī*. In particular she equipped and led regular caravans of pilgrims and thus unconsciously furthered the rise of 'Alī b. Mahdī who was finally to drive her own family from power. Mann Allāh in 524 (1130) was killed in his harem through a plot of 'Alam's. His successors were the Mamlūks Ruzaiḥ and then al-Mufliḥ. Against the latter 'Alam put forward her favourites Surūr and Iḳbāl, who were however not on good terms. In their quarrels the various parties several times brought the petty Arab princes who lived around it against Zabīd. Iḳbāl had Fātik II poisoned (531 = 1137). As he had no heirs, he was followed by his cousin Fātik III b. Muḥammad b. Fātik I b. *Djajyāsh*. The government had been in the hands of Surūr since 529 (1135). His career of indefatigable activity was ended in a mosque in Zabīd on the 12th Raddjāb 551 (Sept. 1, 1156) by an assassin, a "*Khāridjī*" envoy of 'Alī b. Mahdī. When the Zaidī Imām al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad b. Sulaimān was summoned to help them by the Abyssinians, he made it a first condition that Fātik should be deposed and he himself recognised as lord of Zabīd. The troops agreed to this but the victory lay with 'Alī b. Mahdī [q.v. and the article MAHDĪ]. On 14th Raddjāb 554 (Aug. 2, 1159) he entered Zabīd.

The Banū Ziyād and the Banū Nadjāḥ continually brought over shiploads of Abyssinian slaves to recruit their troops and thus continued that mixture of races, which already existed before Islām and is still very marked in the Yaman plains. These Mamlūks however became a great danger for the

Ziyādīs and also for the Nadjāḥ themselves. *Djajyāsh* had attempted to counteract them with a bodyguard of Turkish Oghuz [cf. GHUZZ]. But they were not suited to the climate; in particular it was impossible to establish a colony of them there permanently as their children, if they did not die, remained weaklings. The Abyssinian admixture was still further increased by the many slave-girls, who, particularly when they became mothers, exerted some political influence. The enormous harems of the notables created the most complicated family relationships. For example the settlement of the estate of the vizier Ruzaiḥ became a notoriously difficult case in the law of inheritance which occupied the ablest *fuḳahā* for years until finally a very aged Ḥaḍramawtī found a solution in accordance with the *Sharī'a*.

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(R. STROTHMANN)

AL-NADJĀSHĪ, designation in Arabic of the king of Abyssinia. It is a loanword from Aethiopic ነገሥት "king, prince" etc. In Arabic it is sometimes used as a proper noun, sometimes as a nomen appellativum. The word is also genuine Arabic, but as such it has the meaning of driver of game. It does not occur in the *Qur'ān*. In *Ḥadīth* it is the designation of the king of Abyssinia, just as *Qaiṣar* [q.v.], *Kisrā* [q.v.] and *al-Muḳawḳas* [q.v.] are the designations of the rulers of Rūm, Fāris and Miṣr. In their totality they represent the Great Powers which in the time of Muḥammad surrounded the territory of Islām. On the fresco in the hall of the castle of Ḳuṣair 'Amra [cf. 'AMRA], dating from the middle of the viiith century A.D., al-Nadjāshī appears as the fourth of these Powers, the place of the *Muḳawḳas* being taken by Roderick the Visigoth.

In the *Sīra* the Nadjāshī occupies a place of some importance, chiefly in connection with the two *hidjra*'s to Abyssinia, with Muḥammad's letter persuading him to embrace Islām, with his conversion from Christianity to Islām and with his equipping two ships in behalf of the return of the emigrants to Arabia, amongst whom was Umm Ḥabiba, who was to marry Muḥammad (A.H. 7).

These traditions have been critically examined by Grimme, Caetani and Mrs. Vacca. Grimme denied the historical foundation of the traditions concerning Muḥammad's letters to the Great Powers. Caetani submitted the question to an elaborate enquiry. Mrs. Vacca reduces the traditions to the following historical facts: *a.* the return of *Dja'far* b. Abī Ṭālib from Abyssinia in 7 A.H., when Muḥammad was besieging *Khaybar*; *b.* the expedition of 'Amr b. Umaiya in A.H. 6 in order to reconduct the emigrants from Abyssinia to al-Madīna; *c.* vague traditions concerning the emigration from Makka to Abyssinia. To these groups several episodes agglomerated, viz. to *a.* the story that Umm Ḥabiba, Abū Sufyān's daughter and widow of 'Ubaid Allāh b. *Djahsh*, was asked in marriage by Muḥammad and provided with a marriage-gift of 400 dīnārs by the Nadjāshī; to *b.* the story of Muḥammad's letter to the Nadjāshī, his embracing Islām and his becoming

the intermediary of the conversion of 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ.

In Ḥadīth the Nadjāshī is also mentioned in connection with the story that his death in Ramaḍān 9 A. H. was proclaimed, without previous intimation, by Muḥammad, who held on the *muṣallā* [q. v.] a funeral service in behalf of this fellow Muslim. As his proper name is given Aṣḥama or Aḍḥama b. Abḥar.

The title al-Nadjāshī is also given in Arabic literature to later kings of Abyssinia, as may be seen from this article.

Bibliography: Complete bibliography of the passages in the *Sira* in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, cf. index in vol. II/ii.; further esp. A. H. 6, § 45—55; the passages in *Ḥadīth* in Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muh. Tradition*, s. v. Nadjāshī and Abyssinia; further H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, i., Münster i. W. 1892, p. 123; V. Vacca, *Le ambascerie di Maometto ai sovrani*, in *R.S.O.*, x. 87 sqq.; Lammens, *L'âge de Mahomet*, in *J. A.*, ser. x., vol. xvii., esp. p. 244 sq.; M. Wessweiler, *Bunte Prachtgewand*... (Muh. b. 'Abd al-Bakī al-Bukhārī al-Makkī, *al-Ṭirāz al-manḥūsh fī Maḥāsīn al-Ḥubūsh*), Hanover 1924, p. 48 sqq.; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden 1879, p. 190 sqq.; do., *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, p. 59.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

AL-NADJĀSHĪ, KAIS B. 'AMR AL-ḤĀRITHĪ, an Arab poet of the seventh century A. D., lived at first in Nadjran [q. v.] and quarrelled with 'Abd al-Rahmān, son of Ḥassān b. Thābit [q. v.], because the latter had addressed in song a married female relative of Nadjāshī in Medina. After an exchange of lampoons with his opponent from his native place, he met him at the annual fair at Dhū 'l-Madżaz and again in Mecca when 'Abd al-Rahmān not only proved inferior as a poet but suffered bodily injury, so that his aged father had to interfere on his behalf. Nadjāshī had a second conflict with Ibn Mukbil, the poet of the Banū 'Adjlān; he was so unbribled in his defence that the caliph 'Omar punished him with imprisonment after procuring an opinion on his verses from Ḥassān and al-Ḥuṭai'a. After 'Othmān's assassination, al-Nadjāshī appeared in Kūfa as one of 'Alī's poets, and for the latter exchanged political lampoons with Mu'āwiya's poets at the battle of Šiffin. But his disorderly life lost him the favour of 'Alī and after a drinking-bout in Ramaḍān he was given the thrashing prescribed by law and put in the pillory. After a conflict with Kūfan notables, in which he expressed his wrath at this punishment in satirical verses, he was expelled by 'Alī and went over to Mu'āwiya. He then went back to his native country Yaman and died in Laḥdj in the year 40 (669), in which year he wrote a lament on the death of Ḥasan.

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(C. BROCKELMANN)

MIR 'ABD AL-ʿĀL NADJĀT, a Persian poet, born about 1046 (1636—1637), the son of a Ḥusainī Saiyid Mir Muḥammad Mu'min of Isfahān. Little is known of his life. Only this much is certain, that he, like many other Persian poets of this time, worked in the offices of different Persian dignitaries. For example he was a *mustawfi* [q. v.] with *Šadr* Mirzā Ḥabīb Allāh, later occupied the same office in Astarābād and ended his career in 1126 (1714) after being for many years *munshī* with the Šafawid princes *Shāh* Sulaimān (1667—1694) and *Shāh* Sulṭān Ḥusain (1694—1722). He owes his fame mainly to a long poem *Gul u-Kuṣhtī* ("Wrestling") which he finished in 1112 (1700—1701) and which deals with the theme of the *zūr-khāna* [q. v.] still very popular in Persia. As the Persian athletes still form a special closed corporation they use a special language (a kind of slang) which is full of the technical terms of their art and is not intelligible to the outsider. Nadjāt used these technical terms very skilfully in his poem which makes it very difficult for laymen to understand. This produced several commentaries on his work, of which those of Ārzū, Ratan Singh Zakhmī (printed Lucknow 1258) and Gobind-rām (lith. Morādābād 1884) are the best known. Of Nadjāt's contemporaries some did not approve of his peculiar style and thought his poem degraded the poet's art with its vulgar expressions and low humour. As a matter of fact, Nadjāt's tone differs considerably from the traditional lofty style of Persian court poetry and approaches the language of the Persian middle classes; this makes his work of considerable importance for the history of the Persian language. Besides the poem, we only know of a collection of lyrics by Nadjāt of which there are manuscripts in several libraries (see below).

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(E. BERTHELS)

NADJĀTĪ BEY, properly 'Isā (Nūḥ, also given, is not certain), the first great Turkish lyric poet of the pre-classical period, one of the founders of the classical Ottoman poetry. Born in Adrianople (Amasia and Kaṣtamūni are also given), the son of a slave, obviously a Christian prisoner of war for which reason he is called 'Abd Allāh, the name given to every one, he was adopted by a well-to-do lady of Adrianople, received a good education and was trained by the poet Sā'ilī. In spite of the fact that his non-Turkish origin was generally known, he was regarded as their equal in every way by the Turks in keeping with their democratic ideas. He early came to Kaṣtamūni and there began his poetic career and soon gained a great reputation. His poems are said here and there to bear traces of the Kaṣtamūni dialect. Coming to Constantinople, he at once gained the favour of Sulṭān Mehmed II by a kaṣida on winter; in 886 (1481)

he celebrated the accession of Bāyazīd II in a *kaşida* and was rewarded by an appointment as secretary in the *Diwān*. He gained such favour with the Sultān that he was appointed secretary to his eldest son 'Abd Allāh and was given the title of bey when the prince went to Karamān as governor (*mütesarrif*). After the prince's early death (888 = 1483) Nadjāti returned to Constantinople with an elegy on the death of the prince which showed deep emotion. After a long interval in which he wrote a great deal but was in continual need, through the influence of Mu'ayyad-Zāde [q. v.] he became *nishāndji* to Bāyazīd's younger son Maḥmūd when the latter went to Şārūkhān in 910 (1504). Nadjāti wrote his finest verse while on the staff of this prince; this was the happiest period of his life. Maḥmūd also died prematurely in 913 (1507) in Manissa, the capital of Şārūkhān, and Nadjāti again lost his patron. He returned with a beautiful elegy to Constantinople and finally retired from the service of the court on a modest pension. He took a house on the Wefā Maidān where many friends gathered round him, especially his pupils, the poet and *tezkeredji* Edirneli Sehi and the poet Şun'ī. Nadjāti died on the 25th Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 914 (March 17, 1509). He was buried near his own house, at the monastery of *Shaikh* Wefā and a tombstone was put up by Sehi for him.

He left a *Diwān* which he had collected on the advice of Mu'ayyad-Zāde and dedicated to prince Maḥmūd. There is also attributed to him a *mesnewī*, which is not otherwise known, entitled *Münāzara-i Gül u-Khosrew*, also quoted as *Laila u-Medjūn* and *Mihr u-Māh*. Even more uncertain seems to be the existence of the *mesnewī* mentioned by Sehi: *Gül u-Şabā*. Nadjāti is also mentioned as a translator of Persian works but his pupil Sehi says nothing of this. He is said to have translated for prince Maḥmūd the *Kimīyā-i S'ādet* of Imām Ghazālī (the Persian version of the Arabic *Ihyā'*) and the *Djāmi' al-Hikāyāt* (properly *Djāwāmi' al-Hikāyāt wa-Lawāmi' al-Riwayāt*) from the Persian of Djāmāl al-Dīn al-Awfi.

His *Diwān* which is still unprinted, gives Nadjāti a very prominent place in Ottoman literature; the *Diwān* was regarded as a model for all Ottoman poets. Nadjāti, whom Idrīs Bidlīs in his *Hesht Bihisht* calls *Khosrew-i Şu'arā'-i Rūm* and others *Malik al-Shu'arā'* and *Tusi-i Rūm* (= the Firdawsī of Asia Minor), was regarded as the best poet of Rūm. He does not, it is true, reach the heights that Nesimī does but he surpasses all his predecessors, of whom Aḥmad Paşa and Zāti were the greatest, in originality and creative power. Only Bākī and Fuzūlī have surpassed him. The problem to be solved by Aḥmad Paşa, Nadjāti and Zāti was to incorporate completely into Turkish the matter borrowed and translated from Persian literature, which was still felt to be foreign, to adapt Turkish to Perso-Arabic metres and to domesticate fully the Arabic and Persian vocabulary. This was a great achievement for the time. Nadjāti brought about a great change in the literature as regards outlook, feeling and language. In him the age of Sultān Bāyazīd is most clearly reflected. Although he is not to be claimed as a very great poet, he was the king of the gild of poets of his time, who started a great literary movement. Nadjāti combined a thorough knowledge of Persian

with a masterly command of Turkish. In the number of his *ghazels* he far surpasses Bākī. His work as a poet of *kaşidas* was original and stimulating. He was specially celebrated for his skill in the use of the proverb.

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(TH. MENZEL)

NADJD. [See NEDJD.]

NADJDA B. 'AMIR. [See KHARIDJITES.]

AL-NADJDJĀR, AL-ḤUSAIN B. MUḤAMMAD ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH, a Murdji and Djabari theologian of the period of al-Ma'mūn, a pupil of Bishr al-Marisi whose views were combated by Abu 'l-Hudhail al-'Allāf and al-Nazzām. He probably lived in Bamm where he was a weaver. According to him, the divine attributes are identical with the essence and express its negative aspects. Vision of God is only possible through a divine act which transforms the eye into the heart by giving it the power of recognition. The word of God is created, accident when it is read, body when it is written. God who knows from all eternity all worldly things, wills them all, good as well as evil, faith as well as unbelief. God has a hidden essence (theory of *māhiyyā*); there is in him a hidden fund of grace (*lutf*) which would suffice to bring all the infidels back to him. Problems of the body and accidents: atom = accident; the body then consists of a conglomerate of accidents (= *Dirār*) which are in juxtaposition without interpenetrating one another (against the *mudākhalā* of al-Nazzām); momentariness of the accidents. This orientation of the problem is due to the theocentric tendencies of al-Nadjdjār. All that takes place in the world comes from the incessant and unrestrained activity of God beside whom there is neither reality nor agent. God creates the actions of man. He gives his assistance to every good action and shows his desertion of every bad one; this assistance and desertion constitute the faculty of doing which accompanies the action (*al-isti'ā'a ma'a 'l-fī'l* against the Mu'tazila). The activity of man consists in his appropriation of the divine will (*kaşb*). Man carries out one action only by one *isti'ā'a*: the secondary effects (*al-muwalladāt*) do not depend on man but on God (against the Mu'tazila theory of *tawallud*). Faith consists in the knowledge of God, of his apostles and his commandments and in the profession of this knowledge by the mouth. Faith consists of several qualities (*khiṣāl*) each of which

is an act of obedience (*tā'a*); complete faith is the sum of all *tā'āt*. Faith may increase but not diminish; it can be completely lost only through unbelief. He who commits a heinous sin and dies impenitent is doomed to hell from which he will emerge however, unlike the complete infidel. Al-Nādjī denied the punishment of the tomb (*adhāb al-kabr*), probably as a result of his determinism. — Al-Nādjī like his master Bishr represents the reformed and modified Djahmiya. The influence of Mu'tazila theology on this school is manifest; on the other hand, the Mu'tazila itself, especially that of Baghdād, seems to have received certain quite important stimuli from his school in spite of its opposition to it. Several of al-Nādjī's doctrines are found at a later date in al-Ash'ari. — The Nādjīyā flourished in Raiy and Gurgān. It was divided into three schools: 1. the Burghūthiyya, the followers of Muḥammad b. 'Isā Burghūth; 2. the Za'farāniyya, the followers of a certain Abū 'Abd Allāh b. al-Za'farāni; 3. the Mustadrika, a reforming party which taught paradoxical doctrines on the divine word.

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(H. S. NYBERG)

MU'ALLIM NĀDJĪ, properly 'ÖMER, an important Ottoman author, poet, critic and man of letters, who occupies a special and somewhat hybrid position in the history of the Turkish moderns and has given his name to a whole literary period. Born in 1266 (1850) in Constantinople, the third son of a master saddler 'Alī Agha (not Bey, as some literary historians say), he lost his father at the age of seven. The widow Fāṭime al-Zehrā, who was descended from a *muhājir* who had come to Constantinople from Rumelia, went to Varna to her brother, the Ḳalaydī Aḥmad Agha. The latter in spite of his limited means, made it possible for 'Ömer to be educated at the medrese and 'Ömer's elder brother Sālim gave him considerable assistance. 'Ömer devoted himself at first to calligraphy and for his *lewḥas* used the *makhḥaṣḥ* *Khulūṣi*. A certain Khōdjā Ḥāfiz aroused in him a fondness for poetry and he took the *makhḥaṣḥ* Nādjī for his poems (from a passage in the *Mukḥaiyalāt* of 'Aziz 'Alī Girīdī). He also tried to obtain the title of *hāfiz*. His training in the medrese left a permanent influence on him. It was long before he decided to put off the turban and the *djūbbe*. The spirit of the *mollā* and a certain intolerant fanaticism however never left him.

In 1284 (1867) Nādjī received an appointment as second master in the Rūshdiyye school in Varna. At an inspection the then *müteṣarrif* of Varna, Kurd Sa'īd Paṣha (later Foreign Minister, President of the Council of State and several times an ambassador), made the acquaintance of the intelligent young teacher. He took him into his service as secretary, when he was moved to Tulḥa just before the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war in 1877; thence he was moved to Tirnowo and later to 'Osmān Pazarı. Nādjī accompanied the much

travelled Paṣha on his moves and journeys. After a brief stay in Constantinople, he went to Yeñi Shehir Fenār (= Larissa in Thessaly) where Nādjī made the acquaintance of the poet and Mewlewī 'Awnī Bey, who had a very good knowledge of Persian. Nādjī who acted as secretary to the court and judge of investigation had here finally to lay aside the turban. When Sa'īd Paṣha set out on a nine months' tour of inspection in Asia Minor, the Euphrates and Erzerum, Nādjī again accompanied him. He recorded his impressions in the poem *Shān-i Gharībān*. he had abandoned himself with other congenial wits to a life of dissipation at Tawḥ Pazarı, both earlier and after his return to Constantinople. The transfer of the Paṣha as wālī of the Aegean islands to Chios, where Nādjī acted as *mimeliyā* saved him from this. Here he was able fully to develop his literary leanings. Already in 1292 he had published poems and articles in Varna in the *Tuna* newspaper of which some were even reprinted by the Constantinople paper *Baṣiret*, such as his *Bir Mu'allimīn Shāgirdanına Kḥitāb*. From Chios he began his association with Aḥmad Midḥat Efendi who was then editing the *Terdjümān-i Haḳīkat*; from his contributions in poetry and prose, which appeared in the *Terdjümān* over the pseudonym Aḥmad Mas'ūd and Mas'ūd-i Ḳharābātī, a close friendship arose which proved of decisive influence on his future career. When Sa'īd Paṣha went as ambassador to Berlin, Nādjī declined to go with him, which was much to be regretted in the interests of his literary development. He therefore resigned his post in the Foreign Ministry and devoted himself entirely to authorship. Midḥat gave him the editorship of the newly formed literary section of his paper. At the suggestion of Midḥat, whose son-in-law he had become, he learned French although he was now over 30. When he left the *Terdjümān* for literary reasons, he undertook the editorship of the *Sa'ādet* newspaper.

By his great literary and critical activity, he gained an influence which can hardly be estimated high enough on the intellectual life of Turkey in his time, not least through his position as lecturer on Turkish literature at the Mekteb-i Sultānī in Galata Serai and in the law school. He became celebrated under the name *Mu'allim* (teacher) of which he was particularly proud. In 1307 (1889) he was appointed by imperial *irāde* Turkish historiographer, *Ta'riḫ-nüwīs-i 'Alī 'Osmān*, as a reward for his historical poem *Ertoḡhrul Ghāzī*. But he did not live to do anything serious in this field except an introduction which survives in MS. He died on 27th Ramaḍān 1310 (April 14, 1893), at the age of 43 from heart failure and was buried in the garden of the *türbe* of Sultān Mahmūd.

As a literary figure, Nādjī revealed two aspects. On the one hand, he was a fanatical admirer of the old literature out of which he had developed and for which he endeavoured to revive the taste of his milieu by every means, by his modest poetic talent and considerable skill in versification; on the other hand, he seemed in sympathy with the moderns but in view of his convinced belief in the decadence of western culture he had little real understanding of them.

Nādjī's services to Turkish prose are undeniable. Over 50 years ago he was already writing the prose of the future, a model, clear, simple, style in the

language of a master who could not be surpassed. Two years before Sezāyî's celebrated *Kütük Şailler* (1309) with its complicated prose, Nâdjî gave a classic specimen of simple prose, in his *Ömerîîñ Cödjuklughu* (1307) which was only properly appreciated and imitated at a much later date. In it we find the first suggestions of Turkish realism.

The forms not cultivated by the old writers, the story and the drama, he did not, it is true, entirely omit, but apart from autobiographical sketches and a translation from Zola, he wrote no stories and he was a failure as a dramatist. In theory, it seemed sufficient to him and his followers to put French stories of crime into the *orta oyunu* form in order to produce regular Turkish "dramas". Here also he approximated to the moderns but did not reach their level or ability.

As a poet and artist he is weak. He lacks fervour and creative fancy. He lacks that depth of feeling which carries one away; with him everything is trivial and superficial, and he never feels or expresses anything deeply. His prose style is simple and easy, the sentences short, the mode of expression concise and clear.

His main importance lies in his wide influence as a teacher, which he exercised not so much in the actual class-room as through his whole literary activity.

As a critic he confines himself to externals and goes no further.

Nâdjî's prolific versatility is best shown by a list of his works. He wrote on many subjects and frequently lacked the time for adequate preparation.

Of his poetical works, the most celebrated is the collection *Atesh-pâre* (1300, 2nd edition 1303), which contains 52 poems in the new western manner. The best in it are: *Tewhîd*, *Kebûter*, *Kuzu*, *Shâm-i Gharibân*, *Nisibin djiwârinde bir Wâdi*, *Tesarriû*, *Sedjîdâde*, *Awjî*. — Next come two collections of ghazels in the old style: *Şerâre*, 1301 and *Fürûzân*; then three historical poems: *Hamîyet yakhod Musâ b. Ebi 'l-Ghazân*, a description of heroic deeds in Granada in the time of the last king Abû 'Abd Allâh al-Şaghîr; *Zât al-Niṣṣâḩain*, the heroic conduct of Esmâ, daughter of Abû Bakr, at the siege of Mecca with regard to her son 'Abd Allâh b. Zubair; *Ghâzî Ertoghrul Bey*, cf. above; first printed after his death in *Khazine-i Fünûn*, 1310, ii., No. 11, 12. On the *Esh'âr-i Shâhâne-i 'osmâniye* written in conjunction with A. Midhat cf. 'Ali Emîrî, in *T.O.E.*, v., No. 27, 1330, p. 131; other poetical works are: *Terdjî Bend* or *Terkeb Bend*, an imitation of Rûhî-i Baghdâdî and Ziyâ Pasha; *Takṭî yakhod 'Arûz Nümûnesi*, *Mesnevî-i Mu'allim Nâdjî* and a collection of fugitive pieces edited by Shaikh Waṣfî after Nâdjî's death: *Yadigar-i Nâdjî*, 1314.

Of his prose works the best known and most important is *Sünbûle* (1299 and 1307). The first part contains poems like *Kütük bir Mushike*, which is very important for the development of the Turkish poem, and translations from the French. The second part: *Ömerîîñ Cödjuklughu*, gives in unaffected style intimate memories of his childhood up to the age of eight and has several times been translated: into German by A. Merx, *Aus Muallim Nadschi's Sünbûle: Die Geschichte seiner Kindheit*, Berlin 1898; into Russian: Vl. Gordlevskij, *Détstvo Omara. Aftobiografîteskiye oçerki*,

Moscow 1914; and into Czech: Jan Rypka, *Omarovo Dětství až do jeho osmého roku*, in *Bibl. Světová Knihovo*, Prag. — Memories of his student days were published in the *Terdjümân-i Hakikat* and entitled *Medrese Khâṭirleri*, 1302; to the same year belongs *Şemendüfer Seyḩallî (Medjmu'a-i Ebu 'l-Ziyâ*, No. 41); also *Yasmîsh bulundum*, 1301 (letters and verses in simple language); *Khurde Furûsh* (verses and sayings of Arab and Persian men of letters, 2 parts). — A strongly personal note marks his *Demdeme* (the title is chosen in allusion to Ekrem's *Zemzeme*), a criticism of Menmenli-Zâde Tâhir's *Takḩîr-i Elḩân*, but it is primarily directed against Ekrem and his pronouncements on the stupidity of writing ghazels; it was so personal that its continuation was officially forbidden. — Equally vigorous is the criticism of the newspaper *Mizân* and its owner Murâd Bey in Nâdjî's *Mudâfa'a-nâme*. — Translations and commentaries are found in *Şâ'ibde söz*, 1303 (first published in *Imdâd el-Medâd*: verses of the Persian poet Şâ'ib-i Tebrîzî with commentary); *Saniḩât el-'Arab* (over 1,000 Arabic maxims with notes); *Saniḩât el-'Adjem* (Persian maxims). — Religious in content are: *I'djâz-i Kur'an*, 2nd ed., 1308 (translation of the treatise by Fakhr al-Din al-Râzî on the *Fatiḩâ: Esrâr-i 'akliye in the Mefâtiḩ el-Ghaib*, first appeared in the *Terdjümân*); *Ta'lim-i Kur'an*; *Mu'ammâ-i ilâhî* (on the *Hurûf-i muḩaṭṭa'a* at the beginning of certain Sûras); *Khulâṣât al-Iḩtlâs*, 1304, the commentary on Sûra cxii. (*Iḩhlâs*) translated from the *Tefsîr-i kebir*; *Emsâl-i 'Ali*, sayings of the caliph 'Ali (*Kitâb-ḩhâne-i Ebu 'l-Ziyâ*, No. 1); *Hikem al-Rifâ'î* (sayings of Saiyid Aḩmad al-Rifâ'î); *Newâdir el-Ekâbir* (wise sayings of Muslim celebrities); *'Ubaidiye*, 1305 (Persian originals and translations); *Müterdjim*, 1304: translations from Arabic, Persian and French; *Muḩammed Muzaṣfer Medjmu'ası*, 1306: literary essays based on a collected volume in MS. by an otherwise unknown M. Muzaṣfar 1279; *Nümûne-i suḩhan* (an able selection from celebrated authors). — His correspondence: *Mektûblarım*, 1303 and 1311 (correspondence with his friends and pupils); *Muḩḩaberât we-Muḩâwerât*, 1311 (correspondence with A. Midhat); *Şköile böile* (correspondence with Shaikh Waṣfî); *Intikâd*, 1304 (correspondence with Beshîr Fu'ad on V. Hugo). — Works on literary criticism: *Mu'allim*: a collection of expositions of his critical theory which had appeared in the *Terdjümân* and were regarded in their days as of fundamental importance; *Medjmu'a-i Mu'allim*, 1305—1306: a collection of the literary lectures which he had given in the Sulṭânî and the Law School (58 in number, No. 1—3 even reached a third edition); *Iṣṭilâḩât-i edebiye*, 1307 and 1314, his celebrated masterpiece on literary history, really only concerned with style; also *Mekteb-i Edeb*, 1320. — His important lexicographical works include: *ḩamûs-i 'osmâni*, 1308, only 5 parts; first appeared in the *Mürüvvet*; *Lughât-i Nâdjî* = *Lughât-i 'osmâniye*, 1317. Nâdjî only wrote the text as far as art. *Fetwâ*, p. 832; the remainder p. 833—1426 was prepared by his friend Müstedjâb-zâde İsmet Bey. — The biographical works: *'Osmânî Şâ'irleri*, 1307, 2 parts (biographies of 13 Ottoman poets); *Esâmî*, 1308, about 850 somewhat arbitrarily chosen biographies in the style of the old *Tezkere's*. — His only drama *Hedr (ḩâzîm Bey yakhod Hedr)*, 1326; *Teren Rakin*, the translation of Zola's *Thérèse Raquin*; a promised

translation of Fénelon: *Terbiyet-i Benāt* never appeared.

The four parts of his much used *Ta'lim-i Kīrā'et*, from 1300 on, were largely responsible for the development and spread of Nādjī's style in the widest circles. The first part reached the 31st edition by 1320.

Announced but never published were the following: *Ahenk-i millî*, *Musāmeḥāt-i Rāghīb* (on *Kodja Rāghīb*), *Ferā'id-i ta'rīkhīye*, *Terdjemeden Terdjeme*.

Nādjī was a contributor to a number of papers and magazines: the *Terdjümān-i Haḳīkat*; the *Sē'adet*, *Waḳīt*, the periodicals *Āfāk*, *Genḍi Kalem-ler*, *Medād el-Imdād*, *Çodjuḳ Baghçesi* etc.

With Nādjī neo-classicism came to an end although his followers, especially 'Alī Kemāl, made several attempts to revive it again in the *İkdam* against H. Djahid and in the *Şabāḥ* against Djenāb Shihāb al-Dīn. The movement did not get beyond these efforts, for his followers were as little able as Nādjī himself to produce works of permanent value. The present generation has advanced quite out of Nādjī's world.

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(TH. MENZEL)

NADJIS (A.), impure, opp. *ẓāhir*, cf. *TAHĀRA*. According to the Shāfi' doctrine, as systematised by al-Nawawī (*Minḥādj*, i. 36 sqq.; cf. Ghazālī, *al-Wadī'iz*, i. 6 sq.), the following are the things impure in themselves (*naḍjāsāt*): wine and other spirituous drinks, dogs, swine, *maita*, blood and excrements; milk of animals whose flesh is not eaten.

Regarding these groups the following may be remarked. On wine and other spirituous drinks cf. the artt. *KHAMR* and *NABİDH*. — Dogs are not declared impure in the *Qur'ān*; on the contrary, in the description of the sleepers in *Sūra xviii*, the dog is included (verses 17, 21). In *Ḥadīth*, however, the general attitude against dogs is very strong, as may be seen in the art. *KALB*. Goldziher considers this change due to an attitude of conscious contrast (*mukhālafā*) to the estimate of dogs in Parsism. It must not, however, be forgotten that the Jews also declared dogs impure animals, just as swine. The latter are already declared forbidden food in the *Qur'ān* (*Sūra xvi*,

116; vi. 146; v. 4; ii. 168). — As to *maita*, cf. the article. — Blood is mentioned in the *Qur'ān* (*Sūra xvi*, 116; vi. 146; v. 4; ii. 168) as prohibited food. As to the religious background of this prohibition cf. the art. *MAITA*. — As for excrements and several kinds of secretions of the body, the theory and practice of Jews and Christians sufficiently explain the attitude of Islām in this respect. It must also be admitted, though data are very scarce, that in early Arabia religious impurity included some of these things. — Details are to be found in the large legal works of each of the *madhāhabs* (cf. *Bibl.*).

Of the differences of the schools regarding this subject the most important only may be mentioned. Spirituous drinks are not impure according to the Hanafis [cf. *NABİDH*]. Living swine are not impure according to the Mālikis. — The Shī'a adds to the things mentioned above the human corpse and the infidels. The human corpse was one of the chief sources of impurity according to Jewish ideas (cf. already *Numbers*, ch. xix.). A current in early Islām tending to follow the Jewish customs in ceremonial law was very strong; the Shī'i view regarding the human corpse may be a residuum of it. — The impurity of infidels is based upon *Sūra ix*, 28, where the polytheists are declared to be filth (*naḍjas*). The Sunnī schools do not follow the Shī'a in the exegesis of this verse.

The *naḍjāsāt* enumerated above cannot be purified, in contradistinction to things which are defiled only (*mutanadjjis*), with the exception of wine, which becomes pure when made into vinegar, and of hides, which are purified by tanning. On purification cf. the artt. *TAHĀRA*, *GHUSL*, *wuḍū'*.

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NADJM AL-DĪN KUBRĀ, the founder of the order of the Kubrawiyya or Dhahabiyya, is one of the most striking personalities among the Persian Šūfis of the xiith-xiiith century A. D. A large number of popular legends are associated with his name, many of which are not yet forgotten at the present day in Central Asia. His importance for the development of Šūfism is very considerable and in the long series of his pupils we find many distinguished representatives of Šūfi

teaching. Nadjm al-Dīn, whose full name was Ahmad b. 'Umar Abu 'l-Djannāb Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kubrā al-Khiwākī al-Khwārizmī with the honorific title *al-Ṭammat al-kubrā* (the "greatest visitation": Sūra lxxix. 34) and *Shaiḫ-i Walī tarāsh* (the Shaikh who prepares saints) was born in the town of *Khiwāk* in *Khwārizm* in 540 (1145), spent his youth in travel during which he met in Egypt the famous *Shaiḫ* Rūzbihān al-Wazzān al-Miṣrī. He became his *murīd* and under the supervision of the *Shaiḫ* went through a course of most rigid ascetic discipline. The youth won the favour of his teacher who gave him his daughter to wife and adopted him as a son. Nadjm al-Dīn spent some years in Egypt where two sons were born to him. One day he heard the lectures on the sunna given by Imām Abū Naṣr Ḥafḍa in Tabriz highly praised. He at once went off to Tabriz and studied there under the direction of this theologian who lived in the *Khānqāh* Zāhida in the Sarmaidān quarter. There Nadjm wrote his first theological treatise, a kind of inaugural dissertation entitled *Sharḥ al-Sunna wa 'l-Maṣāliḥ*. During a disputation which arose out of this work he made the acquaintance of the *Shaiḫ* Bābā Farādj Tabrizī under whose influence he decided to give up the study of theology and devote himself entirely to the contemplative life of the mystic. Bābā Farādj regarded all learning as something superfluous; in his view true knowledge could only be obtained through divine illumination. Nadjm al-Dīn soon recognised that he could hardly come any nearer his goal by this route. He turned to *Shaiḫ* 'Ammār-i Yasir who advised him to train as a complete Ṣūfī in the school of Ismā'il Kaṣrī. Nadjm al-Dīn received his second *khirka* at the hands of the latter, a so-called *khirka-i tabarruk* ("khirka of blessing"). After his return to his first teacher *Shaiḫ* Rūzbihān the latter found that he had thoroughly grasped all the depths of Ṣūfī learning and recommended him to transfer his activities to his native land of *Khwārizm*. Nadjm al-Dīn settled there with his family, built a *khānqāh* and founded the order of the Kubrawīya or *Dhahabiya*. His teaching met with great success and he soon found himself surrounded by pupils among whom were the most distinguished Ṣūfis of the xiith—xiiith century such as Maḍjd al-Dīn Baghdādī (the *Shaiḫ* of the famous poet Farid al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār), Sa'd al-Dīn Ḥamawī, Bābā Kamāl Djandi, *Shaiḫ* Raḍī al-Dīn 'Alī Lālā, Saif al-Dīn Bakharzī, Nadjm al-Dīn Rāzī and many others. Bahā' al-Dīn Walad, the father of the great *Djalāl* al-Dīn Rūmī, is also said to have been his pupil, but this is hardly possible. Nadjm al-Dīn met his death on 10th *Djumādā* I 618 (July 13, 1226) at the taking of *Khwārizm* by the Mongols. All his biographers are agreed that the *Shaiḫ* had gone out to meet the enemy in the open field and met a martyr's death with weapon in hand. The Institute for Oriental Research in Leningrad possesses a manuscript in Eastern Turki entitled *Shaiḫ Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā-nij Shahid kilip Shahr-i Khwārizm-ni Kharab kilghanlān Bayānī* (How *Shaiḫ* Nadjm al-Dīn was martyred and the town of *Khwārizm* destroyed). It is a kind of historical novel dealing with the last days of *Khwārizm* and its fall. Nadjm al-Dīn appears in it as the protector of the city against the Mongols. By his power he makes *Khwārizm* invisible to the enemy and it only falls into the hands of the conquerors after the *Shaiḫ* decides to sur-

render it. It is possible that this book is a version of a Persian biography of Nadjm al-Dīn called *Tuḥfat al-Fuḳarā* and mentioned by Ḥādjdjī *Khalifa* (i. 234).

Nadjm al-Dīn was a prolific writer and left a number of valuable treatises on different questions of Ṣūfism. The greater part of his works are written in Arabic. Ḥādjdjī *Khalifa* gives the following list of his works: 1. *al-Uṣūl al-'ashara* (i. 339) — a brief exposition of the ten fundamental principles of Ṣūfism (printed in Constantinople in 1256 with a Turkish commentary); 2. *Risāla fi 'l-Sulūk* (iii. 410—411) — or more correctly *fi 'Ilm al-Sulūk*, described in Ahlwardt N^o. 3456; 3. *Risālat al-Turuk* (iii. 418) — in Ahlwardt, N^o. 3272—3273 *fi 'l-Turuk* (possibly identical with N^o. 1); 4. *Tawālī al-Tanwir* (iv. 171) — unknown to me; 5. *Fawātiḥ al-Djāmāl* in Persian — a treatise with this title is given in Flügel, *Wiener Katalog*, iii. 332, except that the latter is described as in Arabic; 6. *Lu'mat al-Lā'im* — or with the full title *al-Khaṣif al-hā'im min Lu'mat al-Lā'im* in Ahlwardt N^o. 3087; 7. *Hidāyat al-Ṭālibīn* — unknown; 8. *Tafsir* — probably the great commentary on the *Kur'ān* entitled *'Ain al-Hayāt*, whose first volume I discovered in the Public Library in Leningrad (see *Islamica*, vol. 1, fasc. 2—3, p. 272). Nadjm al-Dīn is also known as a composer of Persian quatrains but it is still very difficult to decide whether the quatrains attributed to him are really his. Twenty-five of these poems were published in the *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie* (1924, p. 36).

The Ṣūfī writings of Nadjm al-Dīn form a transition from the older Ṣūfism of the first theorists (the *Nishāpūr* school of the xth—xith centuries) to the later Ṣūfism of Ibn al-'Arabī and his successors (Ṣadr al-Dīn Kūnawī, Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī). Like the earlier theorists Nadjm al-Dīn likes to deal especially with the practice of Ṣūfism, the stations on the way to true knowledge. Metaphysical questions however are also considered by him and his works with the writings of Ibn al-'Arabī form the basis for the further development of philosophical theory in the xiiith century. This is not the place to go fully into his conception of Ṣūfism; but it is not to be doubted that his teaching can hardly be neglected in a careful investigation of the history of the development of Ṣūfism.

Bibliography: Safinat al-Awliyā (MS. Inst. Orient., N^o. 581, fol. 106a); *Khazinat al-Aṣfiyā*, Bombay, ii. 258; *Nafahāt al-Uns*, ed. Lees, p. 480; *Tariḫ-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, p. 789; *Haft Iklim* (MS. Inst. Orient., N^o. 603^b, fol. 462a); *Maḍjālis al-'Ushshāk*, Bombay, p. 84 sq.; *Riyāḍ al-'Arifin*, p. 143; *Atashkade*, p. 303; *Tarā'ik al-Hakā'ik*, p. 48, 149; *Maḍjālis al-Mu'minin*, fol. 136b; Raverty, *Ṭabaqāt-i Naṣiri*, p. 1100; Massignon, *al-Hallādj*, Bibliography, N^o. 391; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 440; *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā*, ed. Browne, p. 135—136; Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, ii. 438, 489, 491—495, 508, 510. (E. BERTHELS)

NADJRĀN, a district (Wādī) and town in northern Yaman, according to others (Ibn *Khurdādhbih*, *B. G. A.*, vi. 133, 248) in southern Nadjd or in the *Hidjāz* (Bakrī, *Mu'ājam*, p. 575). The position and course of the Wādī has not been exactly ascertained. It rises on the eastern slopes of the Yaman highlands, probably between 43°

and 44° East Long., and runs, perhaps turning north at first, mainly in a southeasterly direction behind 18° and 17° N. Lat. finally disappearing in the great sand desert. The distance from Ṣanʿā [q.v.] is put at 6–7 days' journey (E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, ii. 50); according to Philby's investigations (*The Heart of Arabia*, ii. 166 sq.), it is seven days' reasonable caravan journey south of Sulaiyil. The older idea that the course of the Wādī Nadjṛān ran N.E. (or that there was a more northerly twin Wādī Habūna) arose out of the erroneous idea first finally corrected by Philby (*op. cit.*, p. 165, 222) that the Wādī Dawāsir, with which the Wādī Nadjṛān was wrongly thought to be connected, runs from S.W. to N.E.

The Wādī Nadjṛān drains a wide area of northern Yaman and ʿAsir (Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Dīqāʾirāt al-ʿArab*, p. 83, 110, 114, 247). It is, and was in antiquity, celebrated for its fertility. Of European travellers only Joseph Halévy visited it, in the spring of 1870. He describes (*Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr.*, series vi., vol. xiii., p. 478) the valley, some 2 miles broad, as exceedingly fertile and well cultivated with villages concealed in thick palm-groves. Strabo (xvi. 781) calls it a peaceful and rich country. To Muslim writers it is a miracle of fertility and wealth, even more so than the Yaman in general; its cereals, vegetables and fruits were unrivalled (Hamdānī, p. 199 sq.); there were also mines there (Balādhuri, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 14) and the staple products of the Yaman, leather and cloth, were also made there. To this day in less favoured parts of Arabia they talk of the prosperity of this Wādī (Philby, *op. cit.*, ii. 226).

The population of the Wādī Nadjṛān, according to Philby, is comparatively large; the majority belong to the tribe of Yām. But several unrelated tribes, often at enmity with one another, share in the possession of this rich country. It was so in the early Muslim period. The Banu ʿI-Hārith b. Kaʿb, who appear in *Ḥadīth* as lords of Nadjṛān, were not really such. They belong to the large group of tribes Maḥḥidj, which was represented by other tribes also. Their rivals were and are Hamdān tribes (Hamdānī, p. 115, 9) among them Ḥashid, important at the present day, (subdivisions Yām etc.) and Bakil (subdivisions Shākīr etc.); other tribes like al-Azd, al-Afʿā etc. should also be mentioned. We have no reliable information about places with a settled population. In the eastern part of the Wādī, Halévy visited a village of Maḥḥlaf which was afterwards put on the maps at hazard. In the immediate vicinity was another village Ridjla, and an hour to the west Madīnat al-Khudūd (see below). The Arab geographers mention villages (*ḡurā*) of Nadjṛān and the names of some of them are given as well as those of districts, tributary wādīs, hills and springs.

Through Nadjṛān runs the very old caravan road from Ḥadramawt through the Ḥidjāz to the eastern Mediterranean [cf. MARʿIB]. Nadjṛān was of some importance as the last station in the Yaman on a caravan route from the Yaman to al-Yamāma and thence to Bahrain and the ʿIrāk. During Persian rule in the Yaman and later in the ʿAbbasid period this road must have been of no less importance than the one just mentioned to Syria, which latter however owing to its importance in

the early period of Islām is almost alone mentioned in Muslim literature (A. Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites*, p. lxi.; cf. also M. Hartmann, *Die sudarab. Frage*, p. 496, 509). On the stations on the road see Ibn Khurādādhbih (*B. G. A.*, vi. p. 152 sq. and 193; A. Sprenger, *Post- und Reise-routen*, p. 134–139). A series of forts served to keep it safe (Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Hamadḥānī, *B. G. A.*, p. 28; Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv., p. 541 s.v. al-Mushakkār and thereon Lyall, *Mufaddalīyāt*, ii., p. 105). On the present importance of the road and of Nadjṛān, see Philby, *op. cit.*, ii. 226. The road in those days probably went several days' journey across the desert to the Wādī Dawāsir, which was the first station on the other side; at the present day Sulaiyil [q.v.] corresponds to it. This road via Nadjṛān was certainly that which connected the Yaman at different times with the ancient Babylonia in the east, with Syriac Christian as well as with Iranian culture.

Little is known of the town of Nadjṛān. Ptolemy mentions it as a metropolis. Aelius Gallus attacked it and destroyed it (Strabo, *loc. cit.*; Pliny, vi. 28 [32]). From this Glaser (*loc. cit.*, ii. 50; cf. p. 224) concludes that there was no town of Nadjṛān after this but the existence of the town is proved in many ways for various later periods (see below). Now however, no town seems to bear the name. Halévy thought he had found the ruins of the old town in Madīnat al-Khudūd (see below), which he describes as considerable ruins on the south bank of the river bed. Of the city wall roughly built of granite the south and west sides were less destroyed than the others. A mosque, which still stood among the ruins, belonged, according to local tradition, to the early Muslim or even pre-Islamic period (*J. A.*, ser. vi., vol. xix., p. 90 and 40). In remarkable agreement with this, Bakri, *Muʿdjam*, p. 80 says: "Al-Ukhdūd, which is mentioned in the *Kurʾān*, was in one of the towns of Nadjṛān. This city however is now in ruins and nothing is left of it but the mosque which ʿOmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb built".

On the history of Nadjṛān we have only scanty and mainly legendary notes. The name occurs several times in the South Arabian inscriptions: there is one (*C. I. S.*, iv., No. 363) reference to the "towns" of Nadjṛān (*ahḡār N.*; cf. above *ḡurā N.*). This means the Wādī. In the oldest inscription of north Arabia, the Namāra inscription of the year 328, the name is also found.

In the tradition of the introduction of Christianity into the Yaman, Nadjṛān plays a part in keeping with its importance for the communications between Yaman and Mesopotamia (see above). According to one reference (*Histoire Nestorienne*, ed. Addai Scher, i. 218 sq. = *Patrol. Orient.*, iv. 330), it was a merchant of Nadjṛān who first spread Christianity there after he had been converted in al-Ḥīra. Christianity is said to have received a further impetus in the time of Justinian from monophysite Christians who, expelled from Byzantine territory, came to al-Nadjṛān also via Ḥīra (*op. cit.*, II/i. 51 sq.).

The Christian tradition of later persecutions of the Christians in South Arabia connected with Abyssinian invasions of the Yaman is widely disseminated; Nadjṛān was the principal scene of these, first perhaps under *Sharḥbil* Yakkuf in the last third of the fifth century, notably under *Dhū Nuwās*, who died in 525. On this tradition

which exists in many forms, Greek, Syriac and Ethiopic, see A. Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites*, p. xxiv.—lxiii., where the sources and other literature to be consulted are given.

Arabic literature has also something to say about these happenings, especially in the annotations of the Qur'anic exegetes on Sūra lxxxv. 4 sqq. on the *Aṣḥāb al-Uḫdūd*. But what there is of historical value in this Muslim tradition comes from Christian sources; only it is usually so distorted as to be almost unrecognisable. What it records regarding the introduction of Christianity into Nadjran by a certain Faimiyūn or 'Abd Allāh b. al-Thāmir is on the other hand a distortion of certain episodes in a Syriac Christian cycle of legends about the Persian martyrs Pethion and Yazdin and has really nothing to do with Nadjran or Arabia (A. Moberg, *Über einige christliche Legenden in der islamischen Tradition*, p. 5, 11 sq., 22, 30 and the references given). The name Madīnat al-Khudūd from the ancient Nadjran is of course the result of the localisation of al-Uḫdūd in Nadjran. Hamdānī (*op. cit.*, p. 67, 169) mentions in the same region a Balad or town of al-Uḫdūd; C. van Arendonk mentions a hill Uḫdūd (*De opkomst van het zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, p. 168).

It is not till the time of Muḥammad and the early Caliphs that we have really historical references to the Yaman and even these have to be critically used. We are told that Khālīd was sent with 400 horsemen to the Banu 'l-Hārith b. Ka'b (and the Banū 'Abd al-Madān: Ibn Sa'd, ii/i. 112, 5) in Nadjran and made them adopt Islām and send an embassy in homage to the Prophet (Ibn Hishām, p. 958; Ibn Sa'd, i/ii. 72). 'Amr b. Ḥazm was appointed 'amil in Nadjran and 'Alī was ordered to collect the zakāt there (Wākidi-Wellhausen, p. 417 sqq.; Ibn Sa'd, ii/i. 122). In addition to pagans and Jews there were many Christians there who formed, it seems, an autonomous community. Muḥammad received an embassy from them also and concluded a treaty with them which guaranteed the possession of their property and the free exercise of their religion in return for a fixed contribution on their part (Ibn Hishām, p. 401 sqq.; Ibn Sa'd, i/ii. 84 sq., 35 sq.). This treaty was confirmed by Abū Bakr and 'Omar. 'Omar however at a later date drove the Christians and Jews out of the Arabian peninsula whereupon the Christians founded a new Nadjran in the 'Irāq, two days' journey south of Kūfa. The details are variously recorded and it is not quite clear to what extent 'Omar's orders were actually enforced. Bakrī (*op. cit.*) says that the Jews and Christians in Nadjran were not at all affected by the measure. In any case, at a much later date (see just below), there were not a few Christians in Nadjran and there are of course still many Jews in the Yaman. In the year 40 A. H. Nadjran was burned by Djarira, 'Alī's general (Ṭabarī, i. 3452). The scantiness of the historical tradition, fantastic accounts of the wealth of the region and the remarkable liberty enjoyed by Christians in Nadjran gave rise to legends and inspired poets. The "material" which thus arose is very fully detailed and utilised in H. Lammens, *Le Califat de Yazīd Ier* (M. F. O. B., v/ii., p. 327—369).

In the end we find Nadjran an important fortified town, often simply called al-Ḥadjar (cf. Hamdānī, p. 86), mentioned in the accounts of the fighting which led to the creation of the Zaidī imāmate

in the Yaman in the third century A. H. At this period there were still Christians and Jews there, who were obviously still an important element and enjoyed considerable consideration from their Muslim neighbours (van Arendonk, *op. cit.*, p. 128 sq.). On bishops of the Nadjranians or in the Yaman in the ixth and xth century from Syrian sources see Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites*, p. liv.

The tribes of Nadjran submitted to Turkish rule as little as those of eastern and northern Yaman generally. Nadjran now belongs to the kingdom of Ibn Sa'ūd.

On other places Nadjran see Yāqūt, iv. 751, 757 sqq.; Hamdānī, p. 85.

Bibliography: given in the article and in some of the works quoted there; on the history cf. especially Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, p. 64—68; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii/i., p. 312 sq., 317 sqq., 321 sq., 349—353; iv. 350—359. (A. MOBERG)

NAFAKA. [See NIKĀḤ TALĀK.]

AL-NAFI^c. [See ALLĀH, ii.]

NĀFI^c B. AL-AZRAK AL-ḤANAFĪ AL-ḤANZALĪ, Abū Rāshid, according to some sources, the son of a freed blacksmith of Greek origin (Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 56), chief of the extreme Khāridjites [q. v.], who after him are called Azrakites [q. v.]. At first, after his secession to Ahwāz, Nāfi^c joined 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair [q. v.] in Makka. Soon, however, he and his followers turned their backs on the holy city and arrived before Baṣra, where they spread terror among the inhabitants, who left the town in multitudes. Al-Muhallab, however, succeeded in driving them back to Persia. They made a halt in Ahwāz, where they practised *istī'rād*, in accord with their doctrine. The bloody battle of Dūlāb, fought against Muslim b. 'Ubais, put an end to his life (64 or 65 = 683—684).

His special doctrine comprised the following points: 1. secession (*bar'a*) from the quietists (*al-ka'ada*); 2. examination (*miḥna*) of those who wanted to join his encampment; 3. declaring infidels those who did not perform *hijra* to him; 4. declaring it allowed to kill the wives and children of opponents. This is al-Ash'ari's enumeration, which differs slightly from that of al-Shahrastānī (p. 90).

Bibliography: al-Ash'ari, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyin*, ed. Ritter, Istanbul 1929, p. 86 sqq.; 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Farq bain al-Firaq*, Cairo 1328, p. 62—67; Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Fiṣal wa 'l-Milal wa 'l-Nihāl*, Cairo 1321, iv. 189; al-Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, p. 89—91; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, indices, s. v.; Ahlwardt, *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, p. 78 sqq., 90 sqq.; Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 56; Abū Ḥanifa al-Dinawarī, ed. Guirgass and Kratchkovsky, p. 279, 282, 284; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, Paris ed., v. 229; Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 574, 623; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, index, s. v. (p. 943); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, index, s. v.; al-Yā'qūbi, ed. Houtsma, ii. 317, 324; M. Th. Houtsma, *De strijd over het dogma in den Islām*, Leyden 1875, p. 28 sq.; Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N. S., v. 2, 1901, p. 28 sq., 32; R. E. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden*, Leyden 1884; Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, p. 762; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, index, s. v. (A. J. WENSINCK)

NĀFILA (A.), plur. *nawāfil*, part. art. fem. I from *n-f-l*, supererogatory work.

1. The word occurs in the *Qurʾān* in two places. *Sūra* xxi. 72 runs: "And we bestowed on him [viz. Ibrāhīm] Isaac and Jacob as additional gift" (*nāfilatan*). In *Sūra* xvii. 81 it is used in combination with the vigils, thus: "And perform vigils during a part of the night, reciting the *Qurʾān*, as a *nāfila* for thee".

In *ḥadīth* it is frequently used in this sense.

"Forgiveness of sins past and future was granted him [Muḥammad] and his works were to him as supererogatory works" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 250). — In another tradition it is said with reference to the month of Ramaḍān, that Allāh "writes down its wages and its *nawāfil* even before its beginning" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 524). Of peculiar importance, also in a different respect, is the following *ḥadīth kudsī*: "When My servant seeks to approach to Me through supererogatory works, I finally love him. And when I love him I become the hearing through which he heareth, the sight through which he seeth, the hand with which he graspeth, the foot with which he walketh" etc. (al-Bukhārī, *Riḳāḥ*, bāb 38).

Finally the following tradition may be translated: "Whoso performs the *wuḍʿū* [q. v.] in this way [viz. in the way described in the foregoing part of the tradition], receives forgiveness of past sins and his *ṣalāt* and his walking to the mosque are for him as a *nāfila*" (Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 8; Mālik, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 30). In the parallel tradition (Muslim, *loc. cit.*, trad. 7), the term used is *kaffāra* "expiation". — This parallelism is an indication of the effect ascribed to supererogatory works in Muslim theology, viz. the expiation of light sins (cf. al-Nawawī on Muslim, Cairo 1283, i. 308).

Nawāfil
(*Fatāwī ʿĀlamiyya*,
i. 156, Ḥanafī)

Sunan
(Fagnan, *Additions*,
p. 23, Mālikī)

{ *sunna*
mandūba
taṭawwūʿ

{ *muʿakkada*
raghība
nāfila

Further it must be observed that in theological terminology *nāfila* is often applied to those works which are supererogatory in the plain sense, in contradistinction to other works which have become a regular practice. The latter are called *sunna muʿakkada*, the former *nāfila* or *sunna rāʿida* (cf. *infra*, sub 2).

The place of supererogatory works in theology is further accurately defined in the *Waṣīyat Abi Ḥanīfa*, art. 7: "We confess that works are of three kinds, obligatory, supererogatory and sinful. The first category is in accordance with Allāh's will, desire, good pleasure, decision, decree, creation, judgment, knowledge, guidance and writing on the preserved table. The second category is not in accordance with Allāh's commandment yet according to His will, desire" etc.

The term for supererogatory works used here is not *nāfila*, but *faḍila*.

2. *Nāfila* is used in *ḥadīth* especially as a designation of the supererogatory *ṣalāt* (Bukhārī, *ʿIdain*, bāb 11; *Tahadīdjūd*, bāb 5, 27). Sometimes it appears in the combinations *ṣalāt al-nāfila* (Ibn Māḍja, *Iḳāma*, bāb 203) and *ṣalāt al-nawāfil* (Bukhārī, *Tahadīdjūd*, bāb 36).

In *fiḥḥ* this terminology is often, but not always followed, the other term for the supererogatory *ṣalāts* being *ṣalāt al-taṭawwūʿ* (e.g. Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, ed. A. W. T. Juynboll, p. 26), a term that goes back to the *Qurʾān* (*Sūra* ii. 153, 180; ix. 80), and which occurs also in canonical *ḥadīth* (Abū Dāwūd has a *Kitāb al-Taṭawwūʿ* in his *Sunan*). The whole class of supererogatory *ṣalāts* is called *nawāfil* as well as *sunan*. *Nawāfil*, as a general designation of supererogatory *ṣalāts*, covers three subdivisions. The following juxta-positions may give a survey of the terminology:

Nawāfil
(Khalil, transl., Guidi,
p. 95, Mālikī)

Nawāfil
(Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʿ*,
i. 174, Shāfiʿī)

{ *sunna*
muʿakkada
mandūba

{ *sunna*
mustahabba
taṭawwūʿ

It may be added that the term *rawātib* is used especially for the supererogatory *ṣalāts* preceding or following the *maktūba*; they belong to the first subdivision.

In Shīʿī *fiḥḥ* *nawāfil* is the widest term; by *muraḡhghabāt* the daily and non-daily supererogatory prayers are designated.

Bibliography: *Waṣīyat Abi Ḥanīfa*, Haidarābād 1321, p. 8—10; Sell, *The Faith of Islam*, London 1888, p. 199; Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1931, p. 126, 142 sqq.; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis v. d. Moh. wet.*, Leyden 1925, p. 382 sq.; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʿ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, Cairo 1302, i. 174 sqq.; al-Nawawī, *Minḥādī al-Ṭālibin*, Batavia 1882, i. 121 sqq.; Khalil b. Ishāq, *Il Muḥṭaşar...*, transl. I. Guidi, i., Milan 1919, p. 20, note 55; p. 95; Fagnan, *Additions aux dictionnaires arabes*, Algiers-Paris 1923, s. v.; Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Muḥakkik, *Kitāb Sharāʿ al-Islām*, Calcutta 1255, i. 25, 51; transl. Querry, i. 49 sq., 52 sq., 100 sqq. Further the artt. KHAṬĪʿA; ṢALĀT, III. (A. J. WENSINCK)

AL-SAIYIDA NAFĪSA, a mausoleum outside Cairo, south of the Mosque of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn

in the direction of the sepulchral mosque of al-Shāfiʿī. Among the female saints [cf. WALI] in Cairo next to Saiyida Zainab bint Muḥammad [q. v.] and "Sitt Sekina" (Sukaina) "Sitt Nefisa" takes a very prominent place. In the official recitations of the *Qurʾān*, al-Saiyida Nafisa, where the reading is held on Sundays, takes third place among them all, immediately after Imām al-Shāfiʿī and Imām al-Ḥusainī (see Bergsträsser, in *Isl.*, xxi. [1933], 110 sq.). The sanctuary is visited by both men and women, especially in the evening. The door leading to the sarcophagus itself is only opened once a year. The foundation contains a number of other buildings besides a mosque, including a library and Ṣūfī cells. The land around it is a much sought after place of interment.

Nafisa was a daughter of al-Ḥasan b. Zaid b. al-Ḥasan [q. v.]. She came to Egypt with her husband Ishāq al-Muʿtamin, a son of Djaʿfar al-Šādiq [q. v.]. She had a reputation for learning and piety. Shāfiʿī frequently visited her to collect traditions; on his death, his body was brought to her house so that she might say the prayer for the dead over him. She had children but her descendants soon died out. She herself died in

Ramaḍān 208 (beg. of 824). Legend credits her with great *karāma* [q. v.]; for example as is told of several Egyptian, and not only Muslim saints, it is said that her prayers produced a great rising of the Nile in a single night. In contradiction of a story that her husband wanted to take her body to the family burialplace in the al-Bakī^c [q. v.] cemetery in Medina but was prevented by her devotees, is the general opinion that this is her tomb which she built with her own hands and in which she read the Qurʾān long before her death. — Several rulers took part in the development of the sanctuary, ʿAbbāsids and later Fāṭimids and Ottoman governors. The cupola over the grave was restored by the caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ in 532 (1138) and the mosque in 693—694 (1294—1295) by the Mamlūk al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Kalāʾūn.

Bibliography: Ibn Kḥallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, Bulāḳ 1299, ii. 238 sq.; Abu ʿl-Maḥāsīn al-Taghribirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, Cairo 1349, ii. 185 sq.; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥādara*, Cairo 1299, i. 292 sq.; Ibn Iyās, *Badʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, Bulāḳ 1311—1312, i. 34. — On the history of the building cf. the references in Maḳrīzī, *Sakhāwī*, *Djābartī* etc. and their continuation in ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaʾ al-djādida al-tawfiḳiyya*, Bulāḳ 1305—1306, v. 133—137.

(R. STROTHMANN)

NAFS¹⁾ (A.), soul. *Nafs*, in the early Arabic poetry, meant the self or person, while *rūḥ* meant breath and wind. Beginning with the Qurʾān *nafs* also means soul, and *rūḥ* means a special angel messenger and a special divine quality. Only in post-Qurʾānic literature are *nafs* and *rūḥ* equated and both applied to the human spirit, angels and *djinn*.

I. The Qurʾānic uses. *A. Nafs* and its plurals *anfus* and *nufus* have five uses: 1. In most cases they mean the human self or person, e. g., iii. 54: "Let us call... ourselves and yourselves"; also xii. 54; li. 20, 21. 2. In six verses *nafs* refers to Allāh: v. 116b: "Thou [Allāh] dost know what is in myself [says ʿIsā], but I do not know what is in Thyself (*nafsika*)"; also iii. 27, 28; vi. 12, 54 and xx. 43. 3. One reference, xxv. 4 (cf. xiii. 17), is to gods: "They [*āliha*] do not possess for themselves (*anfusihim*) any harm or benefit at all!" 4. In vi. 130 the plural is used twice to refer to the company of men and *djinn*: "We have witnessed against ourselves (*anfusinā*)". 5. It means the human soul: vi. 93: "While the angels stretch forth their hands [saying:] Send forth your souls (*anfus*)"; also l. 15; lxiv. 16; lxxix. 40, etc. This soul has three characteristics: *a.* It is *ammāra*, commanding to evil (xii. 53). Like the Hebrew *nefesh* the basal idea is "the physical appetite", in Pauline usage *ψυχή*, and in the English New Testament "flesh". It whispers (l. 15), and is associated with *al-hawā*, which, in the sense of "desire", is always evil. It must be restrained (lxxix. 40) and made patient (xviii. 27) and its greed must be feared (lix. 9b). *b.* The *nafs* is *lawwāma*, i. e., it upbraids (lxxv. 2); the souls (*anfus*) of deserters are straitened (ix. 119). *c.* The soul is addressed as *muṭmaʾinna*, tranquil (lxxxix. 27). These three terms form the basis of much of the later Muslim ethics and psychology. It is note-

worthy that *nafs* is not used in connection with the angels.

B. Rūḥ has five uses: 1. Allāh blew (*nafakha*) of His *rūḥ*, *a.* into Adam, giving life to Adam's body (xv. 29; xxxviii. 72; xxxii. 8), and *b.* into Maryam for the conception of ʿIsā (xxi. 91 and lxvi. 12). Here *rūḥ* equates with *rīḥ* and means the "breath of life" (cf. *Gen.* ii. 7), the creation of which belongs to Allāh. 2. Four verses connect *rūḥ* with the *amr* of Allāh, and the meanings of both *rūḥ* and *amr* are disputed. *a.* In xvii. 87, it is stated: "They ask thee [O Muḥammad] about *al-rūḥ*; say: *al-rūḥ min amrī rabbī*, and ye are brought but little knowledge". *b.* In xvi. 2, Allāh sends down the angels with *al-rūḥ min amrihi* upon whomsoever He wills of His creatures to say: "Warn that the fact is, There is no God but Me, so fear". *c.* In xl. 15, Allāh "cast *al-rūḥ min amrihi* upon whomsoever He wills of His creatures to give warning". *d.* In xlii. 52: "We revealed (*awḥainā*) to thee [O Muḥammad] *rūḥan min amrinā*; thou knewest not what the book was, nor the faith, but We made it to be a light by which We guide whomsoever We will of Our creatures". Whatever meanings *amr* and *min* may have, the contexts connect *al-rūḥ* in *a.* with knowledge; in *b.* with angels and creatures, to give warning; in *c.* with creatures, for warning, and in *d.* with Muḥammad, for knowledge, faith, light and guidance. Therefore this *rūḥ* is special equipment from Allāh for prophetic service. It reminds forcibly of Bezalel, who was "filled with the spirit of God in wisdom, in understanding and in knowledge" (*Exodus* xxxv. 30, 31). 3. In iv. 169, ʿIsā is called a *rūḥ* from Allāh. 4. In xviii. 4; lxxviii. 38 and lxx. 4, *al-rūḥ* is an associate of the angels. 5. In xxvi. 193, *al-rūḥ al-amin*, the faithful *rūḥ*, comes down upon Muḥammad's heart to reveal the Qurʾān. In xix. 17, Allāh sends to Maryam "Our *rūḥ*", who appears to her as a well-made man. In xvi. 104, *rūḥ al-ḥudus* sent the Qurʾān to establish believers. Three other passages state that Allāh helps ʿIsā with *rūḥ al-ḥudus* (ii. 81; ii. 254 and v. 109). This interrelation of service and title imply the identity of this angelic messenger, who may be also the *rūḥ* of 4. Thus in the Qurʾān *rūḥ* does not mean angels in general, nor man's self or person, nor his soul or spirit. The plural does not occur.

C. Nafas, breath and wind, cognate to *nafs* in root and to *rūḥ* in some of its meanings, does not occur in the Qurʾān, but is used in the early poetry (F. Krenkow, *The Poems of Ṭufail and aṭ-Ṭirimmāh*, London 1927, p. 32). The verb *tanaffasa* (Sūra lxxxi. 18) is derived from that meaning, while the only other Qurʾānic forms from the same radicals are *falyatanāfasi ʿl-mutanāfisiṇa* (lxxxiii. 26) and are derived in al-Ṭabari, *Djāmiʿ al-Baiyān*, Cairo 1321, xxx. 57, probably correctly, from *nafisa*, "he desired".

II. The Umayyad poetry first uses *rūḥ* for the human soul (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ed. 1285, xvi. 126, last line; Cheikho, *Le Christianisme*, Bairūt 1923, p. 338) where the Qurʾān had used *nafs* as in N^o. 5 above.

III. Of the early collections of traditions, Mālik's *al-Muwattaʾa*, Cairo 1339, i. 126 uses *nasama*, which does not occur in the Qurʾān, and *nafs* (ii. 262) for the soul or spirit, while Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* uses *nasam* (vi. 424), *nafs* (i. 297; ii. 364; vi. 140) and *nafs* and *rūḥ* (iv. 287, 296).

1) For the sake of convenience in this article *rūḥ* is treated as well.

Muslim's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (Constantinople 1331), viii. 44, 162 sq. and al-Bukhārī's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1314, iv. 133, both use *rūḥ* and *arwāḥ* for the human spirit.

IV. The *Tādj al-ʿArūs* (iv. 260) lists 15 meanings for *nafs* and adds two others from the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, as follows: spirit, blood, body, evil eye, presence, specific reality, self, tan, haughtiness, self-magnification, purpose, disdain, the absent, desire, punishment, brother, man. It states that most of these meanings are metaphorical. The *Lisān* (viii. 119—126) finds examples of these meanings in the poetry and the Qurʾān. Lane's *Lexicon* faithfully reproduces the material (p. 2827b). The lexical treatments of *nafs* disclose these facts: 1. Any attribution to Allāh of *nafs* as "soul" or "spirit" is avoided. 2. In man, *a. nafs* and *rūḥ* are identified, or *b. nafs* applies to the mind and *rūḥ* to life, or *c. man* has *nafsānī*, two souls, one vital and the other discriminative, or *d. the* discriminative soul is double, sometimes commanding and sometimes forbidding.

V. The influences that affected the post-Qurʾānic uses of both *nafs* and *rūḥ* were the Christian and Neo-Platonic ideas of *rūḥ* with human, angelic and divine applications, and the more specifically Aristotelian psychological analysis of *nafs*. These influences are clearly shown in the records of the religious controversies.

A. Al-Ashʿarī [q. v.] (H. Ritter, *Die dogmatischen Lehren der Anhänger des Islam von Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alī bin Ismā'īl al-Aṣʿarī*, Istanbul 1929) reports the Rāfiḍīya doctrines of the incarnation of *rūḥ* Allāh in Adam and its transmigration through the prophets and others (p. 6, 46), as well as the conflicting positions that man is body (*ḡism*) only, body and spirit, and spirit (*rūḥ*) only (p. 61, 329 sqq.). His creed of the orthodox (p. 290—297) omits any statement about the nature of man.

B. Al-Baghḍādī [q. v.] (*al-Farḡ bain al-Firaḡ*, Cairo 1328) records the same heretical doctrines about man's nature (p. 28, 117 sqq., 241 sqq.), says the transmigration theories were held by Plato and the Jews (p. 254) and describes the incarnation beliefs of the Ḥulūliya sects [cf. ḤULUL] among whom he includes the Hallādjiya (p. 247). His position is "The life of Allāh is without *rūḥ* and nourishment and all the *arwāḥ* are created, in opposition to the Christian doctrine of the eternity of the Father, Son and Spirit" (p. 325).

C. Ibn Ḥazm [q. v.] uses *nafs* and *rūḥ* interchangeably of man's soul (*Kitāb al-Fiṣal fi 'l-Milal*, 5 parts, Cairo 1317—1321; v. 66). He excludes from Islām all who hold metempsychosis views, among whom he includes the physician-philosopher Muḥammad b. Zakariyā' al-Rāzī (i. 90 sqq.; iv. 187 sq.). He rejects absolutely the doctrine of some of the Ashʿariya of the continual re-creation of the *rūḥ* (iv. 69). He taught that Allāh created the spirits of all Adam's progeny before the angels were commanded to prostrate to him (Sūra vii. 171), and that these spirits exist in al-Barzakḥ [q. v.] in the nearest heaven until the angel blows them into embryos (iv. 70).

D. Al-Shahrastānī [q. v.] (*Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Nihāl*, ed. Cureton, part i., London 1842) in his description of the belief of the pagan Arabs concerning survival after death does not use the terms *nafs* or *rūḥ*, but says the blood becomes a wraith bird that visits the grave every hundred years. One of his most important sections (p. 203—

240) deals with the orthodox and heterodox doctrines of *al-rūḥ*. Al-Ḥunafāʾ, or true believers, debate with al-Ṣābiʾa [q. v.], who are dualists, emanationists and gnostics. His account of the views of the Ṣābiʾa faithfully reflects the doctrines of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (*Rasāʾil*, 4 vols., Bombay 1305), who taught that man is a whole compounded of a corporeal body and a spiritual *nafs* (i/ii., 14), and that the substance (*ḡawhar*) of the *nafs* descended from the spheres (*al-aflāk*). But al-Shahrastānī rejects the Neo-Platonic idea that human souls (*nufūs*) are dependent upon the souls of the superhuman spirit world (*al-nufūs al-rūḥāniyyāt*) (p. 210, 224 sq.), and the Hermetic doctrines that the *nafs* is essentially evil (p. 236) and that salvation consists in the release of the *rūḥ* from material bodies (p. 226 sq.). He applies the term *rūḥānī* to all spirits, good and evil (p. 213). His description of the nature of man (p. 216 sqq.) with three souls, vegetative, animal and human, each with its own source, need, place and powers, resembles that of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (*Rasāʾil*, i/ii., 48 sqq.). Indeed, the Aristotelian analysis of the human soul as given in *De Anima*, and handed on by Alexander of Aphrodisias and Porphyry, had been adopted with little modification by the Muslim philosophers, such as al-Kindī [q. v.], al-Fārābī [q. v.] each of whom wrote a *Kitāb al-Nafs*, Ibn Sīnā [q. v.] who wrote two, and Ibn Miskawaih [q. v.], whose *Tahdhīb al-Akhḫāl* has the same immaterial (p. 1) and functional (p. 7) psychology for its ethical basis. Al-Shahrastānī achieved the long needed interpretation of the conflicting usages of *nafs* and *rūḥ* in the Greek and Christian heritage, and in the Qurʾān and Muslim tradition. But the philosophers, even with his support, were not able to force the Greek psychology upon orthodox Islam. The *Mutakallims* [s. art. KALĀM] and the great majority of Muslims broadened the Qurʾānic terminology, but retained the traditional views of the nature of the soul as a direct creation of Allāh having various qualities.

VI. Aristotle's principle of the incorporeal character of spirit had nevertheless found a permanent place in Muslim doctrine through the influence of Islām's greatest theologian, al-Ghazālī [q. v.]. In al-Tahānawī's *Dictionary of the Technical Terms* (ed. Sprenger, Calcutta 1862) are extracts of the doctrines of al-Ghazālī on man's *rūḥ* and *nafs*. He defines man as a spiritual substance (*ḡawhar rūḥānī*), not confined in a body, nor imprinted on it, nor joined to it, nor separated from it, just as Allāh is neither without nor within the world, and likewise the angels. It possesses knowledge and perception, and is therefore not an accident (p. 547 at top; cf. *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa*, Cairo 1302, p. 72). He devotes the second section of *al-Kisāla al-Laduniya* (Cairo 1327, p. 7—14) to explain the words *nafs*, *rūḥ* and *qalb* (heart), which are names for this simple substance that is the seat of the intellectual processes. It differs from the animal *rūḥ*, a refined but mortal body in which reside the senses. He identifies the incorporeal *rūḥ* with *al-nafs al-muṭmaʾinna* and *al-rūḥ al-amrī* of the Qurʾān. He then uses the term *nafs* also for the "flesh" or lower nature, which must be disciplined in the interests of ethics.

VII. This position of al-Ghazālī's was that of the theistic philosophers in general, as well as some of the Muʿtazila and the Shīʿa, but it has never dominated Islām. The great analytical philosopher

and theologian, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, could not bring himself to accept it. In his *Mafātīḥ al-Ghaib*, v. 435, commenting on Sūra xvii. 85, he quotes as the opinion of al-Ghazālī the statement that is in the latter's *Tahāfut* (p. 72; cf. also al-Rāzī's *Muḥaṣṣal*, Cairo 1323, p. 164), but on p. 434 (l. 9 and 8 from below) of the *Mafātīḥ* he acknowledges the strength of the corporeal doctrine, and in his *Ma'ālim Uṣūl al-Dīn*, on the margin of the *Muḥaṣṣal*, p. 117 sq., he definitely rejects as baseless (*bātil*) the view of the philosophers that the *nafs* is a substance (*djāwhar*) which is not a body (*djism*) and not corporeal.

VIII. Al-Baidāwī's [q. v.] system of cosmogony and psychology is given in his *Tawāliḥ al-Anwār* (lithograph ed. with commentary Abu 'l-Thana' al-Iṣfahānī and gloss by al-Djurdjānī, Stambul 1305, p. 285 sqq.; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 418, ii. 111, printed Cairo 1323). He discusses 1. The classes of incorporeal substances, 2. the heavenly intelligences, 3. the souls of the spheres, 4. the incorporeality of human souls, 5. their creation 6. their connection with bodies and 7. their survival. His cosmogony follows: Allāh, because of his unity, created only one Intelligence (*ʿaql*). This Second Intelligence, that emanated first (*al-ṣādir*) from Allāh, is the cause (*ʿilla*) of all other potentialities and is not body (*djism*), nor original matter (*hayūlī*) nor form (*ṣūra*). It is the secondary cause (*sabab*) of another intelligence with soul (*nafs*) and sphere (*falak*). There emanates from the second a third intelligence and so on to the tenth (p. 288) who is the *rūḥ* of Sūra lxxviii. 38 (cf. al-Baidāwī's *Anwār al-Tanzīl*, ed. Fleischer, ii. 383, l. 4) whose effective influence is in the world of the elements and who is the producer of the spirits (*arwāḥ*) of mankind. Below these intelligences are the high or heavenly angels, which the philosophers call *al-nufūs al-falakīya*, and the low *nufūs*, which are in two classes: earthly angels, in control of the simple elements and the earthly souls, such as the reasoning souls (*anfus nāṭika*) controlling particular persons. In addition (p. 285) there are the incorporeal substances, without effect or control, who are angels, some good (*al-kurūbiyyūn*) and some evil (*al-shayāṭīn*) and the *djinn*, who are ready for both good and evil. This is the classification he refers to in his comment on Sūra ii. 28 (ed. Fleischer, i. 47, 25). His psychology resembles that of al-Ghazālī, whom he mentions (p. 294). For the incorporeality of the soul (*taḍjarrud al-nafs*) he presents five arguments from reason, four Qur'ān verses and one tradition. His commentator remarks (p. 300) that these prove only that the soul differs from the body. He then argues that all *nufūs* are created when their bodies are completed. The *nafs* (p. 303) is not embodied in and is not close to the body, but is attached as the lover to the beloved. It is connected with that *rūḥ* which comes from the heart and is generated of the finest nutritive particles. The reasoning *nafs* produces a force that flows with that *rūḥ* through the body, producing in every organ its proper functions. These functional powers are perceptive, which are the five external senses, and the five internal faculties of the *sensus communis*, imagination, apprehension, memory and reason, and the active (*al-muḥarrrika*) which are voluntary (*ikhtiyāriya*) and natural (*ṭabīʿiya*, p. 308).

IX. The dominant Muslim doctrine concerning the origin, nature and future of *al-rūḥ* and *al-*

nafs is most fully given in the *Kitāb al-Rūḥ* of Ibn Kaṭīm [q. v.] (Haidarābād, 2nd ed., 1324). Of his 21 chapters Ibn Kaṭīm devotes the 19th to the problem of the specific nature of the *nafs* (p. 279—342). He quotes the summaries given by al-Aṣḥārī (*op. cit.*, p. 331—335), and by al-Rāzī (*Mafātīḥ al-Ghaib*, v. 431—434). He denies al-Rāzī's statement that the *Mutakallims* consider man to be simply the sensible body, and says all intelligent people hold man to be both body and spirit. The *rūḥ* is identified with the *nafs*, and is itself a body, different in quiddity (*al-māhiya*) from this sensible body, of the nature of light, high, light in weight, living, moving, interpenetrating the bodily members as water in the rose. It is created, but everlasting; it departs temporarily from the body in sleep; when the body dies it departs for the first judgement, returns to the body for the questioning of Munkar and Nakir, and, except in the cases of prophets and martyrs, remains in the grave foretasting bliss or punishment until the Resurrection. He rejects (p. 256) Ibn Ḥazm's doctrine that Adam's progeny are in al-Barzakḥ awaiting their time to be blown into embryos. He presents 116 evidences for the corporeality of the *rūḥ*, 22 refutations of opposing arguments and 22 rebuttals of objections. He represents traditional Islām.

X. The earlier Ṣūfis had accepted the materiality of the *rūḥ*. Both al-Kuṣhairī [q. v.] (*al-Risāla*, with commentary of Zakariyā' al-Anṣārī and gloss of al-ʿArūsī, Būlāḳ 1290, ii. 105 sqq.) and al-Hudjwiri [q. v.] (*Kaṣḥf al-Maḥdjud*, ed. Nicholson, London 1911, p. 196, 262) call the *rūḥ* a fine, created substance (*ʿain*) or body (*djism*), placed in the sensible body like sap in green wood. The *nafs* (*al-Risāla*, p. 103 sqq.; *Kaṣḥf al-Maḥdjud*, p. 196) is the seat of the blameworthy characteristics. All together make the man.

In addition to the philosophical position of the immateriality of *al-rūḥ* that al-Ghazālī had made orthodox, another interpretation of spirit developed which is essentially theosophical. Ibn al-ʿArabī [q. v.] (H. S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-ʿArabī*, Leyden 1919, p. 15, 11, 7 sqq.) divides "things" into three classes: Allāh, Who is Absolute Existence and Creator, the world, and an undefinable *tertium quid* of contingent existence that is joined to the Eternal Reality and is the source of the substance and the specific nature of the world. It is the universal and common reality of all realities. Man likewise is an intermediate creation, a *barzakḥ* (p. 22, 42) between Allāh and the world, bringing together the Divine Reality and the created world (p. 21, 42) and a vicegerent connecting the eternal names and the originated forms (p. 96). His animal spirit (*rūḥ*) is from the blowing of the divine breath (p. 95) and his reasoning soul (*nafs nāṭika*) is from the universal soul (*al-nafs al-kullīya*), while his body is from the earthly elements (p. 95 sq.). Man's position as vicegerent (p. 45 sq.) and his resemblance to the divine presence (p. 21) come from this universal soul, who has various other names, holy spirit (*rūḥ al-qudus*), the first intelligence (p. 51), vicegerent (*khalīfa*), the perfect man (p. 45) and the *rūḥ* of the world of command (*ʿālam al-amr*), which al-Ghazālī held to be Allāh's direct creation (p. 122, 1). In his *Fuṣūṣ* (lithograph ed. with commentary by al-Kāshānī, Cairo 1309, p. 12 sqq.) he says that Allāh appears to Himself in a form which thus becomes the place of

manifestation of the Divine essence. This place receives a *rūḥ*, who is Adam, the *khalīfa* and the perfect man. He discusses (Nyberg, *op. cit.*, p. 129 *sqq.*) the essence and properties of the *rūḥ*, quoting among others the view he says is "attributed" to al-Ghazālī which is in *al-Tahāfut* (as above). He finds the differences of doctrine harmless since all agree that the *rūḥ* is originated. In his tractate on the *nafs* and *rūḥ* (M. Asín Palacios, *Tratado Acerca del Conocimiento del Alma y del Espíritu*, in *Actes du XIV^{ème} Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Paris 1906, iii. 167—191) he describes how men may reach the distinction of "the perfect man" through the cultivation of the qualities of the *rūḥ* and the suppression of the *nafs*.

Ibn al-ʿArabī's contemporary, the poet Ibn al-Fārid (Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, chap. iii.), at times identifies his own *rūḥ* with that from which all good emanates (*al-Tāʾīya al-kubrā*, on margin of *Diwān* Ibn al-Fārid, Cairo 1319, ii. 4 *sq.*) and with the "pole" (*kuṭb*) upon which the heavens revolve (p. 113, 115). Al-Kāshānī, the commentator of *al-Tāʾīya*, explains that this identity is with the greatest spirit (*rūḥ al-arwāḥ*) and the greatest "pole". The compiler of the commentaries on the *Diwān* states (ii. 196) that incarnation (*ḥulūl*) and union (*ittiḥād*) with Allāh are impossible, but there is real "passing away" (*fanā*) and attainment (*waṣl*) of the *rūḥ* and *nafs* in the *nafs* of Allāh, for His *nafs* is their *nafs*.

ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlānī carries this position of existential monism on to straight animistic pantheism. In *al-Insān al-kāmil* [q.v.] (Cairo 1334) the terms *rūḥ al-ḥudūs*, *rūḥ al-arwāḥ* and *rūḥ Allāh* stand for a special one of the aspects of the Divine Reality (*al-Ḥaqīq*), not to be embraced under the command "be" nor created. This spirit is the divine aspect in which stand the created spirits of all existences, sensible and intelligible (p. 94). Existence itself subsists in the *nafs* of Allāh, and His *nafs* is His Essence (*dhāt*). Moreover, every sensible thing has a created spirit (*rūḥ*) (p. 94). One of the aspects of the angel of Sūra xlii. 52, who is named the command (*amr*) of Allāh, and who is an aspect of Allāh as above, is given to the *rūḥ* of Muḥammad, which is identified as the *rūḥ* mentioned in the verse. That angelic and divine *rūḥ* thereby becomes the Idea (*ḥakīka*) of Muḥammad (p. 95 *sq.*) and he thereby becomes the "perfect man" (p. 96, 131 *sqq.*). The *rūḥ* which is the specific nature of the human *nafs* has five names: animal, commanding to evil, instinctive (*al-mulḥama*), reproving, and tranquil. When the divine qualities actually describe the *nafs*, then the names, qualities and essences of the gnostic (*ʿarīf*) are those of the One Known (*Maʿrūf*) (p. 130 *sq.*).

XI. In geomancy (*ʿilm al-raml*) the first "house" (*bai*) of the *ummahāt* [cf. MADAGASCAR, *supra*, iii. 73b] is called *nafs* because it guides to problems concerning the soul and spirit of the inquirer, and to the beginning of affairs (Muḥammad al-Zanātī, *Kitāb al-Faṣl fī ʿIlm al-Raml*, Cairo n. d., p. 7; cf. Henr. Corn. Agrippae, *Opera*, Leyden, n. d., but early xviiith cent., p. 412: *Nam primus domus personam tenet quarentis*).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article see especially D. B. Macdonald, *The Development of the Idea of Spirit in Islam*, in *Acta Orientalia*, Oslo 1931, ix. 307—351

(reprinted in *M. W.*, xxii. [1932], 25—42, 153—168) upon which much of the present article is based; Muslim philosophical psychology goes back to Aristotle's *De Anima* (best ed. by R. D. Hicks, Cambridge 1907); for the early metempsychosis beliefs see I. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites* etc., in *J. Am. O. S.*, xxviii. 1—80; xxix. 1—183; for the relation between Aristotle and Ibn Sīnā see S. Landauer, *Die Psychologie des Ibn Sīnā*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxix. [1875], 335—418; English translation by A. E. van Dyck, *Avicenna's Offering to the Prince*, Verona 1906; M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme im Islam*, Bonn 1912; T. J. De Boer, *The History of Philosophy in Islam*, London 1903. (E. E. CALVERLEY)

AL-NAFŪSA, in Berber INFŪSEN, name of a Berber tribe. According to the common genealogical scheme (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-Ibar*, i. 107—117 of the text), the Nafūsa are one of the four branches of the large body of the Botr, whose name derives from their chief Mādghis al-Abtar. At present the dwelling place of the Nafūsa is south-west of Tripoli, on the plateau of the same name which from the frontier between Tunisia and Tripolitania tends eastward, and, if taken in the largest sense, comprises the regions of Nālūt, Fassāto and Yefren. The inhabitants of these regions are generally called Nafūsa, although, in a genealogical sense, this name can be applied to some groups only. Probably the name Djabal Nafūsa (in Berber *Drār n Infusen*), which originally belonged to a part of the plateau, was extended to the large area between Wāzzen and Yefren on account of the fact, that of the tribes inhabiting it, the Nafūsa were of prominent importance. This use of the name in its widest sense is also to be found in the book by Ibrāhīm b. Slimān al-Shammākī "Castles and Ways of the Nafūsa plateau" (1302 = 1884—1885), in which all the territories of Yefren, Fassāto and Nālūt are described.

The scarce data on the history of the Nafūsa, which we possess, are to be found, for the largest part, in Arabic sources. In the Greek and Latin authors of pre-Islamic times there is no single sure allusion to them. The name occurring in Corippus' *Johannis* (second song, l. 146: Quaeque nefanda colunt tristis montana Navusi), does not refer, in all probability, to a place or a tribe of Tripolitania, but rather of the Aurès (Awrās), its plateau or its neighbourhood. The fact that Navus represents a form closely connected with Nafūsa, proves only that the name was widely spread among the Berbers, that it is old and may be probably connected with such words as *ennefus*, fem. *tenefust* "right, to the right hand" in Auglin.

In Islamic times the name is recorded for the first time in connection with the capture of the town of Tripoli by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs (22 or 23). According to Ibn ʿIdhārī (i. 2 *sq.*, text) during the siege the inhabitants called to their aid the Nafūsa, who came to their aid. At that time they were residing also in the vast plain of Djabāra, situated between the Djabal and the Sea; one of their chief towns, if not their capital, was Šabra on the coast (Roman Sabratha, formerly Phoenician), west of Tripoli, which by Ibn Khaldūn (*Ibar*, i. 181, l. 8, text) is called "the city of the Nafūsa". This town was taken

by surprise and plundered by a body of cavalry sent by 'Amr. This raid was probably undertaken not only to continue the conquest farther westward, but also to punish the Nafūsa, whose territory 'Amr had invaded in order to conquer it (cf. al-Bakrī, p. 9, 10, text), and which he had to abandon by order of the Caliph.

According to some sources, the Nafūsa at that time were Christians; according to other reports, however, they were Jews. Our latest local information makes it probable that Christianity had spread widely among them; though the conversion of single groups to Judaism is not excluded. In fact traces of Byzantine basilicas have been found on the plateau, e. g. at Temézda, Iṭarmisen etc., which are also mentioned in some sources and which must have been used by large numbers of the indigenous population.

When the Arab had conquered North Africa, the Nafūsa of Šabra and of the coastal region retired, according to the common opinion, to the plateau, where they remained hostile towards the conquerors. A fresh study of the Tripolitan population, however, makes it clear that a part of them must have stayed in their old dwelling-places where they intermarried with other tribes and, in course of time, became arabicised. In fact there are tribes in the Western Džafāra and in Tripoli, the town and its surroundings (the regions of al-Sāhil, Tagiura, etc.), that, according to the local genealogy, derive from the Nafūsa. Apart from this ethnic tradition, there is the fact, recorded in several sources, that after the first case of intervention of the Nafūsa in the affairs of the town of Tripoli — which may have been partly due to a Christian opposition to the Muḥammadan invasion — they wanted, under successive dominations, to make their presence felt and their influence preponderant in the north-western region of Tripolitania, so that the outlines of the history of the small, but strong and civilised Berber unit may be supposed to be the following. Having its centre in the plateau, it intended to make felt, as often as possible, its dominion in the coastal region and thus keep the control of the main way of communication between Egypt and Ifrīkiya, which ran along the coast and which was followed by the various expeditions to the Maghrib. Even at present such aspirations may be stirred in the minds of the most cultivated of these populations, to such an extent that even some of them have reckoned with an eventual reoccupation of their old territories in Western Džafāra.

The period in which the Nafūsa, according to the sources available to us, vigorous were most active and took a part in the events happening in North Africa, was that of the great Khāridjī [q. v.] revolts, which began in 122 (739—740) and did not cease before the 15th (xth) century, i. e. before the era of the Fātimids. When the Wahbī doctrines began to spread among the North African populations in the second century A. H., they embraced them and so joined the rebellious movement of the Berbers against the Arab conquerors, a movement which, prepared by several other causes, found also some support in the Khāridjī heterodoxy. The Nafūsa embraced the Ibādī, i. e. the more moderate form of the Khāridjī doctrine, and remained ever faithful to it with heroic attachment. In alliance

with other Berber tribes, either Ibādīs or other branches of the sect, they repeatedly made war upon the Arab governors of Ifrīkiya.

In 140 (757—758), they elected as their *imām*, probably with the intention of founding an Ibādīte principality — an intention which manifests itself also at other times — an Arab called Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb 'Abd al-A'lā' b. al-Samḥ al-Mu'āfirī [q. v.], one of the missionaries of Ibādism in North Africa. Under his command and in conjunction with other Berber groups, they occupied Tripolis, fought against the Šufrite [cf. AL-ŠUFRIYA] Wafardjūma, who had sacked Kairawān where they had settled, and against the armies sent by the 'Abbāsids to reconquer Ifrīkiya. Finally, in 144 (761—762), Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and a large number of his followers perished near Tauorgha (Tawurghā) in a great battle against the general Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath al-Khuza'i, the governor of Ifrīkiya.

Another notorious *imām* of the Nafūsa was a Berber Abū Ḥatim Ya'kūb [q. v.], whose enterprises survive in oral tradition on the plateau, who speaks of his 375 encounters with the Arabs. He was killed in battle in 155 (771—772).

When the Ibādī kingdom of the Rustamids [cf. RUSTAM], which had Tāhert as its centre, had been founded, the Nafūsa did not elect an *imām* of their own any more, but formed a part of this kingdom under a governor who depended upon it. Some of these governors, e. g. Abū 'Ubaida 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Djanāwunī (of Igennāwen), Abū Maṣṣūr Ilyās (of Tendemmīra), are often praised by the Berbers of the Djabal, for their importance and ability in maintaining the interests of Ibādism, and also for their learning and piety.

The Nafūsa were a valuable support of the kingdom of the Rustamids, of which they formed the eastern bulwark. Being near the territory of the Aghlabides [q. v.], they shared to some extent the vicissitudes of this state which had arisen in Ifrīkiya in the beginning of the 9th century A. D. The town of Tripoli was in the possession of those princes; Western Džafāra, on the other hand, till near the Sea, and probably also part of Eastern Džafāra, was in the power or under the influence of the Nafūsa. When Tripoli was beleaguered in 267 (880—881) by the Tūlūnid prince al-'Abbās, who, having revolted against his father Aḥmad, sought to conquer Ifrīkiya at his own risks, the Nafūsa were called to aid, and, appearing without delay, they defeated the army of the invaders (according to other sources, their help was invoked by the inhabitants of Lebda). This fact, which reminds of the first siege of Tripoli by the Muslims, proves clearly the influence the Nafūsa possessed in northwestern Tripolitania and it accounts also for the severe blow dealt to them in 283 (896—897) by the Aghlabides, when Ibrāhīm II b. Aḥmad, who led an expedition from Tunis to Egypt, found his passage through the coastal region of Tripolitania barred by the Nafūsa. The bloody battle of Mānū, which was followed by acts of terrible cruelty inflicted upon hundreds of Nafūsa prisoners, and which is narrated in a more or less anecdotal form in the Sunnī as well as in the Ibādī sources, is ascribed, ultimately, to the desire of the Caliph to punish the Nafūsa who were the principal support of the heretical state of Tāhert; or to the resentment of the Aghlabides at acts of enmity committed

by the Berbers, as well as in the humiliation they had suffered when the expedition of the Ṭulūnid al-'Abbās, which was directed against them, had been averted by the Nafūsa, to whom this exploit became a point of glory.

In reality, however, taking into account the whole political situation as well as the historical antecedents, it is evident that that battle, which is still mentioned in the oral tradition of the Ibādites as the most terrible disaster they ever suffered, was the inevitable encounter between the Aghlabide power and the supremacy of the Nafūsa exercised in the former's immediate vicinity and even in its own territory.

When the power of the Aghlabides as well as that of the Rustamids had been destroyed by the Fāṭimids [q. v.], the Nafūsa found themselves face to face with those new masters of Eastern Barbary. There exist reports of an instance of their strenuous opposition to Fāṭimid powers which endeavoured to subdue them in 310 (922—923); and which defeated them in the following year.

There are, however, reports concerning the part taken by the Nafūsa, or at least by tribes from the plateau, in the great Khārījī rebellion, which was led by Abū Yazīd and which ended with the victory of the Fāṭimids. Probably the Ibādite populations of the Djabal, although having given up the idea of forming one large autonomous state, endeavoured to avoid any dependence upon the various kingdoms and empires which successively held the supremacy in North Africa, while the latter, on the other hand, endeavoured, as far as possible, to obtain a footing also in the mountainous region which forms the strategical key to the plain stretching towards the coast.

When the Almohades [q. v.] undertook the conquest of Eastern Ifrīqiya under 'Abd al-Mu'min (554—555 = 1159—1160), the Nafūsa were also subdued by his army. Their territory became the scene of violent struggles and massacres, of raids and partial conquests during the long period of the revolt of the Banū Ghāniya who attempted to restore the Almoravid empire and who, from 580 (1184—1185) onwards, for nearly half a century and with varying success, fought chiefly in Oriental Barbary. In these fights Arabs of the tribe of Debbāb (belonging to the Banū Sulaim), took part who had come to Tripolitania during the well known invasion of the Banū Hilāl and Sulaim. Some clans of the Debbāb, especially the Maḥāmid and the Djuwārī, settled in the coastal region west of Tripoli, where the Nafūsa had exercised their power before. Yet the great mass of the latter must have retired to the plateau not at the time of the conquest, but in consequence of the Arab invasion.

The Nafūsa remained in nearly the same attitude of defence of their independence, during the supremacy in Ifrīqiya of the Hafsids [q. v.], and, afterwards, of the Turks. While other populations in the neighbourhood gave up their Ibādism in order to embrace Sunnism, and consequently became arabicised, the Nafūsa stuck to their faith and to their Berber vernacular, withdrawing themselves to the rough crests of their mountains, and from time to time taking part in the acts of hostility and in the rebellions which the interior opposed to the efforts of the government of Tripoli to maintain its own authority and, chiefly, to levy taxes.

In the nineteenth century, the Turks, after having retaken in 1251 (1835—1836) the direct administration of Tripoli, had to fight long and bitterly for the conquest of the plateau of the Nafūsa also. The struggle lasted, with varying success, till 1274 (1857—1858); in this period the shaiḫ Ghūma b. Khālifa distinguished himself by courage and endurance; he is usually represented as the hero of Berber independence defended against the Turks. In reality, however, he was an Arab and the Arab tribe of the Maḥāmid had the largest share in the wars, while the Berbers, according to all appearance, did not take part in them on a large scale. During the Italian occupation of Tripolitania, which began in 1911, the Nafūsa were at first hostile in accordance with their old aspiration to found an independent Ibādite kingdom which should extend up to the Sea and include the region of Sabratha. Defeated in 1913 by the valiant general Lequio near al-Aṣāba'a they offered their submission to the Italian authorities and ever since have proved very faithful subjects. When inner Tripolitania, in consequence of the effects of the Great War, was troubled by rebels, they showed an heroic attachment to Italy, fighting her enemies under great sacrifices. When in 1922 the reconquest of the inland had begun, they voluntarily took part in it, side by side with the regular troops, with perfect loyalty.

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(F. BÉGUINOT)

AL-NAFŪSĪ ABU SAHL AL-FARISĪ, Ibādite scholar of the Rustamid family, who lived in Tāhert in the iiird (ixth) century. Some say that he was one of those who by their learning and religious zeal helped to make that town famous. He was a complete master of Berber and served as interpreter under the imām Aflah b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb in the first half of the third century A. H., or even till 258 (871—872), and under Abū Hātim Yūsuf b. Muḥammad who, with a short interruption, was imām from 281—294 (894—907). This shows that the Rustamid princes of Tāhert spoke Arabic, as was to be expected from their Oriental origin, and needed interpreters in their dealings with the Berber speaking peoples. When the Fātimids had destroyed the Ibādite power, Abū Sahl settled at Marsa 'l-Kharez (La Calle, between Bône and the Tunisian frontier); or at Marsa 'l-Dajjdjād on the Algerian coast, between 'Ain Taya and Cape Djinet (cf. e.g. al-Bakrī, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1911, p. 64 *sq.*, 82).

Al-Nafūsī is best known as the author of a big Berber *Diwān*, containing religious and historical poems, both dealing probably with the doctrines and history of Ibādism. It has been lost, like so

many other works of Berber Ibādites; yet perhaps parts of it may be recovered by further search in the Mzāb, at Gerba and among the Nafūsa. At any rate, Abū Sahl has an important place in the literary history of the Berbers, especially the Ibādites, who composed books on theology and law, chronicles, poetry and biographies.

Such a literary movement is usually explained by the need which the heretics felt of making clear their doctrine, especially the points in which it differed from the sunna, to the inhabitants of the interior of the Central and Eastern Maghrib, who did not know Arabic, and who must have been numerous about 1000 A. D. Yet another thing, which can be seen to-day, must not be forgotten, viz. the attachment of these peoples to their own tongue as a symbol of opposition to the Arabic speaking world in general and Muslim orthodoxy in particular. At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, some Berber groups in the neighbourhood of Yefren in Tripolitania were led by Sanūsī propaganda to give up their old Ibādite faith and embrace orthodoxy. This change in its turn caused the Berber dialect to be less used; as if heresy were bound up with the national language, and the giving up of the heresy removed the last obstacle to complete arabisation. This assumption is confirmed by some religious poems (they deserve to be called literature) in the region of Fassāto, where the love of the national language is still strong. In them the author says explicitly that he uses Berber to uphold and strengthen the Ibādite faith, which once flourished gloriously, but afterwards decreased, and is now well nigh disappeared. In past times also, the Berber literature of the Ibādites was partly a symbol of non-conformity and nationalism; so when Abū Sahl, who was rooted in Arabic civilisation by his origin, devoted himself to the study of Berber so as to become the best Berber scholar of his time and to compose in it his works. He must have felt in his deeply religious mind the connection between that language and the faith he professed.

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(F. BÉGUINOT)

NĀGPUR, a city, taḥṣīl, district, and division of the Central Provinces of British India. The modern Central Provinces and Berār, which formed part of the eighteenth century Bhonsla kingdom of Nāgpur, lie between 17° 47' and 24° 27' N. and 75° 37' and 84° 24' E., with an area of 113,285 square miles, and a total population of 17,951,147. Nāgpur division contains a population of 3,595,578; Nāgpur district 933,168; and the city 215,003 (1931 Census Report).

The history of this area, which roughly corresponds to Gondwāna, has been profoundly influenced by the long range of the Sātpura hills through which the Burhānpur—Asirgarh gap provided the chief route from Hindustān to the Dakhan. When the Muḥammadan invaders first came into contact with Gondwāna, it contained four independent

Gond kingdoms: the northern kingdom of Garhā-Mandlā; two central kingdoms with their capitals at Dēogarh and Kherla respectively; and a southern state with its capital at Čānda. In the reign of Akbar the imperial forces overran the northern kingdom forcing it to pay tribute, despite the heroic efforts of the Dowager Rānī Durgāvati. After this the political predominance of the Gond chiefs shifted to Dēogarh which in its turn also suffered from the aggressive schemes of the Mughal emperors. Early in the reign of Awrangzib a punitive force under Dilir Khān entered both Čānda and Dēogarh, with the result that, in 1670, the ruler of Dēogarh embraced Islām as the price of the restoration of his kingdom (*Ālamgīr-nāma*, p. 1022—27). Both these states paid tribute to the emperor through a Muslim agent stationed at Nāgpur. This however is not the earliest reference to Nāgpur in the Muḥammadan period, for the *Pādshāh-nāma* of Lāhawrī describes its capture by Khān Dawrān, in 1637 (for a still earlier identification see Hira Lal, p. 10).

The most famous ruler of Dēogarh was the converted Gond chief, Bakht Buland, who visited the court of Awrangzib (*Ma'āthir-i Ālamgīrī*, p. 273). Because of his contumacious attitude he was replaced by another Muslim Gond named Dīndār (*ibid.*, p. 340). For some years after this Bakht Buland remained in imperial service, until, escaping from imperial control, he once more raised the standard of revolt in Dēogarh (*Muntakhab al-Lubāb* of Khāfī Khān, ii. 461). Although Dēogarh was recaptured for a time by Awrangzib's forces, Bakht Buland remained in open rebellion and was never really subdued. Eventually under this able ruler the Dēogarh state comprised the modern districts of Čhindwāra and Betūl, together with portions of Nāgpur, Seoni, Bhandāra and Balāghāt. The last important Gond ruler was Čānd Sulṭān who died in 1739. It was he who fixed the capital at Nāgpur which he converted into a walled town.

Internal dissensions led to the intervention of Raghudjī Bhonsla, who was governing Berār on behalf of the Marāṭhā Pēshwā. Eventually, in 1743, the Marāṭhā leader took over the administration of the country. By granting a nominal authority to the Gond Rādja, Burhān Shāh, and his descendants, the Bhonslas possessed a useful pretext for disavowing, when expedient, the rights of the Pēshwā, but in practice reference was usually made to Pūna on important matters, such as the succession. Burhān Shāh's descendants have continued to occupy the position of state pensioners, and the representative of the family resides at Nāgpur with the title of Rādja or Sansthānik. Raghudjī's reign witnessed a great influx of Kunbīs and other Marāṭhās into Nāgpur. The treacherous attitude of his successor Djānodjī led to his defeat by the combined forces of the Nizām and the Pēshwā, and to his acknowledgement of the latter's supremacy.

It was under Raghudjī II that the Nāgpur kingdom attained its greatest extent and included practically the whole of the modern Central Provinces and Berār, together with Orissa and certain of the Čutiā Nāgpur states. Unfortunately for the solidarity of his kingdom he joined forces with Sindhia against the British, and, in 1803, after the battles of Assaye and Argāon, was compelled to subscribe to the treaty of Dēogāon, by which

he was deprived of a third of his dominions (Aitchison, i. 415—417). He was succeeded in 1816 by his son, Parsodjī, an imbecile, who was murdered in the following year by the notorious Āppā Šāhib. On the outbreak of war between the British and the Pēshwā, in 1817, Āppā Šāhib attacked the British Residency but his troops were defeated in the brilliant action at Sitābaldī. This resulted in the deposition of Āppā Šāhib, who was succeeded by Raghudjī III, on whose death, in 1853, without heirs, natural or adopted, this dependent principality was declared by Dalhousie to have lapsed to the Paramount Power.

The British administered Nāgpur by means of a Commission until the formation of the Central Provinces in 1861. To-day, the city of Nāgpur supports a flourishing Muḥammadan community, in the suburb of Mehdiabāgh, the members of which are Dā'udī Bohrās of the Šī'a sect [see BOHORĀS]. The members of this community live together in the buildings of the institution, where their children are educated and their women taught suitable accomplishments.

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NAHIYE, an administrative district in the Ottoman empire which corresponds somewhat to the Swiss canton or French commune. It is a subdivision of the *kaḏā* (*kaḏā*, q. v.), which may be compared with the French *arrondissement* and is governed by a *ka'im-makām* [q. v.] while the *nāhiye* is under a *mudir*. This official who used to be appointed by the *wālī*, the governor of the province, received his instructions from the *ka'im-makām*, to whom he was subordinate. The subdivisions of the *nāhiye* are called *karaye*, i. e. village. The term *nāhiye* for an administrative district is of recent origin. For the earlier provincial administration which did not know this name, cf. A. D. Mordtmann sen., *Stambul und das moderne Türkenthum*, N. S., Leipzig 1878, p. 1 sqq.

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, vol. i., Paris 1892, p. xv.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

NAHĪKĪ, *nisba* from the pre-Islāmic divine name *Nahik* noted by Wellhausen and Nöldeke among the Tamim, the Nakha' (of Madhḥidj) and in Mecca before Islām. — In Kūfa and Sāmarrā it was the name of the Āl Nahik, a family of Šī'ī scholars of the tribe of Nakha': descendants of Nahik, grandfather of Kumail b. Ziyād, a partisan of 'Alī, also celebrated as the founder of the Kumailiya sect (or Kāmiliya: Ibn Sa'd, vi. 124; *kaḥida* of Mi'dān Samiṭi in Djāhiz, *Ḥayawān*, ii. 98). Two of its members settled in Sāmarrā (Tusi, *Fihrist*, p. 203; cf. p. 179, 196): the first 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad (Kashī, p. 6) was the heterodox writer of the Mīmīya sect mentioned by Mas'ūdi and Ibn Ḥazm whose name Friedländer, following Barbier de Meynard, had read "Bhnik" (sic: in

Heterodoxies of the shīʿites, ii. 102–103; cf. Astarābādī, *Manhajī*, p. 299; Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heid.*, p. 67, 245). (LOUIS MASSIGNON)

AL-NAHL, “the Bee”, Sūra xvi. of the Qurʾān. The title is taken from verse 70: “Thy Lord has made this revelation to the Bee”. Khāzin (iii. 105) says that it was also called “Sūra of the Herds” because there are references in several passages to cattle. As to its date, it is reckoned among the later Meccan Sūras and includes several verses of Medīnese origin; the commentators however are not agreed on this point.

The Sūra of the “Bee” contains four abrogated verses: verse 69 is annulled by v. 92; verse 84 by ix. 5; verse 108, part 1, annulled by the end of the same verse and by ix. 5.

Bibliography: Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurʾāns*, Leipzig 1909–1928, i. 145 sqq.; Sell, *The Historical Development of the Quran*, London 1923; Montet, *le Coran*, Paris 1929; al-Nisābūrī, *Asbāb al-Nuzūl*, Cairo 1315; Ibn Salama, *al-Nāsikh waʾl-Mansūkh*, on the margin of the preceding; Suyūṭī, *Itkān*, Cairo 1343; the commentaries on the Qurʾān.

(MAURICE CHEMOUL)

AL-NAHR, the constellation of the River (Eridanus). It corresponds to the Ποταμός, *Flumen*, *Amnis* of the ancients (cf. Aratos, *Φαινόμενα*, l. 358; Geminus, *Εισαγωγή*; Ptolemy, *Almagest*). Aratos observes (l. 360) — probably one of the first to do so, — that the river of heaven represents Eridanus (Ἠριδανός, river of the morning? or river of darkness, of the west?) turned into stars, into which Phaeton, son of Helios, fell, struck by the thunderbolt of Zeus, after his unsuccessful attempt to ride to heaven. [The opinions of the Greek authors varied regarding the identity of the earthly Eridanus. It is often identified as the Po (Padus), in later times however sometimes with the Rhone (Rhodanus, probably on account of the similarity of sound with “Eridanus”) or even with the Rhine (Rhenus) while Strabo denies there was such a river for he calls it τὸν μηδαμοῦ γῆς ὄντα “the nowhere existing”]. According to another view (Eratosthenes, c. 37), the constellation of the river represents the Nile since “this alone flows from the south” just as the river of heaven at the time of its culmination seems to flow from the south point of the horizon to the north; a third group of authors see in it the figure of Oceanos.

While Aratos clearly names only that portion of the river of heaven which lies between Orion and Cetus (the Whale), Eratosthenes and Hyginos continue it in a southeasterly direction as far as the neighbourhood of Canopus (α Carinae); on the other hand, Ptolemy, like all later writers, gives it its southwesterly direction and already calls the star of the first magnitude at its southern point (α Eridani, Achernar; cf. below) ἄρχαρος τοῦ Ποταμοῦ, the position of which however he gives incorrectly as he could not himself observe it in Alexandria on account of its great southern declination ($\delta +_{100} = -67^{\circ} 25'$).

Al-Nahr is one of the constellations of the southern heavens. In the north it is adjoined by the Bull (*al-Thawr*), in the east by Orion (*al-Djabbār*, the Giant, or *al-Djawwāʾ*, the Bride), the Hare (*al-Arnab*) and the most western subsidiary stars (*khāridī al-sūra*) of the Great Dog (*al-Kalb al-akbar*), which are now included in the constellation of the Dove and the Sculptor’s Tool, in

the west by the Whale (*Kīṭus* or *Kaiṭus*). The constellation of al-Nahr contains, according to ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Šūfī (210 sqq.), primary stars (i.e. those which form the figure, *kawākib min al-sūra*); there are no subsidiary stars included in it. It begins with λ Eridani on the left foot of Orion (β Orionis, Rigel), winds westwards to η Eridani, then southwards to about τ¹ and eastwards via τ² as far as τ⁹ to υ¹² Eridani and finally in a southwesterly direction via i, g, h Eridani to α Eridani.

The fresco in the dome of Qusair ‘Amra shows in the surviving portion the constellation of al-Nahr as a narrow ribbon, which runs directly westwards from the raised foot of Orion, a little below the equator and parallel with the latter in the direction of the Whale.

The Arabs give to the inverted quadrilateral formed by τ Orionis, λ, β and ψ Eridani, which appears to support the left foot of Orion (Rigel) the name “fore throne (foot-stool) of Orion”, *Kursī al-Djawwāʾ al-muqaddam*, in contrast to his “back throne”, *Kursī al-Djawwāʾ al-muʾakkhar* or ‘*Arsh al-Djawwāʾ*. The stars ζ, ρ, η and τ¹—τ⁵ Eridani together with ε and π Ceti, which enclose an area with very few stars in it, are called *Udhī al-Naʿam*, “Ostrich Nest”, the numerous small stars surrounding it are called *al-Baid*, “the eggs”, or *al-Kaid*, “the egg-shells”. The most southerly star in Eridanus, also the brightest (α Eridani, first magnitude), is called *al-Zalīm*, the “male ostrich”, or *Akhir al-Nahr*, the “last of the river” (in the Alfonsine Tables) whence comes the name still used at the present day Achernar or Acarnar. Between Achernar and Fomalhaut (i. e. *Fam [Fum] al-Hūt*, “mouth of the fish”, α Piscis Austrini) [in the region of the present Phoenix] are a considerable number of stars which the Arabs called *al-Riyāl*, “the ostrich chicks”. Al-Šūfī states that in Shirāz he observed a series of stars near the horizon which had the shape of a ship (*zawraḳ*) (α, κ, μ, β, ν, γ Phoenixis). The brightest among them (α, according to Šūfī, of third, in reality of second magnitude) forms with α Piscis Austrini and β Ceti [*Deneb (Dhanab) Kaiṭus*, “tail of the whale”] an approximately right-angled isosceles triangle with a line from α Piscis Austrini to β Ceti as base, the stars within which according to al-Šūfī are also to be included in *al-Riyāl*. The star α Phoenixis is called *al-Difdaʾ al-thūnī* “the Second Frog”, in contrast to the “First Frog”, *al-Difdaʾ al-awwal*, which is represented by α Piscis.

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(W. HARTNER)

NAHR AL-MALIK. [See DIDJLA.]

AL-NAHRAWĀLĪ (NAHRAWĀNĪ), Arab historian. KUṬB AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. ‘ALĀʾ AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. ŠHĀMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. KĀDĪ KHĀN MAḤMŪD AL-MAKKĪ AL-KĀDIRĪ AL-KHĀRKĀNĪ AL-ḤANAFĪ was born in 917 (1511) in Mecca, to which his father, a member of a scholarly Indian family, had migrated from Nahrawāla in Gujjarāt. To complete his studies which had been

begun under his father, he went in 943 (1536) to Cairo, where he was taught by al-Suyūṭī's pupils, and to Stambul. On his return home he received a teaching appointment in the Madrasa al-Ashrafiya. In 965 (1557) he again went to Stambul via Asia Minor and afterwards was appointed to the Kanbayātiya in Mecca. When in 975 (1567) the al-Sulaimāniya Madrasa was founded for all four orthodox rites, he went to it and later became Mufti of Mecca. He died in 990 (1582; according to others in 988 or 991).

His first literary effort seems to have been a description of his second journey to Stambul, which has not survived. His other works cannot be chronologically arranged with certainty. These are the poetical anthology, intended to supply quotations for letter-writers which in the Leyden (*Cat. cod. ar.*², i. 356) MS. is called *Timḥāl al-Amḥāl al-sā'ira fī 'l-Abyāt al-farida al-nādira*, in the Cairo (*Fihris*¹, iv. 220; ² iii. 68) *al-Tamḥīl wa 'l-Muḥāḍara bi 'l-Abyāt al-mufrada al-nādira*, and a collection of riddles entitled *Kanz al-Asmā' fī Fann al-Mu'ammā*, which is preserved in Berlin N^o. 7346, in the Escorial (*Cat. Derenbourg*, N^o. 556¹), in Stambul ('Ashir Ef., iii. 107, 296) and in Cairo (*Fihris*², iii. 307), which is quoted by 'Abd al-Kādir al-Baghdādī (*Khizānat al-Adab*, iii. 113), and on which Mu'in al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'in b. Aḥmad al-Bakkā' in 993 (1585) wrote a commentary entitled *al-Tirāz al-asmā' (MSS. in Uppsala, N^o. 63; Paris, N^o. 3417, 5; Escorial, op. cit., N^o. 536, 2; extracts in Leyden, op. cit., N^o. 522). It is not possible also to date his collection of biographical matter of which there only survives the synopsis *Muntakhab al-Ta'rikh* in Leyden (*op. cit.*, N^o. 1045).*

His two principal historical works date from the last decade of his life. On 1st Ramaḍān 981 (May 3, 1573) he finished his history of Turkish rule in the Yaman entitled *al-Barq al-Yamānī fī 'l-Fath al-Oṭhmānī*; it begins with the year 900 (1494), describes the first Turkish conquest under the vizier Sulaimān Paṣha, the return of the Zaidis and the second conquest by the grand vizier Sinān Paṣha, to whom the work is dedicated; an appendix describes his conquest of Tunis and Goletta. He prepared a second edition after the accession of Sultān Murād III in 982 (1574); cf. S. de Sacy, in *N.E.*, iv. (1787), p. 412—521 and to the MSS., in *G.A.L.*, ii. 382 add Leyden, *op. cit.*, N^o. 944; Paris (Blochet, *Cat. des Mss. Ar. des nouvelles acquisitions*, N^o. 5927), Escorial (Lévi-Provençal, N^o. 1720; Cairo, *Fihris*², v. 56), also D. Lopes, *Extractos da historia da conquista da Faman pelos Othmanos texto ar. con trad. e notas*, Lisbon 1892. In 985 (1577) he finished his history of Mecca dedicated to Sultān Murād, entitled *al-I'tām bi-A'lām Balad (Bait) Allāh al-ḥarām*, which Wüstenfeld published in the *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, vol. i., Leipzig 1857, and is printed Cairo 1303, 1305 (on the margin of Aḥmad b. Zaini Dahlān's *Khulāṣat al-Kalām fī Bayān Umarā' al-Balad al-ḥarām*), 1316; to the MSS. given in *G. A. L.*, ii. 382 may be added Tübingen, N^o. 23; Paris, N^o. 1637—1642, 4924, 5932, 5999; Leyden (*Cat.*², i., N^o. 926—930); Cambridge (Browne, N^o. 4—44); Ambrosiana, H, N^o. 116 (*Z. D. M. G.*, lxi. 77); Vaticana, N^o. 284; Sulaimāniya, Stambul N^o. 815; Nūri 'Oṭhmāniya, N^o. 3047; Cairo (*Fihris*², v. 32); *Cat. Bankipore*, xv. 1085; Aṣafiya, p. 178. This work was translated into Turkish

by the famous poet Bākī [q. v.] (MSS. in Gotha, N^o. 158; Vienna, N^o. 895; Or. Ak., Krafft, N^o. 260; Cambridge, *Suppl.*, N^o. 72; ed. by Gottwaldt, Kasan 1286). A synopsis entitled *I'tām al-'Ulamā' al-A'lām bi-Binā' al-Masḥūd al-Ḥarām*, MSS. Leyden, *op. cit.*, N^o. 931; Cairo, *Fihris*², v. 32; Bankipore, xv. 1089, was made by his nephew Bahā' al-Dīn 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥibb al-Dīn b. 'Alā' al-Dīn, b. 29th Shawwāl 961 (Sept. 26, 1554) at Aḥmadābād in Guḍjarāt, brought up in Mecca by his uncle, then teacher in the Madrasa al-Murādiya, 982 (1575) Mufti of Mecca, 990 (1582) Imām al-Ḥaram, d. 15th Dhū 'l-Hidjja 1014 (April 24, 1606) (al-Muḥibbi, *Khulāṣat al-Aṭhar*, iii. 8).

His son Muḥammad in 1005 (1596) wrote a history of Mecca and Medina and of the exploits of Ḥasan Paṣha who became wālī of Yaman, entitled *Ibtihād al-Insān wa 'l-Zaman fī 'l-Iḥsān al-wāṣil li 'l-Ḥaramain min al-Yaman bi-Maw-lāna 'l-'Adil al-Bāshā Ḥasan*, Leyden, *op. cit.*, N^o. 937; Cairo, *Fihris*¹, v. 2; ² v. 3.

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NAHRAWĀN, or, according to the popular pronunciation, **NIHRAWĀN** (Yāqūt, iv. 846 *sqq.*), name of a large territory between Baghdād [q. v.] and Wāsiṭ [q. v.], known through the battle between 'Alī and the Khāridjites [q. v.] in 38 (658).

NAHW (A.), lit. direction, path, also intention, but gradually acquired the special meaning of grammar. The Arab philologists divide it into two branches: *accidence*, *'ilm al-ṣarf* or *taṣrif*, comprising the theory of verbal stems and their conjugation, the formation of nouns and adjectives, the formation of the plural and of the feminine, etc., i. e. with individual word-forms only, and syntax, *'ilm al-naḥw* in the narrower sense. The fundamental grammatical conceptions of the Arab philologists are taken from Aristotelian logic, which came via Syrian scholars to the Arabs (on the dependence of the Arabic phonetic system on the Indian, cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 97). As the beginnings of Arabic learning in general are lost in obscurity, so also is the origin of the appellation *naḥw* uncertain even to the Arabs themselves. The caliph 'Alī is said to have instructed Abu 'l-Aswad al-Du'ālī, who is regarded as the founder of the *'ilm al-naḥw*, how he should divide up the subject and to have ended by saying: *unḥu*, "take this path", whence the new science received the name of *naḥw*. According to another story, Abu 'l-Aswad himself laid down the principles of Arabic grammar and said to the people: *unḥuhu*, "follow this", from this the name *naḥw* is said to be derived. The stimulus to deal with the problems of language is said to have come from the caliph 'Alī; he, the story goes, taught Abu 'l-Aswad the fundamental principles of *naḥw* and expounded to him the division of all language into three categories: *ism*, *fī'l* and *ḥarf*. Another explanation as to how Abu 'l-Aswad came to lay down the principles of Arabic grammar seems to

be nearer the actual facts. Ziyād b. Abīhi [q. v.] asked him to put on record the principles of grammar which 'Alī had taught him; but he was reluctant to do this and asked the governor to excuse him this task. When however on one occasion he heard a Qur'ān reader make a mistake, which destroyed the sense, in reading the sacred book, he declared himself ready to carry out the task. He therefore had a clerk come to him, to whom he dictated and said: "When you see me in pronouncing a letter open the mouth completely (*fataḥa*), put a point above the letter; when I close it completely (*ḍamma*), put a point in front of it, and when I half close it (*kasara*), put the point below the letter". In this way the invention of vowel signs is traced back to Abu 'l-Aswad. Another story, which deals with the same question, tells how a newly converted mawlā made a grammatical error in the hearing of Abu 'l-Aswad; one of the latter's household laughed at this but Abu 'l-Aswad said: "These are mawlās who long for Islām, who accepted it and thereby have become our brethren. How would it do if we were to draw up the laws of language for them? He thereupon prepared the chapter on subject and object". There must certainly be an element of at least probability in these anecdotes. By the accession of non-Arabs to Islām the danger arose that the Arabic language might be corrupted by foreign elements; there was further the demand that the sacred text of the Qur'ān should be read aloud without error and its meaning accurately interpreted; there thus arose the necessity for a systematic investigation of the language of the sacred book and the laying down of the rules of its language, so that those ignorant of the language could guide themselves. Other anecdotes which relate to the problem of the origin of *nahw* and all of which, of course, like those already given, are to be regarded as *awṭ'il*, also describe Abu 'l-Aswad as its founder, so that he may with justice be called the earliest Arabic philologist (*naḥwī*). None of his writings has come down to us. He is regarded as the founder of the philological school of Baṣra, the origin of which must therefore go back to a very early period (Abu 'l-Aswad died about the end of the first century A. H.). Only to mention some of the most important, to this school also belonged Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā and his pupils Abū 'Ubaida and al-Aṣma'i, to whom we owe much of our knowledge of the *Djāhiliya*, *Sībawaihi*, whose great work on grammar became "the book" par excellence, *Khalil*, who is regarded as the inventor of the system of prosody, and many others. Very early there arose in the new city of Kūfa a rival to the scholars of Baṣra. There also learned men began to deal with linguistic problems. While at first ideas were exchanged between the two schools, and students went from Kūfa to Baṣra to study, and well known Baṣran scholars came to Kūfa; gradually a considerable rivalry arose between the two. The Baṣrans laid greater stress on grammatical principles than the Kūfans and were in general regarded as more faithful and more accurate transmitters. The questions disputed and the differences between the two schools are dealt with in a work by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaid Allāh b. Abi Sa'īd b. al-Anbārī. To the Kūfan school also belonged al-Kisā'ī and al-Mufaḍḍal al-Dabbī. After the third century the centre of Arab learning was transferred

to the capital of the Islāmic empire, Baghdād. In the new Baghdād school which arose there the differences in point of view between the Kūfan and Baṣran schools gradually disappeared.

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(ILSE LICHTENSTÄDTER)

NĀ'IB (A.), literally "substitute, delegate" (nomen agentis from *n-w-b* "to take the place of another"), the term applied generally to any person appointed as deputy of another in an official position, and more especially, in the Mamlūk and Dihli Sultānates, to designate *a.* the deputy or lieutenant of the Sultān and *b.* the governors of the chief provinces (see also the article EGYPT, above, vol. ii., p. 164). In the Mamlūk system the former, entitled *nā'ib al-saltāna al-mu'azzama wa-kāfil al-mamālik al-sharifa al-islāmiya*, was the Vice-Sultān proper, who administered all the territories and affairs of the empire on behalf of the Sultān. This was, however, only an occasional office, and its holder is to be distinguished from the *nā'ib al-ghaiba*, the temporary governor of Cairo (or Egypt) during the absence of the Sultān or of Damascus during the absence of the *nā'ib al-saltāna*. The six *niyābas* of Syria which replaced the Ayyūbid *mamlakas* — Damascus, Ḥalab, Tripolis, Ḥamā, Ṣafad and al-Karak (their number was from time to time increased by the erection of Ghazza and other districts into separate provinces) — were each administered by a *nā'ib al-saltāna* (also entitled *kāfil al-mamlaka*), who was an "amir of a thousand", the *nā'ib* of Damascus being superior to the others. At the end of the viiith (xivth) century Egypt also was divided into three similar *niyābas*: Alexandria (from 767), Upper Egypt (*al-waḍīh al-barī* or *al-ḫibīlī*) and Lower Egypt (*al-waḍīh al-baḥrī*). The plain title of *nā'ib* was held by the commandants of the citadels of Cairo, Damascus, Ḥalab, etc., who were not under the jurisdiction of their respective governors, and by various amīrs of lesser rank holding subordinate commands. (For an instance of more recent use, see art. *SHĀMIL*).

In the Dihli Sultānate the *nā'ib* was the powerful minister who was the deputy of the king himself. The earliest reference to the office seems to be the appointment of Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Aitigin as deputy on the accession of Sultān Mu'izz al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh in 637 (1240) (Minḥādī al-Dīn, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri*, in *Bibl. Ind.*, p. 191). In fact, the support of the nobles was conditional upon the appointment of this person to the deputyship. Although this was a separate office from that of the wazīr, nevertheless under powerful *nā'ibs*, like Malik Kāfūr in the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldījī and Khusrāw in the reign of Mubārak Shāh, its existence was not conducive to the growth of the powers of the wazīr.

In its most common acceptation, in Persian and Turkish as well as later Arabic, *nā'ib* signified a judge-substitute, or delegate of the *qāḍī* in the administration of law. In modern Arabic it

means usually a Parliamentary deputy, while *al-nā'ib al-'umūmī* is the Public Prosecutor, the head of the Parquet (*al-niyāba al-'umūmiyya*).

NAWĀB [for *nawwāb*, intensivum of *nā'ib* (but not employed in Arabic), a puristic correction for *nurwāb*, shortened from *nawwāb*, the Arabic plural of *nā'ib*, employed as plur. dignitatis], the term used under the Mughal rulers of India to designate a viceroy or governor of a province. It is not known when the title first became current. It is sometimes found in combination with other titles, e.g. the Nawāb-Wazīr of Oudh, the Nawāb-Nāẓim of Bengal. The Nawāb of Arcot (Carnatic) was a governor under the authority of the Nizām of Haidarābād.

Nawwāb (Nawāb) is used also in Persia as a title of royal princes, and in India as an honorific, without necessarily having any office attached to it.

NABOB is an English corruption of Nawāb, which was also applied in a derogatory sense to wealthy Anglo-Indians who had returned from the east. It has been suggested that the term first became familiar to Englishmen in the second half of the eighteenth century.

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(H. A. R. GIBB)
(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

NĀ'ILA. [See ISĀF.]

NĀ'ILĪ, properly YENI-ZADE MUŞTAFĀ ÇELEBİ, called after his father PİRİ KHALİFA also PİRİ-ZADE, a celebrated Ottoman poet. He is usually described as Nā'ili-i Qādim, "old Nā'ili", to distinguish him from Yeni Nā'ili, young Nā'ili, the poet and mewlewī Nā'ili Şālih Efendi of Monastir, author of several Şūfī works who died in 1293 (1876) in Cairo.

Nā'ili was one of the greatest Ottoman poets of the post-classical period, the period of the weak sultāns (Murād IV, İbrāhīm and Mehmed IV, 1058—1115 = 1648—1703), of rule by women and eunuchs (Kösem Sultān, Bektāsh Agha and Murād Agha) and of the grand vizierate of the Köprülü. He is a link between Nefī' and Yahyā and Nābī and Nedīm. He and Yahyā are the best poets between Nefī' and Nābī, the reviver of Ottoman literature.

Born in Constantinople, on the conclusion of his education he became secretary in the *dīvān-i humāyūn* and was ultimately a *khalifa* in the office of the Department of Mines (*ma'den kalemī*). As his *Dīvān* shows, he belonged to the *Khalwetī* order. He was a weak, delicate man of feeble constitution who died in 1077 (1667—1668) in exile, it is said, into which he had been sent by Fāzil Aḥmad Paşa Köprülü. Brusali Mehmed Tāhir's statement that his tomb was in the cemetery of the Sümbülü monastery in Fındıklı and that his remains were removed to the cemetery of Pera, when the road was widened, cannot be quite reconciled with the story of his banishment.

Nā'ili is one of the most interesting figures in

the history of Turkish poetry. He did not, it is true, contribute anything essential to the actual development of Ottoman literature and gave it no new inspiration. He was an innovator but only in the field of style and language. He steadily worked to break down the rigidity and monotony of the post-classical school. His style is extremely artificial. His language is full of Persicisms but not in quite the same way as in the preceding periods. His diction is full of unusual Persian images and expressions with which he enriched the Turkish language in brilliant verses, somewhat exhausting however through the obscurity of their allusions. The fine new phrases and expressions are however not his own but are simply borrowings. Nā'ili succeeded in clearing away the stagnation of the literary language of the time by dropping the trite and hackneyed metaphors and phrases, which had been found in all *dīvāns* since Bākī and borrowed new phrases and constructions from the Persian.

Although he wrote in Turkish his diction is purely Persian. He follows his Persian models so slavishly that his language is unintelligible to a Turk who does not know Persian. But the Ottoman poets wrote only for themselves and their equals and not for the people whom they ignored.

Nā'ili is the chief representative of the highly developed and marvellously elaborated literary language in which, as Gibb says, a rich and delicate Persian embroidery is harmoniously sewn upon the Turkish background, while the two languages remain sharply distinguished from one another.

Nā'ili's characteristics are a charming freshness of phraseology, subtlety of imagination, an artificial, individual style, gracefulness, clarity and purity of language, succinctness of expression and polished style such as no poet of his time possessed. According to Mu'allim Nādjī, no Turk can read him without enthusiastically trying to imitate him, which is however hardly possible. His language is so finished and free from all superfluity that the meaning is often obscure and unintelligible. There is however a great deal that charms the reader, especially as his language is most melodious.

As a poet he has not the same powers as he has as a master of language and style. It is his language and not his poetic conception that is his strong point. He did not seek inspiration from his surroundings, like Yahyā, but from his Persian models.

Nā'ili's literary work consists only of a *Dīvān*, which was printed in Bulāk in 1253 (1837) (only about a third of the MSS. was printed however). It consists of four very fine hymns in honour of the Prophet (*nā't*), some 20 *kaşidas* the language of which resembles that of Nefī' and shows the same exaggeration. The *kaşidas* are dedicated to Murād IV and Mehmed IV, to the grand-viziers Kara Muştafā Paşa (1048—1053), Mehmed Paşa (1053—1055), Şālih Paşa (1055—1057), Şūfī Mehmed Paşa (1058—1059), to the *Shaikhs* al-Islām Behā' Efendi, Yahyā Efendi, Hāfiz Mehmed Efendi, the Defterdār and others. The *Dīvān* also contains a touching *merthiye* (elegy) written in the *terdji-bend* manner on the death of his brother who died young, which is almost too extravagant with its effective refrain; also a *takhmīs*, and some *müseddes* in the *terdji* and *terkib* manners and a *terkib-bend*.

His most important and most characteristic work

is however over 200 ghazels in which he imitates Fuzūlî. In them he continually produces new expressions, new ideas and images, new significances of words. Besides a passion kept within natural bounds and a tenderness of feeling, which reminds one of Nedîm and makes a deep impression on any lover, there is an undeniable pessimism, reminiscent of Nâbî, in his outlook on life, probably as the result of political conditions and his poor health. Occasionally there is something cold and forced about him. One feels that his spirit is ill and troubled.

Na'îlî especially influenced Thâbit and Nazîm. His principal successors as poets were Hersegli 'Arîf Hikmet and Yenîshehîrlî 'Awnî.

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NA'ÎMÂ, MUŞTAFÂ, a Turkish historian. Muştafâ Na'im known as Na'imâ was born in 1065 (1655) in Aleppo. After becoming a *teberdâr* (halberdier) in 1100 (beg. Oct. 26, 1688) in the imperial palace, he was promoted to be a secretary in the *Diwân* under the grand vizier Kalâ'ilîkoz Aĥmad Paşa. On the 28th Djumâdâ I 1116 (Nov. 28, 1704) he became chief accountant of Anatolia and in 1121 (1709) succeeded Ni'metî as master of ceremonies and imperial historian (*vekhâ'f muwis*; q. v.). He later filled several other offices (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 245) and during the campaign in the Morea was assistant to the commander-in-chief (*ser'asker*). He died at the beginning of 1128 (Jan. 1716) at Old Patras, where he was buried in the outer court of the mosque which has now disappeared. On his tombstone cf. Brûsalf Mehmed Tâhir, *'Othmânîlî Mü'ellifleri*, iii. 151 below, and on his death the *firmân* of the middle of Shawwâl 1128 in Aĥmad Rafîk, *Hicri on ikinci asırda İstanbul hayatı* (1100—1200), Stambul 1930, p. 52 sq.

The candid and accurate history of the Ottoman empire, which he wrote in his official capacity and which he based upon earlier histories like the works of Kara Çelebi-zâde [q. v.], Wedjîhî [q. v.], Aĥmad Şârik al-Manâr-zâde, Hâdjidjî Khalîfa [q. v.] and the imperial Ottoman history mentioned at the end of his work as begun but not finished by a certain 'İsmetî (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 326), covers the years 1000 (beg. Oct. 9, 1591) to 1070 (beg. Sept. 8, 1659). The full title of this much esteemed and largely used work is

Rawdat al-Husain fî Khulâsat Akhbâr al-Khâfî-kain, in Hâdjidjî Khalîfa, No. 14525 called simply *Ta'rih-i Wekâ'î*.

Muştafâ Na'imâ also wrote several political treatises (*Resâ'il-i siyâsiye*), which have survived in a collected volume.

Na'imâ interpreted his duties as a historian very seriously and his incorruptible love of the truth secured his work a superiority over those of all other Ottoman historians of the time. On Na'imâ's view of the "duties of the historian" cf. his own words in A. W. Duda, *Türkische Post*, year iii., Stambul 1928, No. 324, p. 2. The original MS. of his *Ta'rih* is in Stambul in the collection of the Eriwan-Köshk. On the four editions and their variations cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 246; on the third edition see also J. A., 1868, i. 468. A French translation (still in MS.) was prepared by Antoine Galland (Fonds Français, No. 12,197 in the Bibliothèque Nationale); specimens of it were published by N. Jorga in the *Actes et fragments à l'histoire des Roumains*, i. (Bucharest 1895) p. 55.

Bibliography: Cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 246 and particularly *Yeni Medjmu'a*, Stambul 1918, No. 55, p. 49 sqq.; Aĥmad Rafîk, *'Atimler we-San'at'kârlar*, Stambul 1924, p. 256 sqq.; Sâlim, *Tadhkira*, p. 681 sq. (according to whom he also studied chemistry and other arts and sciences and was a carefree jolly boon companion) and 'Alî Dîjanîb, *Na'imâ Ta'rih*, Stambul 1927. (FRANZ BABINGER)

NAKHČUWĀN (NAKHČEWĀN), a town to the north of the Araxes.

The town Nažovâna is mentioned in Ptolemy, v., ch. 12. The Armenians explain the name of Nakhčawan (Nakhčuan) by a popular etymology as *nakh-idjewan* ("Noah's first stopping-place" (although the name is apparently compounded with *-awan* "place") and locate the town in the province of Waspurakan (cf. Yâkût, i. 122), or in that of Siunikh. According to Moses of Chorene, i. ch. 30, Nakhčewan was in the area peopled by Median prisoners (*mar*) in whom we should see the ancestors of the Kurds of this region (cf. Balâdhuri, p. 200; *nahr al-Akrâd*). In the early Arab sources we find the form Nashawâ, Balâdhuri, p. 195, 200; Ibn Miskawaih, ii. 148; Sam'ânî, p. 560; Nashawâ. In the Saldjûk and Mongol period the predominant form is Nakdjuwân (as early as Ibn Khurdâdhbih, p. 122).

The town was conquered under 'Othmân by Ĥabîb b. Maslama. It was rebuilt under Mu'âwiya by 'Azîz b. Ĥâtîm. In 87 (705) the Arabs hanged a large number of Armenian notables, whereupon the town acquired a Muslim character. For a short time (about 900) the power was in the hands of the Bagratuni, but the town was reconquered by the Sâdjids [q. v.] and belonged henceforth to the domain of their vassal, the amîr of Golthn (Ordûbâd); cf. Markwart, *Südarmenien*, Vienna 1930, preface, p. 79, 93, 99—101, 115; text, p. 300, 362, 567. It figures in the wars of the Dailamî period (Ibn Miskawaih, ii. 148) and in the events of the Saldjûk period (cf. Ibn al-Athîr under 514 A. H.).

Nakhčuwân is more particularly associated with the family of Îldegizid atâbegs of Âdharbâidjân (531—632 = 1136—1225), cf. Mirkhwând, *Rawdat al-Safâ*, Lucknow 1894, p. 875—876) whose main centre it was, as is shown by the fine buildings a. the tomb (*mashhad*) of al-ra'îs al-adjall Rukn al-Dîn Djamâl

al-Islām muḥaddam al-mashā'ikh Yūsuf b. Kaṭhīr (المالك (?), dated 557 (1162—1163); *b.* the tomb built by Shams al-Dīn Nuṣrat al-Islām Ildegiz for the *malika Djalāl al-Dunyā wa 'l-Din Mu'mina khātūn* (probably his wife, former wife of the Seldjūk Tughril II, d. 568, *Ta'rikh-i Guzida*, p. 472); on Ildegiz's stay at N. in 568, cf. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xi. 290; *c.* the portico (now in ruins) built in 582 (1182) by the Atābek Abū Dja'far Muḥammad Pahlawān b. Ildegiz. Some localities depending upon N. (Erndjak etc.) were given in fief to the Georgian prince Elikum Orbelian by his brother Kīzl Arslan. When the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn exercised power in Ādharbaidjān, N. belonged to al-Malik al-Djalāliya, daughter of Muḥammad Pahlawān, Nasawī, ed. Houdas, p. 76, 266, 300. Under the Mongols the town was devastated, as is attested by Rubruck who visited it in 1253, ed. 1839, p. 384, cf. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii. 82. The town suffered also from the wars between Turkey and Persia (under Murād IV); Ewliyā Čelebi, ii. 240, Tavernier (1664), ed. 1713, i. 53—55, and Chardin (1673), ed. 1711, i. 179, found it in ruins. Nakhčuwān was only rebuilt after 1828 when the *khanates* of Eriwān and Nakhčewān were ceded to Russia. Under the Persians, Nakhčewān (with the district of Āzā-Djirān = Ordubād) was directly under Ādharbaidjān and not Eriwān. Kalb 'Alī Khān of Nakhčewān was blinded by Aḳa Muḥammad, founder of the Qādjār dynasty. The last chief of Nakhčewān before the Russian occupation was Karīm Khān Kangarli. The *nā'ib* appointed by the Russians were Ihsān-Khān and Shaikh 'Alī Beg. The *maḥall* of the *khanate* were: Nakhčewān, Alindja-čay (Armenian *Erndjak*), Mawāzi-khātūn, Khok, Daralagez, and those of Āzā-Djirān: Ordubād, Akulis, Dasta, Bilāw, Činanāb. Among the dependencies of Nakhčuwān, Djulfa (since 1828) on the Russian-Persian frontier is very well known (Armenian Djuta) with the ruins of the old town and of an old bridge. (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 399; *pul-i diyā al-Mulk*) and the bridge on the Tabriz-Djulfa railway (built in 1906).

In 1834, after the Russian occupation (Dubois) the *khanate* (the town and 179 villages) numbered 30,323 inhabitants (besides 11,341 inhabitants of Ordubād and its 52 villages). In 1896 the town numbered 7,433 inhabitants (4,512 Muslims and 2,376 Armenians) and the district (*uyezd*) 86,878. In 1913 the town had 8946 and the district 121,365. After the Russian revolution of 1917, the greater part of Nakhčewān was made an autonomous republic (area 5,988 sq.km. with, in 1926, 12,611 urban, 92,345 rural inhabitants). This republic formed a kind of dependency of the more important Muslim republic of Ādharbaidjān (Bākū), from which it is separated however by the Armenian lands of the High Karabagh.

Nakhčewān on the Don is the settlement of Armenian colonists founded in 1780 on the Don and is at the present day a suburb of Rostov.

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NAKHSHAB, a town in Bukhāra, also called Nasaf by the Arab geographers (cf. the similar evolution of Nashāwa from Nakhčawan). The town lay in the valley of the Kashka-Daryā, cf. Ibn Hawḳal, p. 376: Kashk-rūd, which runs southwards parallel to the Zarafshān (river of Samarkand) and runs towards the Amū-Daryā [q. v.] but before joining it disappears in the sands. Nakhshab lay on the road joining Bukhārā to Balkh 4 days' journey from the former and eight from the latter (cf. Muḥaddasī, p. 344). In the time of Iṣṭakhri (p. 325) the town consisted only of one quarter (*rabaq*) and a ruined citadel (*kuhandiz*). The river ran through the centre of the town (Ibn Hawḳal, p. 378).

The Mongols from the time of Čingiz-Khān (1220) used the region of Nakhshab for their summer encampments. The Čaghatāis Kābāk (1318—1326) and Qazan (killed in 1347) had palaces built there, as a result of which the whole district was called Qarshī ("palace" in Mongol) [q. v.] Qarshī is often mentioned in the time of Timūr (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 111, 244, 259 etc.) but it was eclipsed by Kish (Shahr-i Sabz, q. v.), the birthplace of Timūr, 3 days' journey above Qarshī. The citadel of Qarshī was of considerable strength and valiantly resisted Shaibānī Khān (cf. *Shaibānī-nāma*, ed. Mélioransky, p. 29) and 'Abd Allāh Khān of Bukhārā (in 965 = 1558). From the xviiith century onwards Qarshī began to rise at the expense of Kish and before 1920 was the second town of the *khanate* of Bukhārā with a population of 60—70,000.

The problem of identifying the ruins in the district of Qarshī has been studied on the spot by L. A. Zimin, who formulates his conclusions as follows: 1. The ruins of the ancient Nakhshab are around the hill of Shulluk-tapā (cf. Mahdī Khān, *Ta'rikh-i Nādiri* on the events of 1149) which marks the site of the old citadel, already in ruins in the xth century. 2. As a result of the erection of the Mongol palaces somewhere to the south of the river, the town begins to shift southwards, and at the end of the xivth century when Timūr built a citadel there it must have occupied in part the site of the modern Qarshī. 3. The remains of this citadel (which Shaibānī Khān and 'Abd Allāh Khān besieged in vain) ought to be sought near the ruins of Qal'a-yi Zahāk-i Mārān (about 2 miles S. W. from Qarshī).

Bibliography: Barthold, *Turkestan*, Engl. transl., G. M. S., p. 134—142 (mentions about 60 villages dependent on Nakhshab); do., *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, Petersburg 1912, p. 126 (valley of Kashka); L. Zimin, *Nakhshab, Nasaf, Qarshī*, in *Īkd al-Djūmān* (Festschrift for V. Barthold), Tashkent 1927, p. 197—214. (V. MINORSKY)

NAKSHABĪ, **SHAIKH** **DIYĀ'** **AL-DĪN** (d. 751 = 1350), a famous Persian author (not to be confused with the famous **Shāikh** **Abū Turāb** **Nakhsabī**, d. 245 = 860). Very little is known of his career.

His *nisba* suggests that he came from **Nakhsab** [q. v.] but he went to India where he became a murid of **Shāikh** **Farid**, a descendant of the celebrated **Shāikh** **Ḥamid al-Dīn Nāgūrī**. The *Akhbār al-Akhyār* of 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī (Dihlī 1309, p. 104—107) says that he died in Badā'un after a long and contemplative life and that his tomb is there. **Nakhsabī** was a prolific writer who used his knowledge of Indian languages to translate Indian books into Persian. His best known work is the *Tūfi-nāma* ("Book of the Parrot") very popular in India and Central Asia, based on the Sanskrit *Āṇḍasaptatī* (partly translated into Greek by D. Galanos, Athens 1851). In the preface to this book **Nakhsabī** tells us that one of his patrons showed him an old Persian translation of this work and persuaded him to do it again as the language of the old translation was too simple and artless. **Nakhsabī** set to work and made a book of 52 chapters (called "nights") replacing some stories which did not seem to him sufficiently interesting by better ones.

The book, completed in 730 (1330), is in the usual form of a framework with inset stories and is characterized by unusually fine language and bold metaphors and similes. **Nakhsabī**'s language however seems to have been too difficult and precious for later generations as by command of the Emperor Akbar, **Abu 'l-Faḍl** b. **Mubārak** rewrote the book in a simplified version (Rieu, p. 753^b). This version however was completely supplanted by **Muḥammad** **Qādirī** (xviith century) who reduced it to 35 chapters. **Qādirī**'s version became the foundation of a large number of translations into Hindi (**Āwārī** and **Ghawwāṣī**), Bengali (**Caṇḍicarāṇa Munshi**), Turkish (**Şarī** 'Abd Allāh Efendi, pr. **Bulāḳ** 1254 and Constantinople 1256) and **Qazan** Tatar. There is also a metrical version in Persian by **Ḥamid Lāhūrī** (**Bland**, in *J. R. A. S.*, ix. 163). The same theme is taken by a number of popular versions which were disseminated in Persia in cheap lithographs under the title *Čil (čihil) Tūfi* ("40 parrots"). The text of one of these was published by **V. Zhukovski** (St. Petersburg 1901). **Nakhsabī**'s work was known in Europe as early as 1792 when **M. Gerrans** published a free English translation of 12 nights. **Qādirī**'s version was translated into German by **C. I. L. Iken** (Stuttgart 1822); this edition contains an essay on **Nakhsabī** and specimens of his *Tūfi-nāma* by **Kosegarten**. The Turkish version was translated into German by **L. Rosen** (Leipzig 1858). So far no complete translation of the original work of **Nakhsabī** has been published although there is a French translation in MSS. in Munich. **E. Berthels** has translated the book into Russian but this version is also still in manuscript. The eighth night was published in original text and German translation by **H. Brockhaus** (Leipzig 1843 and in *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 1843, No. 242, 243, p. 969 sqq.). **Nakhsabī**'s other works never attained anything like the popularity of the *Tūfi-nāma* but have almost all come down to us. Among them are: *Gulriz* "Scattered Roses", a novel dealing with the loves of **Ma'sūm-shah** and **Nūshāba** (pr. by **Agha** **Muḥammad** **Kāzīm** **Shirāzī** and **K. F.**

Azoe, Calcutta 1912, in *Bibl. Ind.*); *Djuz'iyāt u-Kulliyāt* ("Particulars and Generals") also called *Čil Nāmūs* (Rieu, p. 740^a), an allegory which deals with the descriptions of the various parts of the human body considered as the noblest work of God and as proof of His greatness; *Ladhdhat al-Nisā'*, a Persian version of the *Koka-Sāstra*, an Indian work on different temperaments and sexual intercourse; *Silk al-Sulūk*, a collection of sayings of celebrated mystics (lith. Dihlī 1895), and *Naṣā'ih u-Mawā'iz*, a brief treatise of a Sūfī nature (Rieu, p. 738^a). His treatise *‘Ashara Mu-bashshara* is only known from its mention in the *Akhbār al-Akhyār* (see above). All the prose works of **Nakhsabī** are embellished with *ḳif'as* scattered through them, which show that he was also an excellent poet.

Bibliography: On **Nakhsabī**: **J. Pertsch**, *Über Nachschabī's Papageienbuch*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxi. 505 sqq.; **Benfey**, in *G.G.A.*, 1858, p. 529; **H. Ethé**, *Gr. I Ph.*, ii. 258, 261, 324—326, 335; **Elliott**, *History of India*, vi. 485. Besides the MSS. and editions mentioned: **Qādirī**'s version in text and English translated by **Gladwin**, Calcutta 1800 and London 1801; *Toḡā-Kahānī*, a Hindūstānī translation (ed. by **D. Forbes**, London 1852). On *Gulriz* s. also **Ch. Stewart**, *A descriptive Catalogue of the Orient Library of the late Tippoo Sultan of Mysore*, Cambridge 1819, p. 85^a; *Ladhdhat al-Nisā'* in **Mehren**, *Codices Persici* etc. *Bibliothecae regiae Haf-niensis*, Copenhagen 1857, p. 15, No. xxxvi. (**E. BERTHEL'S**)

NAKĪR. [See **MUNKAR**.]

NAQSHBAND, **MUḤAMMAD** **B. MUḤAMMAD** **BAHĀ'** **AL-DĪN** **AL-BUKHĀRĪ** (717—791 = 1317—1389), founder of the **Naqshbandī** Order. His name, which signifies "painter" is interpreted as "drawing incomparable pictures of the Divine Science" (**J. P. Brown**, *The Darvishes*, 2nd ed., p. 142) or more mystically as "holding the form of real perfection in the heart" (*Miftāḥ al-Ma'ryā* quoted by **Ahlwardt**, Berlin Catalogue, No. 2188). The title *al-Shāh* which is given him in a dirge cited in the *Rashahāt* means "spiritual leader". The *nisba* **al-Uwaisī** implies that his system resembled that of **Uwais al-Karānī**. His *Acta* were collected by one of his adherents, **Ṣalāḥ** b. **al-Mubārak**, in a work called *Maḳāmāt Sa'iyidīnā al-Shāh Naqshband*, which furnished material to the author of *Rashahāt* 'Ain al-Hayāt (893 = 1488), and from which large citations, apparently in the words of **Naqshband** himself, but translated from Persian into Arabic, are given in the modern work *al-Ḥadā'iq al-wardīya fi Ḥaḳā'iq Adjillā al-Nakshbandīya* by 'Abd al-Madīd b. **Muḥammad** **al-Khānī** (Cairo 1306). He was born in a village at the distance of one *farsakh* from **Bukhārā**, called **Kushk Hinduwān**, but afterwards **Kushk 'Arifān**. At the age of 18 he was sent to **Sammās**, a village one mile from **Ramithan** and three from **Bukhārā**, to learn Sūfism from **Muḥammad** **Bābā** **al-Sammāsī**. In this person's system the *dhiḳr* was recited aloud; **Naqshband** preferred that of 'Alā' **al-Dawla** 'Abd al-Khālīq **al-Ghudjdawānī** (d. 575 A. H.), who recited it to himself; and this led to ill-feeling between him and the other adherents of **al-Sammāsī**, who however, it is stated, ultimately confessed that **Naqshband** was right, and on his deathbed appointed him his *khaliḳa*. After this person's death he went to **Samarḳand**, and thence

to Bukhārā, where he married, and whence he returned to his native village; thence he went to Nasaf, where he continued his studies under a *khalīfa* of al-Sammāsī, Amīr Kulāl. He then lived for a time in villages near Bukhārā given as Zewartūn and Anbikta, then studied with a *khalīfa* of Amīr Kulāl named 'Arīf al-Dīk-kirānī for seven years; after this he spent twelve years in the service of the Sultān Khalīl, whose rise to sovereignty is described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii. 49), and whose capital appears to have been Samarḳand. After this monarch's fall (747 = 1347) he returned to Zewartūn, where he practised philanthropy and the care of animals for seven years, and road-mending for another seven. The last years of his life appear to have been spent in his native village, where according to the *Rashahūt* he was buried. Vámbéry (*Travels in Central Asia*, 1864) gives Baveddin, two leagues from Bukhārā, as the name of the village which contains his tomb, "whither pilgrimages are made even from the most remote parts of China, while it was the practice in Bukhārā to go thither every week, intercourse with the metropolis being maintained by means of some 300 asses plying for hire".

The biographies bring him into connection with various places and persons. At Herāt a banquet was given in his honour by the Amīr Ḥusain (b. Ghīyāth al-Dīn al-Ghūrī; cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *loc. cit.*), where in spite of the Amīr's assertion that the food had been honestly obtained Nakshband refused it, and it had to be given away in charity. He was with this prince also at Sarkhas. Two or three pilgrimages and visits to Baghdād, Nisābūr and Tāyābād are mentioned. His sayings were collected by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Bukhārī at the request of 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār al-Bukhārī (d. 802 A.H.) (Brit. Mus. Add. 26,294). Persian writings by him are mentioned in the *Ḥadā'iq*.

Bibliography: Besides those mentioned above: *Nafahāt al-Uns*, N^o. 442; *al-Shakā'iq al-Nu'māniya*, transl. Rescher, p. 165.

(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

NĀKŪS (A.), pl. *nawākīs*, a kind of rattle used and in some places still used by Christians in the east to summon the community to divine service. It is a board pierced with holes which is beaten with a rod. The name, which comes from the Syriac *nākūshā* is not infrequently found with the verbs *ḍaraba* or *ṣakka* in the old Arabic poets, especially when early morning is to be indicated, e.g. 'Antara, app.; Labid, N^o. 19, 6; *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxiii. 215; Mutalammis, ed. Vollers, p. 178, v. 6; al-A'shā in Nöldeke's *Delectus*, p. 26; *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, xix. 92. According to tradition, Muḥammad hesitated between this instrument and the Jewish trumpet before deciding on the call to prayer by the mu'adhḥins [s. ADHĀN].

Bibliography: Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 2466; Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter*, p. 276; G. Jacob, *6. Jahresbericht d. geogr. Gesellsch. zu Greifswald*, 1896, p. 4; do., *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, 1897, p. 22, 233; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 346 sqq.; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, iii/ii. 87.

(FR. BUHL)

AL-NAMĀRA, 1. a place in Syria. It is situated in the *ḥarra* of al-Ṣafa' on an eminence in the Wādī 'l-Shām, which runs from the Djebel al-Drūz (Djebel al-Hawrān) to the plain of Ruḥba, at the spot where it joins the Wādī 'l-Sa'ūṭ. It

corresponds to the Roman military post of Namara (Waddington, *Inscriptions*, N^o. 2270). Less than a mile S. E. of al-Namāra, Dussaud found the Nabataean-Arab tomb inscription of the "King of all the Arabs", Maru 'l-Kais bar 'Amru, i. e. the Lakhmid Imru 'l-Kais b. 'Amru, of the 7th Kestil 223 of the era of Boṣra' = Dec. 7, 328 A. D. (cf. vol. i., p. 382a).

Bibliography: R. Dussaud (and Clermont-Ganneau), *Inscription nabatéo-arabe d'en-Nemāra*, in *Revue Archéol.*, series iii., vol. xli., 1902, ii., p. 409-421; J. Halévy, in *Revue Sémitique*, xi., 1903, p. 58-62; F. E. Peiser, *Die arabische Inschrift von En-Nemāra*, in *O.L.Z.*, vi., 1903, p. 277-281; M. Hartmann, *Zur Inschrift von Namāra*, in *O.L.Z.*, ix., 1906, p. 573-584; M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semit. Epigraphik*, ii., 1908, p. 34-37; Th. Nöldeke, *Der Araberkönig von Namāra*, in *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé*, Paris 1909, p. 463-466; Clermont-Ganneau, in *R. A. O.*, vi. 305-310; vii. 167-170; J.-B. Chabot, *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, N^o. 483; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, p. 255, 269, 353, 371, 378.

Three other places bore the same name in ancient times:

2. Namara (Waddington, N^o. 2172-2185), the modern Druse village of Nimra in the Djebel al-Hawrān northwest of al-Mushennef.

Bibliography: Nöldeke, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxix. 437; Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina*, Freiburg 1896, p. 253; Thomsen, *Loca sancta*, p. 92; Dussaud, *Voyage archéol. au Ṣafa*, Paris 1901, p. 148, 184; *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeol. Expedition to Syria in 1904-1905*, division ii., section A, p. 342; division iii., section A, p. 350; Dussaud, *Topographie*, p. 395.

3. Namara, a village in Batanaia, probably the modern Nāmīr al-Hawā', N. E. of Der'a.

Bibliography: Schumacher, in *Z.D.P.V.*, xii. 291; xx. 211; Dussaud, *Topographie*, p. 341, 359 sq.

4. Namara, Nam(a)r west of Ṣanamēn, between al-Hāra (Eḍrīṭun) and Djāsīm (Gasimea), mentioned on an ancient boundary stone.

Bibliography: Clermont-Ganneau, in *R. A. O.*, i. 3-5; Dussaud, *Topographie*, p. 341 (cf. Namr in Nöldeke, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxix. 437?). (E. HONIGMANN)

NĀMĪK KAMĀL BEY. [See KEMĀL MEḤMED NĀMĪK.]

AL-NAML, the Ants, the title of Sūra xxvii. of the Qur'ān, the whole of which was revealed at Mecca. Nöldeke puts it among the Sūras of the second period. It contains 95 verses. Its title is taken from verse 18: "When the armies reached the valley of the Ants one of them said: 'O ye ants, return to your homes lest Solomon and his armies crush you without noticing it'". It contains one verse that was abrogated (verse 94 annulled by ix. 5).

Bibliography: cf. AL-NAHL.

(MAURICE CHEMOUL)

NAMRUD, also NAMRUḌH, NIMRUD, the Nimrod of the Bible, is associated in Muslim legend, as in Haggada, with the story of the childhood of Abraham. The Qur'ān, it is true, does not mention him but probably, as in many other cases, only from dislike of mentioning names. That Muḥammad was acquainted with the legend

of Namrüd is evident from the following verses. "Do you not see how he disputed with Ibrāhīm about the Lord who had granted him dominion? When Ibrāhīm said: It is my Lord who gives life and death, the other replied: I give life and I slay. When Ibrāhīm said: God makes the sun rise in the east; do you make it rise in the west; then the liar was humbled" (ii. 260). The Qur'ān exegetists are probably right when they see Namrüd here disputing with Ibrāhīm and also when they refer to Namrüd the verse: "What did Ibrāhīm's people answer? They only said: Kill him, burn him; but God saved him from the fire" (xxix. 23). The legend is already richly developed in Ṭabarī, but it is at the beginning of the romance of 'Antar in the Abraham midrašh that we find its most luxurious development.

Ṭabarī already numbers Namrüd among the three or (with Nebuchadnezzar) four kings who, like Sulaimān b. Dāwūd and Dhū'l-Karnain, ruled the whole world. His astrologers told him that a child would be born who would overthrow his kingdom and destroy his idols. Ibrāhīm thus becomes one of those heroes of legend who are persecuted from the moment of birth by a tyrant, to whom they are destined to prove fatal, like Moses, Gilgamesh, Semiramis, Sargon, Karna (in the *Mahābhārata*), Trakhan (King of Gilgit), Cyrus, Perseus, Telephus, Agesthus, Oedipus, Romulus and Remus, Jesus (see Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, ii. 437—455). Ūsha, the wife of Āzar or of Tārikh (Terakh), is able to deceive Namrüd and his searchers. Ibrāhīm is born in concealment; maturing rapidly, he engages in a religious dispute with Namrüd; Namrüd cannot be God for God gives life and death. Namrüd replies that he can do this also for he can execute or pardon a man condemned to death. Namrüd has Ibrāhīm thrown into the fire; it becomes a cool health-resort. An angel keeps Ibrāhīm cool at which Namrüd marvels like Nebuchadnezzar at the preservation of the three young men in the fiery furnace (Daniel iii. 24 sq.). Namrüd resolves to attack the God of Ibrāhīm in his heaven. He feeds four young eagles on meat and wine till they are of a great size, ties them to the four corners of a chest, fastens a spear at each corner with a piece of meat on the point and sits in the chest; the eagles, trying to reach the meat, fly higher and higher. The mountains appear like antheaps and later the whole world looks like a ship in the water. It is in vain however for he falls to earth. Next he builds a tower in order to reach the god of Ibrāhīm, then the tongues are confused; in place of one Syriac tongue, 73 arose. God's angels admonish Namrüd. But he equips his armies against God. God sends an army of gnats against him, who eat the flesh and drink the blood of Namrüd's men. A gnat enters Namrüd's brain through his nose. For 400 years he had exercised his tyrannical rule and for 400 years he was tortured by the gnat until he died.

Muslim legend derives the name Namrüd from *tamarrada*: he who rebelled (against God). But there is another derivation, viz. from *namra* "tigress" in that version of the Namrüd legend in which Namrüd is suckled by a tigress. This version resembles the Romulus and Remus story (Jean de l'Ours) and culminates in the Oedipus story for Namrüd, brought up unknown, kills his father and marries his mother. Al-Kisā'i has preserved

this version and it is given at greater length in the introduction to the romance of 'Antar.

Namrüd's father Kana'an b. Kūsh has a dream which troubles him; it is interpreted to mean that his son will kill him. The child is born, a snake enters his nose, which is an ominous sign. Kana'an wants to kill the child, but his mother Sulkhā entrusts him secretly to a herdsman; the latter's flocks scatter at the sight of the black flat-nosed infant. The shepherd's wife throws the child into the water; the waves wash him to the bank where he is suckled by a tigress. Already dangerous when quite a boy, as a young man he becomes a robber leader, attacks Kana'an with his band, kills him (without knowing that he is killing his father), marries his own mother and becomes king of the country and later lord of the world. Āzar (already in the Qur'ān the father of Ibrāhīm) builds him a marvellous palace flowing with milk, oil and honey, with mechanical singing birds — in the mediæval epic the wonderful feature of the Chrysotriklinium in Byzantium. The lore of astrology, the inheritance of Idris and Hermes he acquires by force from the pupils of Idris. Iblis teaches him magic. He has himself worshipped as a god. Then dreams, voices and omens frighten him. In spite of all Namrüd's cruel orders, Ibrāhīm is born, brought up and soon shatters the belief in Namrüd. Namrüd throws those who believe in God to the wild animals but they do not touch them. He denies them food; the sand of the desert becomes corn for them; on every grain of it is written: "gift of God". Namrüd throws Ibrāhīm into the fire but he is unharmed. Namrüd builds up a pile of fuel, the flames of which burn the birds for miles round — it is impossible to approach it. Iblis then designs a ballista which hurls Ibrāhīm on to the flaming pile. Ibrāhīm spends the finest time of his life there under blooming trees and amid rippling brooks. Namrüd then decides to attack the God of Ibrāhīm in heaven. Starved eagles fly up with his litter, until he hears a voice saying the first heaven is 500 years in width, it is 500 years between heaven and heaven, then comes infinity. Namrüd shoots an arrow against God; the arrow comes back stained with blood. Namrüd suddenly becomes grey and old and falls to the ground. But he plumes himself on having slain God. Then a gnat puts an end to his life.

The history of the Namrüd legend. Very little can have been taken from the Bible. Qur'ān expositors and collectors of legends call Namrüd *ḏjabbār* (tyrant) no doubt after the *gibbor* applied to Namrüd in the Bible (Gen. x. 6); Geiger also sees in *ḏjabbār* 'anid (xi. 62) an allusion to Namrüd. Ṭabarī (i. 217) also describes Namrüd as a *mutadabbir*. Muslim legend and Haggada (*Targ. Shenī* on Esther I, i.; Midr. Hagadol, ed. Schechter, p. 180—181; Gaster, *Exempla of the Rabbis*, N. 1) make Namrüd ruler of the world. From Haggada comes the association of Namrüd with the Tower of Babel and in particular with the childhood of Abraham, and with the latter's rescue from the fire (*Gen. Rabba*, xlix., l.). The death of Namrüd caused by the gnat is also based on Haggada, which makes Titus, the destroyer of the Temple, die in this way. Nebuchadnezzar comes to a similar end (see Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 97—99). The flight to heaven especially in the romance of 'Antar with the intervals of 500 years recall the ascent of Nebuchadnezzar in

the Talmud (*Chagiga*, p. 13^a). But the flight has far more resemblance to that of *Shāh Kai-Kā'ūs* as described by Firdawsī (ed. Mohl, ii. 31—34). The Namrūd legend borrows from many directions. Ṭabari mentions that Namrūd had been identified as the Persian *Ḍahhāk* (*Annales*, i. 253) but he refutes this idea (*Annales*, i. 323, 324). Bible, Haggada and Persian epic were further developed, the marvels increased, an early history invented, Namrūd made an Oedipus, and in the *Sīrat 'Antar* he becomes the hero of a romance. The Muslim Namrūd legend then found its way into the late Jewish legend of Abraham. Bernard Chapira (see below) has published one such in Hebrew and Arabic. He is certainly wrong in taking seriously the authorship of Ka'b al-Aḥbār, this is one fiction out of many thousands. But the mutual influence of Haggada and Muslim legend is indisputable. The later *Midraš*, as M. Grünbaum has clearly shown, *Pirkē R. Elieser*, *Tanna de bē Eliyahu*, *Midraš Haggadōl*, *Sefer haiyāshār*, *Shebet Mūsār* of R. Eliyah Hakkohen from Smyrna, is influenced in the sections on Abraham and Nimrod by Muslim literature.

Bibliography: The commentaries on Sūra ii. 260; xxix. 23; Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 217, 219, 220, 252—265, 319—325; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Ta'rikh al-Kāmil*, Būlak, i. 29, 37—40; Tha'labi, *Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1325, p. 46—49; al-Kisā'i, *Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, ed. Eisenberg, i. 145—149; *Sīrat 'Antar*, Cairo 1291, i. 9—79 (1306, i. 4—34); Damiri, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, s. v. *nasr*; Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed...*, 1902, p. 112 sq., 115 sq., 121; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 90—99, 125—132; Bernard Chapira, *Légendes bibliques attribuées à Kab el-ahbar*, in *R. E. J.*, 1919, lxi., p. 86—107, Arabic and Hebrew text 1920, lx. 37—44; B. Heller, *Die Bedeutung des arabischen 'Antar-Romans für die vergl. Litteraturkunde*, Leipzig 1931, p. 16—21; S. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes*, Paris 1933, p. 31—35. (BERNARD HELLER)

NĀMŪS (A.) is a word of many meanings. In St. John's Gospel xv. 26, the coming of the paraclete is announced. In the preceding verse a passage from the Psalms referring to the haters is quoted and ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτῶν given as source. The verses in the Gospel from 23 on were already known to Ibn Ishāk in an Arabic version which came from a Syriac one as the reproduction of "paraclete" by *al-manahmānā* shows. In the same source the word νόμος was left untranslated: for we find it in Ibn Hishām in the form *nāmūs*. Biographical tradition makes Waraḳa b. Nawfal expressly assert the identification of Muḥammad with the paraclete promised by Jesus mentioned in the passage from the Gospel. The oldest forms of the tradition giving this episode represent a combination of the Gospel passage with Sūra lxi. 6. In later developments of the tradition the idea of a paraclete gradually falls into the background till it was finally interpreted as the name of an individual and even received an epithet. Thus we read in Ibn Hishām, p. 153 that Waraḳa replied as follows to his cousin who asked him about Muḥammad's first vision: "If thou hast reported the truth to me then truly the greatest *nāmūs* has come to him, who used to come to Mūsā, and then he (Muḥammad) is the prophet of this *umma* etc." In Ṭabari the "greatest *nāmūs*" is in a gloss expressly said to be Djibril.

As the personal interpretation is not sufficiently explained by meanings, known to be really old, of the true Arabic word *nāmūs* (root *n-m-s*) which exists alongside of the Greek loanword, and meanings like "the trusted one, confidant of a secret" seem rather to come from the Greek loanword already known in its reference to Djibril (against Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v.), it was natural to look for a specific use of the word νόμος which admitted of a personal interpretation and could at the same time have been known to the Arabs. Nyberg was reminded by the *nāmūs* doctrine of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (see below) of the pseudo-Clementine writings; and T. Andrae derives the *nāmūs* of the Waraḳa tradition from the νόμος αἰώνιος of the pseudo-Clementines, which according to the book *Κήρυγμα Πέτρου* was revealed to Adam and afterwards again appeared to all prophets worthy of such an honour, lastly to Moses and to Jesus. However startling the agreement of the conception of νόμος αἰώνιος with the later forms of the Waraḳa tradition, the question still remains open, by what way a personal conception of νόμος could have entered Islām. Baumstark quoted a passage from the liturgy of St. James of Jerusalem: ἐκαλέσας αὐτὸν διὰ νόμου, ἐπαυδαγώγησας διὰ τῶν προφητῶν and observes that the liturgy was the authoritative one in the Beduin camps and must have existed in an Arabic translation. It is really quite natural to understand νόμος personally here. No explanation of our Waraḳa tradition can on the other hand be obtained from Mandaean writings as Lidzbarski has already pointed out in his translation of the *Ginzā*, p. 247 sq.

That there is a true Arabic word *nāmūs* has already been mentioned. The dictionaries give such varied meanings for it that we can only consider as old and original those that are confirmed by quotations. This holds for the meanings "hiding place, hunter's hut, monk's cell" probably also for "buzzer, midge" as *nomen agentis* from *n-m-s* to "buzz". On the other hand, not only the meaning "cunning" and its derivatives must be secondary, but also the already mentioned meanings referred to persons, the latter especially because the word so far as we know, is used also in the later literature predominantly in the material sense and the person connected with the idea is called *ṣāhib al-nāmūs* etc. (counter-example: Dozy, s. v.). Just as the material meanings predominate generally, so also does the meaning of the Greek loanword predominate, apart of course from the old poetry, from which the meaning "midge" and particularly the word *nāmūsiya* "mosquito net" have survived into the modern vernacular. Below we shall therefore deal only with the development of meaning of the Greek loanword.

The favourite meaning is divine law, with or without the addition of *ilāhī*. This law is revealed through the prophets, and only men of prophetic spirit can be *wāḍi' al-nawāmīs* in this sense. The double character, political and religious, of the Muslim constitution naturally very much favoured this conception. Thus, for example, al-Kāḷashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'ṣhā*, i., Cairo 1903, p. 280 gives as the first among the *'ulūm shar'īya*, *'ilm al-nawāmīs al-muta'allāḥ bi 'l-nubuwwa*. Ibn Sina expressly observes in his encyclopædia *Aḫsām al-'Ulūm al-'aḥliya* (in *Madjmu'at al-Rasā'il*, Cairo 1328, p. 230 sq.) in treating of politics that the pertinent works of Plato and Aristotle understand

by *vóμoc* not "cunning" and "deceit", corresponding to the usage of the vernacular, but *sunna*, revelation, etc., for the laws of the community are dependent on prophecy and the divine law; similarly Sprenger, *Dict. of Technical Terms*, i. 40. Abū al-Haiyān al-Tawhīdī devotes the fourth of his *Muḳābasāt* to the *nāmūs ilāhī* (new ed., Cairo 1929).

Here we may mention Miskawaih's (Ibn Miskawaih) definition which is also of literary interest. In connection with his discussion of the function of the *ḍinār* as a measure of the equivalence (*ʿadāla*) of service and reward (*Tahdhīb al-Aḫlāk*, maḳāla iv., e. g. Cairo, *Khairiyya*, 1322, p. 38), he quotes an alleged saying of Aristotle according to which the *ḍinār* is a just *nāmūs*. *Nāmūs*, he adds, in striking contrast to Ibn Sina, means in Greek, *siyāsa* and *tadbīr* [q. v.]; Aristotle says in the *Eth. Nic.*, the greatest *nāmūs* proceeds from God, the second is the judge, the third the *ḍinār*; the first, as a condition for just settlement between the claims of men, is the example which the two others follow. The well-known filiation of the Muslim books on Hellenistic ethics has resulted in this explanation finding a place in later derivatives from Miskawaih, e. g. in Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Aḫlāk-i Nāṣirī*, i. 2, 7 (e. g. Tabriz 1320, p. 152), also Kīnālīzāde ʿAlī b. ʿAmr Allāh al-Ḥinnāʾī, *Aḫlāk-i ʿAlāʾī* (1248, i., p. 78) and each more fully than the preceding. As a result of these expositions al-Ṭūsī in the economic part of his book (ii. 2, p. 254) calls gold briefly the smallest *nāmūs* (translation in Plessner, *Der ökonomische des Neupythagoreers „Bryson“*, 1928, p. 63); and Kīnālīzāde also follows him (ii., p. 7).

The *nāmūs* doctrine of the *Iḫwān al-Ṣafāʾ* can only be briefly outlined here. In part i., p. 56 (Bombay ed.), the *nāmūs* is defined as a spiritual kingdom (*mamlaka rūḥāniyya*) which is upheld by 8 kinds of men. God appears as the *wāḍiʿ al-nāmūs*. *Ṣāḥib al-nāmūs* is from the context Muḥammad, in so far as one can identify from the context any individuals in the pages of the *Iḫwān al-Ṣafāʾ*. A few pages later Muḥammad is described as the *wāḍiʿ al-nāmūs*. In part iv., p. 57, the angels appear as teachers of the *aṣḥāb al-nawāmīs*. Any one who does not guide his life according to the commands and prohibitions of the latter, has no share in divine *nāmūs* (iv. 147). This spiritual kingdom is the element of the *Iḫwān al-Ṣafāʾ*; they slept in the cave of their father Adam [q. v.] for a long period until the fore-ordained time (*miʿād*) came under the rule of the Lord of the greatest *nāmūs* (Muḥammad?) and they perceived their spiritual state (*madīna*) which was raised in the air and from which Adam and his wife had been banished (iv. 107). If the *Iḫwān al-Ṣafāʾ* by common effort and uniform self instruction succeed in building a perfect spiritual state (*fāḍila*, cf. al-Fārābī!), this state will belong to the kingdom of the Lord of the greatest *nāmūs*, who has dominion over souls and bodies (iv. 211). The *nāmūs* thus even becomes a kind of divine being, where there is a discussion of the "philosophic service of God", which represents the higher stage in comparison with that of the Muslim teaching regarding obligations and duties. This philosophic service of God had been, they say, practised by the ancient Greeks on the first, middle, and last day of the month. The night of the first day was divided into three parts. The first was spent in

worship of *nāmūs*, the second in meditation on the *malakūt*, the third in humble prostration before the Creator, confession of sins and repetition of prayers by Plato, Idrīs and Aristotle until the break of day (iv. 273 sqq.). Nevertheless the *nāmūs* here has not exactly taken the place of God. But in several passages of the encyclopædia he is represented as giving names. Thus he calls the spirits of the planets angels (ii. 97; cf. iv. 244); he does the same with the natural forces (ii. 102) and (iii. 10) with the nature of origin and decay. Above the spheres (*dawāʾir*) of the three kingdoms of nature and of man is the sphere of the divine *nāmūs*, whose members deal with the affairs of the *nawāmīs* and the divine revelations and which corresponds to the "surrounding" (ninth) sphere of the astronomers (iv. 251). As the *nāmūs* and the ability to become creative in him involves a special organisation of man, he has found an allegorical place in the physiology and psychology of the *Iḫwān al-Ṣafāʾ*; here indeed the conception changes from page to page. Thus in the first part of the work (2nd half, p. 48) five kinds of soul are described, two above and two below that of man. The former two are the soul of the angels and the divine (*ḥudsiyya*) soul, one of which is the stage of the soul of wisdom, the second that of *nāmūs*-prophethood. On the very next page the one is the intellectual soul of wisdom and the other the *nāmūs*-like angel soul. On p. 54 we find the following gradation: nature, soul, intellect, *nāmūs*. Nature receives through the soul free-will, through the intellect the power of thought and through the *nāmūs* commands and prohibitions. The parts of the soul are as follows: vegetable, animal, logical (human), intellectual (wise), *nāmūs*, angelic, which latter serves the *nāmūs*. Here again there is the tendency to personification. It is in keeping with this when in iv. 119 (cf. also iv. 146) the story of Socrates in prison (in agreement with the Greek tradition and mentioning the *Phaedo*) it is related that Socrates will not escape from prison for fear of the *nāmūs*; he justifies his attitude with the words: "He who does not respect the *nāmūs* is slain by it". When immediately afterwards the *nāmūs* is identified with the *ṣarīʿa*, it is difficult to say whether this is serious or only done out of caution. It is nevertheless remarkable that the sixth essay of the fourth part which treats of the nature of divine *nāmūs*, of the qualifications for prophethood and the qualities of a prophet, does not contain the word *nāmūs* at all but instead of it always has *ṣarīʿa*. The *Iḫwān* have spiritual powers of their own; these form a series of four stages, the third of which is the *ḥuwwa nāmūsīyya*; man attains it at 40 and it is the special characteristic of kings and rulers. Possessors of this power are called the distinguished and noble (*fuḍalāʾ*, *kirām*) brethren. Above it is only the *ḥuwwa malakiyya* (iv. 134 sq.).

The origin of the meaning "cunning" cannot be given with certainty; it possibly comes from the Arabic meaning "place of concealment". That it was particularly common in the spoken language is evident from the quotation given above from Ibn Sīna. In any case this meaning has undergone a remarkable amalgamation with the Greek "law" in the literature of magic for the word is there used for magical formulae, particularly those which are based on illusions of the senses. The pupil of al-Anṭākī [q. v.] in his

Dhail on the latter's *Tadhkira*, s. v. *simiyā* (iii., Cairo 1924, p. 56), gives the *namāwis* as the first section of the science known by this name. But the meaning of the word is not limited to this kind of magic formulae.

Through translations from the Arabic the word entered the Hebrew literature of the middle ages with the meaning "law, religious law (of other peoples), morality, propriety"; in the latter meaning it has survived in the modern Hebrew vernacular. It is interesting to note that in the modern dialect of Mecca a similar change of meaning is found; according to Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter*, N^o. 10, *nāmūs* means the "spotless, honourable name" which one has among men; its opposite is 'ar, "shame".

The word *nāmūs* also plays a considerable part as the title of books.

The "greatest *nāmūs*" also occurs as the title of a book; cf. Ivanow, *Catalogue*, i. 335 sq.

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(M. PLESSNER)

NĀR. [See **DIHAHANAM.**]

NARSHAKHĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. DJĀ'FAR (d. 348 = 959), author of the "History of Bukhārā", the original Arabic version of which he presented to the Sāmānīd Nūḥ b. Naṣr in 332 (943—944). In 522 (1128—1129) the book was translated into Persian by Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Kubāwī who omitted several "tedious" passages. Then in 574 (1178—1179) Muḥammad b. Zūfar prepared a new abbreviated edition of the book which he presented to Ṣadr 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Burhān al-Dīn, governor of Bukhārā. Finally an unknown author continued it down to the Mongol conquest. It was in the last form that the book was published by Schefer. The book contains many interesting notes on the situation in Central Asia before Islām and details not found elsewhere of the Arab conquest (from Madā'inī?). The Persian translator added further details from the works of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Nishāpūrī and probably from [Abū Ishāk] Ibrāhīm

[b. al-'Abbās al-Šūlī], d. in 243 (857). The information about the townships of the district of Bukhārā, their monuments, their products, their old customs (such as lamentation for Siyāwush, p. 21) is very interesting.

Bibliography: *Description topographique et historique de Boukhara par Muhammed Nerchakhy suivie de textes relatifs à la Transoxiane*, publ. by Ch. Schefer, Paris 1892 (*Publ. de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, iiird series, vol. xiii., p. 1—97). There is also an edition lithogr. in Bukhārā. The only translation so far is that into Russian by N. Lykoshin, Tashkent 1897 (ed. by Barthold). Cf. Lerch, *Sur les monnaies des Boukhar-Khoudahs*, in the *Travaux de la 3^{ème} session du congrès international des orientalistes*, St. Petersburg 1879, ii. 424; Barthold, *Turkestan*, Engl. transl., G. M. S., p. 14; Marquart, *Erānsahr*, s. index; Marquart, *Wehrōt und Arang*, [1907], p. 139 and *passim*. (V. MINORSKY)

NASĀ (often NISĀ), the name of several places in Persia: in Khurāsān, Fārs, Kirmān and Hamadhān; cf. Yāqūt, iv. 778. (According to Bartholomae, *nisāya* means "settlement").

1. Nasā in Khurāsān was situated in the cultivated zone which lies north of the range separating Khurāsān from the Turkoman steppes. It corresponds to the *Nisāia*, *Nisaiou pedion* of the classical authors, celebrated for its breed of horses (Herodotus, iii. 106; cf. Strabo, xi., ch. xiv., § 7). Alexander the Great is said to have built an Alexandropolis at Nisāia. According to Isidore of Charax, ed. W. Schoff, Philadelphia 1914, p. 8, the tombs of the Parthian kings were in the town of *Nisā*. Rawlinson, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1839, p. 100, believed he saw in the stock of Turkoman horses descendants of the *ἵπποι Νισαίου* [Avesta, *Videvdāt*, i. 7 seems to have a different locality in view].

According to Iṣṭakhri, the town of Nasā was very like Sarakhs (i. e. like the half of Marw) and had much water, many gardens and green places and the country round was very fertile. Muḥaddasī, p. 320, 331—332 says that the ten gates of the town were buried in verdure. He confirms the abundance of springs but says the water was not of good quality. Muḥammad Nasawī, *Sīrat Djalāl al-Dīn*, ed. Houdas, p. 22, says that the place was very unhealthy on account of its very warm climate and that the Turks could only live a short time there. According to Nasawī, p. 50, the town had a strong citadel. The number of tombs of *shaikhs* and famous men was so great that the Ṣufis called Nasā "little Damascus", cf. the biography of Shaikh Sa'īd (*Asrār-i Tawhīd*, ed. Żukowsky, p. 45) written in the xith century.

Yāqūt, iv. 776—778 places Nasā 5 days' journey from Marw, one day from Abiward and 6—7 days from Nishāpūr. Of its dependencies he mentions: i. 480: Bālūz (> Firūza); i. 857: Taftāzān; iii. 343: Shahristān; iii. 866: Farāwa (= Kīzīl-Arwat); iv. 328: Kauk. Durūn, with the fortress Tāk (afterwards Yazir) also belonged to Nasā, cf. Barthold, *A istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, p. 37—41. Cf. also the *Ta'rikh-i Nādirī* of Mahdī Khān (Nādir's stud was at Khurramābād, cf. under the year 1044). The ruins of the capital of Nasā are near the little town of Bagir about 12 miles from Ashkhābād and 8 from the station of Basmā'in on the Trans-Caspian railway.

2. The Nasā in Hamadhān perhaps cor-

responds to the Nisāya placed by the inscription of Darius (Behistun, i. 13) in Media. It is possible that the reference is to the plains of northern Luristān [q. v.] (Alishtar, Khāwa) where the well-known bronzes of Luristān were found; cf. Minorsky, in *Apollo*, London, Feb. 1931.

(V. MINORSKY)

NASAF. [See NAKHSHAB.]

AL-NASAFI, *nisba* [cf. NASAF] of several eminent persons of whom the following may be mentioned:

I. ABU 'L-MU'IN MAIMUN B. MUHAMMAD B. MUHAMMAD ... B. MAKHUL ... AL-HANAFI AL-MAKHULI (d. 508 = 1114), one of the *mutakallimūn* [q. v.] whose scholastic position is between that of the early period as represented by 'Abd al-Kāhir al-Baghdādī [q. v.], who is still endeavouring to find a convenient arrangement and an adequate formulation of the contents of *kalām*, and the younger *mutakallims* who have at hand the necessary formulas for ready use. Of his works the following are known to me:

1. *Tamhīd li-Kawā'id al-Tawhīd* (Cairo, MS. 2417, fol. 1—30; cf. *Fihris... Miṣr*, ii. 51), a treatise in which the contents of the creed are proved according to the scholastic method. The first chapter consists of an exposition of the doctrine of cognition, the last of the doctrine of the imāmate. The work closes with a *murshida* which contains the doctrina de Deo in an abridged form; 2. *Taḥṣirat al-Adilla* (Cairo, MSS. 2287, 6673; cf. *Fihris... Miṣr*, ii. 8), an elaborate work on dogmatics of nearly the same scheme as the *Tamhīd*; 3. *Baḥr al-Kalām*, printed at Cairo 1329 (1911), differs from the two foregoing works in so far as it deals with heresies and is polemical. It is identical with *Mubāhathat Ahl al-Sunna wa 'l-Djamā'a ma'a 'l-Firaḳ al-Dālla wa 'l-Mubtadi'a* (Leyden, cod. or. 862) as well as with '*Aḳā'id*' (Berlin, N^o. 1941; cf. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, ii. 400). The work is preserved in several libraries under one of these titles (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 426, where the number of five works must be reduced to three).

Bibliography: in the art.; cf. also Ḥājjidjī Khalifa, ed. Flügel, index, N^o. 6453.

II. ABU ḤAFṢ 'UMAR NAJIM AL-DIN (d. 537 = 1142), jurist and theologian. Of his works the only one edited is the '*Aḳā'id*', which has the form of a catechism. It became popular and was much commented, probably because it was the first abridged form of the creed according to the scholastic method of the new orthodoxy. In Europe it became known as early as 1843 through the edition by Cureton (*The Pillar of the Creed*, N^o. 2). For editions of and commentaries on this work as well as for the other works of this scholar that have come down to us, cf. *G. A. L.*, i. 427 sq.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 428 and the references given there.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

AL-NASAFI, ḤAFIZ AL-DIN ABU 'L-BARAKĀT 'ABD ALLĀH B. AḤMAD B. MAḤMUD, an important Hanafī legist and theologian, born in Nasaf in Sogdiana, was a pupil of Shams al-A'imma al-Kardārī (d. 642 = 1244—1245), Ḥamid al-Din al-Darī (d. 666 = 1267—1268) and Badr al-Din Khwāherzāde (d. 651 = 1253). He taught in the Madrasa al-Kuṭbiya al-Sultāniya in Kirmān, came in 710 to Baghdād and died in Rabi' I 710 (August 1310; according to Ḳurashī and Ibn Ta-

ghribirdī: 701) apparently on his way back to Idjādī (in Khūzistān), where he was buried. His pupils were Muzaffar al-Din Ibn al-Sa'ātī, author of the *Madjma' al-Bahrain* (d. 694 = 1294—1295), and Ḥusām al-Din al-Sighnākī, a commentator on the *Ḥidāya* (d. 714 = 1314—1315) [cf. AL-MARGHINĀNĪ].

The best of his works is thought to be the *Kitāb al-Manār fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, a concise account of the foundations of law (Dehli 1870, Constantinople 1326 and often later); there are numerous later commentaries but he himself wrote two, one of which is entitled *Kashf al-Asrār* (2 vols., Būlāḳ 1316). Out of his original plan of writing a commentary on the *Ḥidāya* of al-Marghinānī [q. v.] there came the lawbook modelled on it *Kitāb al-Wāfi*, on which he composed in 684 a special commentary, the *Kitāb al-Kāfi* (delivered in lectures in Kirmān in 689). He had previously prepared a synopsis of the *Wāfi* entitled *Kanz al-Daḳā'iq* (Cairo 1311, Lucknow 1294, 1312, etc.) which Ibn al-Sa'ātī in 683 (this is no doubt the correct reading for 633 in Kaffawī) heard him deliver in Kirmān. This synopsis was used as late as the sixteenth century in Damascus and at the al-Azhar in Cairo (v. Kremer, *Mittel-Syrien u. Damaskus*, Vienna 1853, p. 136; do., *Ägypten*, Leipzig 1863, ii. 51). The best known printed commentaries on the *Kanz* are: a. *Tabyīn al-Ḥaḳā'iq* of al-Zaila'ī (d. 743 = 1342—1343) in 6 vols., Būlāḳ 1313—1315; b. *Ramz al-Ḥaḳā'iq* of al-'Ainī (d. 855 = 1451) in 2 vols. Būlāḳ 1285 and 1299; c. *Tabyīn al-Ḥaḳā'iq* of Mollā Miskīn al-Harawī (written in 811 = 1408—1409), Cairo 1294, 1303, 1312; d. *Tawfiḳ al-Rahmān* of al-Tā'ī (d. 1192 = 1778), Cairo 1307 etc.; e. the most important: *al-Baḥr al-rā'iq* of Ibn Nudjaim (d. 970 = 1562—1563) in 8 vols., Cairo 1334.

He also wrote a series of commentaries, e.g. two on the *Kitāb al-Nāfi'* of Naṣir al-Din al-Samarḳandī (d. 656 = 1258) entitled *al-Mustasfā* and *al-Manāfi'*; on the *Manẓūma* of Naḍīm al-Din Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī (d. 537 = 1442—43) on the differences of opinion between Abū Ḥanīfa, his two pupils, and al-Shāfi' and Mālik entitled *al-Mustasfā*, as well as a synopsis entitled *al-Muṣaffā* (finished on 20th Sha'bān 670); cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 428; also on the *Muntakhab fī Uṣūl al-Din* of Aḳhsikātī (d. 644 = 1246—1247; Ibn Taghribirdī, Ḥājjidjī Khalifa, N^o. 13095). On the other hand, he did not write a commentary on the *Ḥidāya*, as Ibn Kuṭlūbughā and Ḥājjidjī Khalifa, vi. 484 say (cf. the story of the origin of his *Wāfi* according to al-Itkānī [d. 758 = 1357] in Ḥājjidjī Khalifa, vi. 419). He also wrote a commentary on the *Ḳur'ān*, *Madārik al-Tanzil wa-Ḥaḳā'iq al-Ta'wīl* (printed in 2 vols., Bombay 1279, Cairo 1306, 1326).

His confession of faith *al-'Umda fī Uṣūl al-Din* (apparently also called *al-Manār fī Uṣūl al-Din*: Ḳurashī, Ibn Duḳmāk) became known quite early in Europe from Cureton's edition (*Pillar of the creed*, London 1843). In it he closely follows the '*Aḳā'id*' of Naḍīm al-Din al-Nasafī (see above) and also wrote a special commentary on it: *al-Ḳ'imād fī 'l-i'tikād*.

Bibliography: The following borrow from the same unknown source: al-Ḳurashī, *al-Djawāhir al-mud'ra*, Ḥaidarābād 1332, i. 270; Ibn Duḳmāk, *Naṣm al-Djūmān fī Ṭabaḳāt Aḣḣāb al-Nu'mān*, Ms. Berlin, Pet, ii. 24, fol.

147^v; Ibn Kuṭlūbughā, *Tādī al-Tarādījīm*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1862, No. 86; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, Ms. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Arabe 2071, fol. 16^r. Also al-Kaffawī, *I'lām al-Akhyār*, Ms. Berlin, Sprenger 301, fol. 282^v–283^v (extract: al-Laknawī, *al-Fawā'id al-bahiya*, Cairo 1324, p. 101); Hādījī Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel, index; Flügel, *Classen d. hanafit. Rechtsgelehrten*, Leipzig 1860, p. 276, 323, where the date of death is wrongly given; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 196–197; Sarkis, *Dictionnaire de bibliogr. arabe*, col. 1852 sq.; Nicolas P. Agnides, *Mohammedan theories of finance*, New-York 1916, p. 176, 181. (HEFFENING)

AL-NASAṢĪ ABU 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN AḤMAD B. SHU'ĀIB B. 'ALĪ B. BAḤR B. SINĀN, author of one of the six canonical collections of traditions [cf. HADITH], d. 303 (915). Very little is known about him. He is said to have made extensive travels in order to hear traditions, to have settled in Egypt, afterwards in Damascus, and to have died in consequence of ill-treatment to which he was exposed at Damascus or, according to others, at Ramla, in consequence of his feelings in favour of 'Alī and against the Umayyads. On account of this unnatural death he is called a martyr. His tomb is at Makka. Al-Nasaṣī's collection of traditions is divided into 51 chapters, each of which is subdivided into *bābs*. As to the subjects, considerable space is given to traditions dealing with the ceremonial duties (*'ibādāt*); the chapters *ihbās*, *nahl*, *rukba* and *'umrā* (forms of bequest, donation etc.) do not occur in any of the other collections, although a part of the materials contained in them appears under different heads. On the other hand, chapters on eschatology (*fiṭan*, *ḥiyāma*, etc.), on hero-worship (*manāḥib* etc.), on the Kuṣ'ān are lacking.

Brockelmann mentions two other works by al-Nasaṣī: *Fī Faql 'Alī*, published at Cairo 1308, under the title *Kitāb Khaṣā'is Amir al-Mu'minin 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb*, and *Kitāb al-Du'afā'* (*G. A. L.*, I, 182).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, No. 28; al-Dhahabī, *Tabaqāt al-Huffāz*, ii. 266 sqq.; Ibn Hādjar al-ʿAskalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Haidarābād 1325, i. 36 sqq.; al-Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, *G. M. S.*, xx., fol. 559; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 141, 249 sqq.; do., in *Z. D. M. G.*, i. 112; Wüstenfeld, *Der Imām al-Schāfiʿi und seine Anhänger*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, xxxvii. 108 sq. (A. J. WENSINCK)

NAṢARĀ. Christians, more especially the adherents of the Oriental churches living under Muslim rule (differentiated from Rūm "Greek Christians", *Ifrandj* "Western Christians"). The word is derived from the Syriac *Naṣrayā* (Horowitz, *Koran. Untersuchungen*, p. 144 sqq.); the Arabic singular is *Naṣrānī*.

A. Before Islām.

A complete investigation of the materials for the history of Christianity in Arabia and among the Arabs before the rise of Islām has not yet been made, and only the principal facts can be summarily given here.

Christianity naturally spread into Arabia from Syria and al-ʿIrāq though no date can be given for the earliest infiltration. Bishops of the encampments are early mentioned but they should probably be assigned to Syria. Arab Christian history

may be said to begin with the conversion of Ghassān [q. v.]; the chief al-Hārith b. Djabala was an ardent monophysite and in A. D. 542 or 543 he persuaded the empress Theodora to appoint Jacob Baradaeus as bishop of Edessa with a wandering commission, and Theodore as bishop of Buṣra in the monophysite cause. Nestorian Christianity came to Ḥīra [q. v.] at an early date. Its bishops are often mentioned from A. D. 410 till c. 1000 and a monastery was built there by 410. Three Nestorian patriarchs were buried there. Al-Mundhir III (d. 554) [cf. LAKHM] was a pagan though he had a Christian wife, who built the convent called after her Dair Hind, while some of the notables were also Christian. Theological controversy in the Greek empire drove many monophysites into exile in Ḥīra; in 518 a monophysite monastery existed, and from 551 monophysite bishops are recorded. Nu'mān III was converted c. 593 by the Nestorians.

Nestorian missions followed the trade routes, one of which followed the coast. Bishops in the district of Baḥrain are recorded in 575 and 676, in the island of Samāhīdj in 410, and in 'Umān in 424. Another route was across the peninsula. One story says that Naḍjran was evangelised by a native who was converted in Ḥīra; another sends monophysite exiles thither from Ḥīra, while a third brings the evangelist from Syria. Christianity had probably reached Naḍjran before 400. The Abyssinians invaded south Arabia in the beginning of the sixth century and conquered the country. As soon as they had withdrawn, a chieftain Masrūk or Dhū Nuwās, who was a Jew by religion, attacked and persecuted the Christians not only in Naḍjran but also in Ḥaḍramawt in 525. A second Abyssinian expedition defeated Masrūk, who was slain or drowned, and Abyssinian rule was firmly established. Probably these expeditions were part of Greek policy to set up an obstacle to Persia and crusading motives were secondary. The invaders would have introduced the monophysite faith if it was not already present. When the Persians conquered south Arabia they naturally then favoured the Nestorians. The great church of Ṣanʿā' seems to have been built on the site of a pagan sanctuary and a Nestorian bishop was appointed c. 800 A. D. [cf. ABRAHA, ḤIMYAR, ṢANʿĀ].

From the borders Christianity percolated into the interior. Bishops are recorded at Aila [q. v.], Dūma [cf. DJAWF] and Taimā', and most of the tribes in the north had some knowledge of the faith even if the saying attributed to 'Alī, "All they know of Christianity is wine-bibbing", is exaggerated. The tribes most affected were, in the west Salīḥ, Ghassān, Djudhām and Lakhm, in the east Taghlib, Bakr with ʿIdjl, Ḥanifa, Rabʿa, Tamīm and Tanūkh, and in the centre Ṭayy with Tha'laba and part of Kuḍā'a.

B. Under Islām (mediæval period).

1. History. It is generally recognised that the attitude of Muḥammad towards the Christians, which had at first been favourable, changed towards the end of his life: probably when the expanding boundaries of the Muslim state brought him into contact with Christian tribes [cf. art. MUḤAMMAD, iii. 735^a]. The problem of subject Christians scarcely arose during his lifetime, since his relations with Christian tribes and settlements (e. g. Aila, Dūma) were generally regulated by

treaties, the best known of which is that concluded with the Christians of Nadjirān [q. v.]. By the terms of this treaty, the latter were allowed to keep their religion and manage their own affairs, if they paid a fixed tribute, entertained the Prophet's representatives for a month, gave certain supplies in the event of a war in the Yaman, and abstained from usury. To the same period belongs the general command given in the Qur'ān (ix. 29) to fight against those who have received a book until they pay tribute (here called *al-djizya*, q. v.) and are humbled.

The conquests of Khālīd b. al-Walid suddenly made the problem acute. During the reign of 'Umar it was solved, like all the problems of the state, in a hand to mouth way, usually by applying the precedent of the Nadjirān treaty. Hīra, the cities of Syria and Mesopotamia made individual treaties with the Muslim commanders; the terms differ in detail, but all include a fixed tribute. Muslim governors were set over the provinces and big towas, but the minor officials were not changed. The people paid much the same taxes as before and there was little interference with their social and religious life. Sometimes a church or part of one was taken and turned into a mosque; more often, probably, churches and monasteries were respected, as also were existing property rights. On the occupation of al-'Irāq there was a movement among the tribes to seize the conquered lands, and it would seem that a district was for a time assigned to the tribe Badjila (cf. Balādhuri, p. 267 sq.; *Kitāb al-Umm*, iv. 192), but in the end 'Umar applied the precedent established by Muḥammad on the conquest of Khaibar and left the conquered lands to their owners, to be administered as a trust for the benefit of the conquerors [see art. FAR]. On the other hand, he exiled the Christians of Nadjirān to al-'Irāq so that "there might be but one religion in Arabia", though isolated Christians lived in al-Madīna itself. 'Umar had a Christian slave who was set free at his death (Ibn Sa'd, vi. 110), and Abū Mūsa had a Christian secretary who accompanied him to al-Madīna. 'Umar is represented, even in Christian sources, as friendly towards Christians, and in his last charge he recommended the *dhimmis* to the care of his successor as "the support of your families".

During the following decades the treatment and status of Christians shows many contradictions, and was often determined apparently by individual caprice. While new churches were built even in towns founded by the Arabs, such as Fustāt and Baṣra, and the caliph even helped to restore the church at Edessa (*Corp. Script. Chr. Or.*, ser. iii., xiv. 288), in many other places churches were destroyed, and both Mu'āwīya and 'Abd al-Malik tried to seize the cathedral at Damascus before al-Walid finally incorporated it in the mosque. Christians continued to hold high offices in the administration: Mu'āwīya had a Christian secretary, Ṣardjūn, who was succeeded by his son, and 'Abd al-'Azīz had as his treasurer a wealthy Christian, Athanasius, though 'Abd al-Malik despoiled him of much of his wealth. State accounts in Syria and Egypt were kept in Greek until the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, and local accounts in Egypt were still kept in Greek for long afterwards. There were Christians in the Muslim armies, and some gave military service instead of tribute. When the Djarādjima of Mount Lebanon were defeated,

a clause in the treaty stipulated that they should wear Arab dress (Balādhuri, p. 161). Yet there was some persecution as well as cases of forced conversion. Jews were settled in some of the conquered towns because they were enemies of the Christians (Balādhuri, p. 127). The Jacobites paid a special tax to Mu'āwīya (*Corp. Script. Chr. Or.*, ser. iii., iv. 70), and the government sometimes prevented the election of a patriarch. The Christian Arabs of Mesopotamia formed a special category; these paid double *zakāt* instead of tribute, but a chief of Taghlib was savagely tortured because he would not renounce his faith. Personal relations between Muslims and Christians were often friendly. It is said of a poet that "he never made love poems about the wife of a Muslim or a *dhimmi*" (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*³, iii. 291). 'Uthmān showed great honour to Abū Zubaid, and the relations of 'Abd al-Malik with the poet al-Akhtal are notorious [see art. AL-AKHTAL].

From this time, however, the condition of the subject Christians began to deteriorate. 'Abd al-Malik changed the system of taxation in Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia (Dionysius of Tell Mahrē, ed. Chabot, p. 10; Abū Yūsuf, p. 23 sq.), and introduced the personal tax on non-Muslims. In many districts the form of receipt was a leaden seal fastened round the neck or wrist. 'Umar II gave orders to dismiss all *dhimmis* from government service, but such confusion resulted that the order was soon afterwards ignored. He was also the author of the famous "ordinances", in later times attributed to 'Umar I (cf. Abū Yūsuf, p. 73), which prescribed the restrictions to be placed on *dhimmis* and the wearing of the *zunnār* [q. v.] as their distinctive badge. (According to the Nestorian Chronicle [Patr. Or., xiii. 630], this had earlier been the badge of Christian scholars.)

By the end of the second century, as may be seen from the works of Abū Yūsuf and al-Shāfi'ī, the customs governing the *dhimmis* were more or less fixed, but insistence on them depended on the whim of the governor and the temper of the populace. It was now accepted that no new churches might be built in towns where Muslims lived, though the old might be repaired. A governor's fancy or a riot might destroy churches and there was no redress; the cathedral at Ṣan'a', for example, was destroyed for its wealth. At least six rebellions of the Copts took place during the century. Hārūn al-Raṣhīd reenacted the "ordinances" forbidding Christians to be like Muslims in dress and style of riding; but during the reign of Ma'mūn, the Christian headman of Būra in Egypt wore black on a Friday and rode in state to the door of the mosque, when his deputy entered and led the prayers. Their use of horses and riding saddles began to raise objection, and restrictions were placed on religious processions; crosses were sometimes tolerated though banners were forbidden. Taxation became heavier and cases of extortion are recorded. The caliph kept a careful eye on the Church and a patriarch had to get his approval and do him homage, often at a price. A discontented Christian found it easy to get government help in making trouble for his opponents. At this time Christian doctors became prominent as favourites of the caliph and they did not always use their influence in a Christian manner. Discussions on religion took place; at one, when Ma'mūn was present, the Catholicus, the Head

of the Dispersion, the heads of the Ṣabians, the chief priest of the fire temple and Muslim theologians took part. Many Christians were in government service or were secretaries to public men, and even the fanatical al-Mutawakkil had a Christian secretary. In 236 (850) this caliph intensified the repressive laws. A Christian had to wear a yellow *ṭailasān* and the *zunnār* and a woman had to wear a yellow wrap out of doors. If he rode he must have wooden stirrups and two balls on the back of the saddle. Men (or slaves) had to wear the *ghiyār* [q. v.]. They were to be dismissed from the civil service. All new churches were to be pulled down and the cross might not be displayed at festivals. Their graves had to be flush with the ground. The tithe was levied on their houses and wooden devils fixed to them. Four years later they were forbidden to ride horses and were told to wear two yellow *durrā'a*. These laws are the limit of legal persecution and continued to govern in theory though not always observed in practice.

Christians were always to be found in the civil service; some even were connected with the army. In Egypt it was enacted that they should be present on Fridays when the Muslims were absent (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 227). One was called *wazīr* in the time of al-Mu'tamid; it seems, however, that the title had become cheap and he was only a high official (Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ii. 130, 259). The first rulers to promote Christians to the highest rank were the Būyids [see 'ADUD AL-DAWLĀ] and the Fāṭimids. This was quite exceptional, but their strength and influence in the administration at all times can be seen from the constant complaints of the dishonesty of Christian secretaries. More especially in the finance department they possessed a quasi-monopoly, which lasted in Egypt down to the nineteenth century.

That Muslim intolerance did grow more bitter is shown by comparing the accounts of al-Aḳḥṭal in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* with the remarks of Ibn Rashīq ('*Umda*, i. 21). In later times the rulers were often more tolerant or far-sighted than the populace; nevertheless, additional taxes were sometimes laid on the *dhimmīs*. In Egypt an extra *dīnār* was exacted from them between 1260 and 1280, in addition to the poll-tax, which was then called *djāliya* (Maḳrīzī, i. 106). At intervals fresh attempts were made to impose a distinctive dress upon them. Their request to wear white turbans with a badge was refused at the instance of Ibn Taimiyya [q. v.] and in Egypt blue became their distinctive colour. On the whole, they were worse off than their Muslim fellow-subjects, for, while both suffered from oppression by the ruler, they were liable in addition to be attacked by their fellow citizens. Cases of mass conversion still occurred, but the disappearance of the large Christian population of northern Mesopotamia, which continued down to the late middle ages to be the chief centre of Christianity in the Muslim dominions, is probably to be connected with the general decay of agriculture there.

2. Legal status. Here as elsewhere the facts of history do not fit the systems of the theorists, who condemned the laxity of the people on the one hand and the highhandedness of the rulers on the other. The general legal position and the legal view of taxation are outlined in the articles *DHIMMA*, *DJIZYA* and *KHARĀJ*. To this outline some details may be added from the system of

Mālik, which is less liberal than that of Abū Ḥanīfa. Mālik taught that a treaty once made with *dhimmīs* cannot be changed. They may not enter mosques or Mecca and the blood money for them is half that for a Muslim. New churches may not be built in or near the towns of Islām though the old may be repaired. Mālik, when consulted, said that a Christian, who had blasphemed the Prophet, should be put to death, and this was done. A Muslim may not borrow from them, nor become a partner with them in business unless he is present at all transactions. Another opinion would let them be sleeping partners. A Muslim should not rent land from them as a *mētayer*, but it is not illegal, and one who is part owner of a house with a Muslim has the right of pre-emption. One, who is trading in his own town, pays no tax beyond the general tribute; if he goes to another town and buys goods with money brought with him, he pays the trade tax (tithe), but there is no tax on the sale of these goods. *Dhimmīs* must not kill sacrifices for Muslims; if they do, the sacrifices must be repeated. A Muslim woman should kill a beast rather than ask them to do so. If one marries a Muslim woman with the consent of her guardians, they shall all be punished, but if he pretended to be a Muslim, the marriage is invalid. They may not arrange a marriage for a Muslim woman nor a Muslim that of his *dhimmī* sister. Married *dhimmīs* are divorced by the conversion of the woman. Mālik did not approve of *dhimmī* foster-mothers for Muslim children. If a Muslim commits adultery with a *dhimmī* woman, he is punished according to his law and she is handed over to her co-religionists to be dealt with according to their law. The evidence of a *dhimmī* is not accepted. Should he turn Muslim, his evidence is still not accepted (i. e. about things that happened while he was a *dhimmī*), consequently *dhimmī* women cannot give evidence about a birth. If a Christian buys or is given a Muslim slave, the transaction is valid, but the slave must be sold to a Muslim. Muslim law applies to all business dealings between *dhimmīs*, except usury, though they may practise this among themselves. They may not be taught the Qur'ān. A Muslim may not prevent his Christian slave from drinking wine, eating pork and going to church. It may be noted that Māwardī admits the possibility of a *dhimmī* becoming *wazīr* (*wazīr al-tanfīdh*).

One authority says that eight acts put a *dhimmī* outside the law: an agreement to fight the Muslims, fornication with a Muslim woman, an attempt to marry one, an attempt to turn a Muslim from his religion, robbery of a Muslim on the highway, acting as a spy or guide for unbelievers, or the killing of any Muslim.

3. Social Status. The fact that Christians, like other *dhimmīs*, were citizens as it were at second remove, was of course reflected in their social position. The full consequences of this disability were to some extent mitigated by their numbers and influence in the public administration, and by their monopoly or quasi-monopoly of important professions. Christians were distinguished more especially as doctors (the family of Bukhtīshū', Ibn Buṭlān [q. v.] etc.) and druggists. A Muslim complained that he could get no patients in an unhealthy year because he spoke good Arabic and not the dialect of Djundaiṣābur [q. v.] and

wore cotton instead of silk (Djāhiz, *Kitāb al-Bukhārī*, p. 85) and al-Ghazālī says that in many towns the only doctor was a *dhimmī*. Some were rich, and it was often their imprudent display which provoked the mob to violence. The prohibition of usury in Muslim law operated in favour of the *dhimmīs* as merchants and money-changers, and gave them the monopoly of such trades as those of goldsmiths and jewellers.

Apart from numerous instances of friendly personal relations between individuals, the generally good relations between the Muslims and Christians is shown by the universal celebration of the great festivals of the Christian year, and the holidays and fairs which accompanied the feasts of the patron saints at the principal monasteries (cf. A. Fischer, in *Berichte über d. Verh. d. Sächs. Ak. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1929). Christians took part in the intellectual life of the community, and the books they wrote are named with approval by the Muslim historians. The strict letter of the law regarding non-Muslims was not always applied. While marriage to a Muslima was always forbidden, fornication with one was not always punished with death. At times the Muslim murderer of a *dhimmī* was executed. Even the apostate sometime found mercy, on the ground that forced conversions were not valid. Christians kept Muslim slaves, both male and female, and acted for Muslims in business.

In spite of all this, the stigma of inferiority remained. The humiliating regulations, the need for constant watchfulness, the constant recourse to intrigue and influence to circumvent the law, the segregation of *dhimmīs* in many cities, inevitably sapped their morale. Still more serious were their legal disabilities; there could be no true justice for the *dhimmī* when his evidence was excluded from the Muslim courts, even though *kādīs* were enjoined not to discriminate against them in other respects, nor could there be any permanent social relationship in the absence of intermarriage. It is not surprising therefore that the Christian communities of the East gradually dwindled not only in numbers, but also in vitality and moral tone.

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C. The Ottoman Empire.

Since the period of the *Tanzīmāt* [q. v.] the Ottoman Empire has gradually abandoned the governmental traditions of Muḥammadan states, and this change has fundamentally affected the treatment of its Christian subjects. On the other hand, this change was actually brought about by the very

problems with which the Ottoman government became confronted through the existence of a large Christian population in its territory.

Up to the beginning of the sixteenth century the treatment of Christians in the Empire was, on the whole, in accordance with the prescriptions of the *shari'a* after the Ḥanafī *madhhab* as to the treatment of *dhimmīs*, the chief authority on these questions being the *Multaqa 'l-Abhur* of Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (cf. the Constantinople edition of 1309, p. 90). Christians were subject to the payment of the *djizye-i geberān*, more often called *kharādj* in Turkey [cf. these two articles], whence the expression *kharādj-guzār*. This tax was levied in three classes, according to the financial capacity of the payers. D'Ohsson (*Tableau*, iii. 4 sqq.) says that in his time (about 1800) each year 1,600,000 tax-forms were issued for the non-Muslims, of which 60,000 were in the capital. The regulations as to the building and restoration of Christian churches were observed in principle; the Ḥanafī *madhhab* allows the restoration of decayed churches but not of churches deliberately demolished; *Sheikhī* Zāde, however, in his commentary on the *Multaqa* (*Maḍīma' al-Anhur*, printed Constantinople 1276, p. 415) complains that this distinction was not duly observed in his time (1666). From the xvth century indeed the building and rebuilding of churches was a subject of frequent intervention by the representatives of foreign Christian powers. The turning of churches into mosques by the Ottoman conquerors — such as the case of the Aya Sofia — was generally in concordance with Islāmic laws of war. Likewise the prescriptions about clothing were observed and from time to time reinforced; as late as the xviiith century certain sultāns such as ʿOṭmān III and Muṣṭafā III are known to have given special attention to this point.

We also find in the *kānūn-nāmes* — the contents of which were declared in accordance with the *shari'a* by the *Sheikh* al-Islām — some special clauses about non-Muslims (*kāfirs*). A *kānūn-name* of the time of Suleimān I prescribes that, in the case of certain crimes that are punished by fines, the fines of non-Muslims shall amount to only half the sum inflicted on a Muslim in each case (cf. the second *kānūn-nāme*, published as appendix to *T.O.E.M.*, iii. 3, 4, 6). The same *kānūn-nāme* gives directions with regard to the inheritance of non-Muslims.

The Christians thus constituted in the Ottoman Empire, just as in other Muḥammadan states, a section of the population which, so far as their relations with the Government went, had minor rights compared to Muḥammadans and to which the high functionaries of the state never belonged. They were improperly designated by the term *ra'ayā*, which word originally means all subjects of a Muḥammadan ruler, in allusion to a well-known tradition which compares the ruler with a shepherd and his subjects with a flock (*ra'īya*, cf. al-Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, bāb 11). Hence the use of the term *rayas* in European works when speaking of the Christian subjects of the sultān. *G'aur* [q. v.] was a more or less contemptuous expression in the idiom of Muslim circles.

There had been, however, since the coming into existence of the Ottoman Empire, several circumstances that presented the problem of the Christian subjects in forms quite different from those prevailing in contemporary Muḥammadan states. The

beginnings of the Ottoman state itself had been anything but orthodox. Ertoghrlu, according to most sources, was only a converted Muslim and Othmān and Orkhān, the founders of the state, had many dealings with the Christian aristocracy of Bithynia, some of whom joined readily the cause and the creed of the new conquerors. Christianity was at that time still widely spread in Asia Minor and was at first adapted to the rather unorthodox mystic form in which the Turcomans of Rūm had made acquaintance with Islām. Large parts of the population adhered for centuries to a Christian-Islāmic mixture of religious convictions, such as appeared in the derwish revolt under Simawna Oghlu Badr al-Din (cf. Babinger, in *Isl.*, xi.), and as survived in the beliefs and practices of the Baktāshis and the mixed worship of certain saints by both the Islāmic and the Christian population. Survivals of this mixed creed were also observed among the so-called Crypto-Christians of Trebizond (cf. Hasluck, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xli. 199 sqq.). It was only after the restoration of the Empire in the xvth century that the orthodox Islāmic attitude prevailed in the government of the sultāns, who repeatedly had to take strong measures against the heterodox elements.

During this same period it was of no less importance that the Ottoman Empire came to incorporate more and more territories in Europe exclusively inhabited by Christians. With the exception of eastern Thrace, northern Macedonia, Bosnia and Crete, the new subjects were never islamized in great numbers; in the Empire they came to form a very considerable minority, which was counterbalanced only by the large Muḥammadan population of the Asiatic territories. So long as the government and the Muḥammadan ruling class were strong, this did not affect the political system. But this ruling class itself, as well as their powerful military instrument, the Janissaries, were recruited in a large measure from the Greek and Slavonic Christian population of the European provinces and often kept up friendly relations with their non-converted kinsmen (one of the many instances is that of Djandarlı Khalil Pasha under Muḥammad II). Accordingly much consideration was shown to large parts of the Christian population, and the more so as many Christians served on minor posts in the state chanceries, where they performed important administrative duties (Crusius, *Turco-graecia*, p. 14). Besides, many high-placed persons, including the sultāns themselves, had, through their harems, many Christian relations without and within the Empire. So the domestic and foreign policy of the state often brought about measures of toleration, which were not altogether in accordance with the strict demands of Muḥammadan law. An outstanding example is the way in which Constantinople and its Christian inhabitants were treated after the excesses of the first days of the conquest were over. Muḥammad II did all that he could to repopulate his new capital, even with Greeks, when the Muḥammadan element proved insufficient; he even had a new Oecumenical Patriarch chosen not long after the conquest (cf. Fr. Giese, *Die Stellung der christlichen Untertanen im Osmanischen Reich*, in *Isl.*, xix., 1931, p. 264 sqq.). Only afterwards, in the first half of the xvth century, when Muḥammadan fanaticism had increased, there was a party which invoking the fact that the town had been taken by force (*anwatan*), claimed the destruction of all

churches that were left to the Christians, and only with great difficulty was evidence constructed to prove that Constantinople was really taken by a capitulation (cf. J. H. Mordtmann, *Die Kapitulation von Konstantinopel im Jahre 1453*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xxi., 1912, p. 129 sqq.). Other signs of fanaticism in the same period are i. a. the intention attributed to Selīm I to convert all Christians to Islām, the wish of Murād III to turn all churches into mosques and the alleged oath of Murād IV to exterminate all Christians. Still, apart from these occasional outbursts, tolerance prevailed. In the capital a Greek Christian aristocracy and plutocracy was permitted to live in the quarter of Phanar; from their midst came influential persons such as Michael Kantakuzenos, the "pillar of the Christians" (Jorga, iii. 211) in the xvth century, and the well-known Phanariote families who later supplied dragomans to the Porte and the princes of the Danube principalities.

The official attitude towards the Christians was complete abstinence from their domestic religious and secular affairs so long as this did not affect the public order. This explains also the tolerance towards the activities of the Roman Catholic missionaries who were sent from the xvth century onwards to convert the eastern Christians. The government took no interest in the different denominations of Christians, while their internal divisions reinforced its authority. R. Gragger in his article *Türkisch-Ungarische Kulturbeziehungen (Literaturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkeiseit, in Ungarische Bibliothek, i., No. 14, Berlin 1927)* depicts the tolerant attitude and the sometimes amused interest of the Turkish Pashas in Hungary in the religious disputes between Roman Catholics and Protestants. On the other hand, the serious domestic troubles amongst the Greeks belonging to the much decayed Oecumenical Patriarchate, as the result of which the party of the patriarch Cyrillus Lucaris took, in the first half of the xvth century, a definite anti-Roman Catholic attitude, could not be wholly indifferent to the Porte, because from that time on the only political protector of the Greeks was the Ottoman government. Arbitrary measures, such as occasional executions of the patriarch (for the first time in 1657; v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*², iii. 474) and excesses in war time are not sufficient to refute the statement that the attitude of the government was on the whole tolerant.

What, at length, came to influence most deeply this attitude was the interest shown in the lot of the Christians by the governments of the Christian powers with whom the Porte began to enter into peaceful relations. In the first centuries those foreign Christians who were allowed to reside in the seaport towns fell within the category of *musta'min*. Legal conceptions of that time did not distinguish sharply between religious denomination and nationality, both being designated by the word *millet*; therefore a foreigner who embraced Islām was entirely assimilated to the Muḥammadan subjects of the sultān. In course of time *millet* came to be used also for the different "national" denominations of the Christians within the Empire. The first foreign power to be interested in the Christians of Turkey was the Vatican, as was manifested several times by the inevitable participation of the Popes in the preparation of anti-Turkish crusades. The Cardinal Protettore di Levante in Rome exercised, through his vicar, considerable influence

on the Latin Roman Catholic community of Pera, which, since the conquest of Constantinople, had enjoyed, like the other Christian communities, administrative independence. This "religious protection" was not altogether in conformance with the wishes of the Christians themselves (G. Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman*, Oxford 1905, ii. 124), but at those times the Porte followed a policy of non-intervention and did not seize the opportunity of placing these Christian inhabitants of her territory under her more direct control. The same policy made her accept without difficulty the remonstrances of a second, more powerful, protector, the King of France, who already before the conclusion of the treaty of 1535 had begun to act as intermediary between the Catholics in Jerusalem and other places in the Levant and the Porte. This intervention of France — which, in the eyes of Christian Europe, served her as an excuse for her entering into diplomatic relations with the Porte — was tolerated equally in favour of other than French ecclesiastics and missionaries, and of non-French Christian prisoners. Occasionally France's protection was also invoked by other than Roman Catholics; in 1639, the Oecumenical Patriarch himself asked the French King to declare himself protector of the Eastern Church. The French capitulation of 1673 recognized at last the protectorate of the King of France over the Roman Catholic foreign Christians, though a general protectorate over all the Christians in the Empire had been demanded originally; the famous capitulation of 1740 confirmed the dispositions of that of 1673 (cf. G. Pelissié du Rausas, *Le Régime des Capitulations dans l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1911, i. 80 sqq.). A third powerful protector of Christian interests, this time of the Greek Orthodox Christians, arose in the xviiith century in the person of the Russian Czar. Shortly after the fall of Constantinople Ivan the Great had begun to regard himself as successor of the Byzantine Emperors and, as the power of Russia increased, the Greek orthodox Christians in the western and eastern parts of the Empire came to look upon the Czar as their natural protector. Especially the Christian institutions in Jerusalem and the much impoverished patriarchate of that town benefited by the Russian religious interest. On the other hand, Russia learnt to use her influence with the Orthodox Christians as a powerful political instrument. The peace treaty of Küçük Kainardje (1776) recognized at last the right of the Russian diplomatic representatives to interfere in favour of the Christians in the Empire.

With the weakening of the Empire in the xviiith century the so-called "religious protection" became a heavy burden on Turkey's inner political conditions. Especially after the disastrous happenings under Maḥmūd II's reign, it became clear that the old Muḥammadan conception of the state, which left the non-Muslims entirely to themselves, or to others, could no longer be maintained. It was one of the chief stimuli to the introduction of the *Tanzimāt*. In order to retain as much control as possible over her Christian subjects the Porte now had to apply her governmental activity equally to non-Muslims and Muslims. Accordingly the *Khatt-i Sherif* of Gül-Khāne (1839) declared that perfect security was guaranteed to all subjects, Muslims or *ra'ayā*, as to their lives, their honour and their possessions. Still in the following years

no important administrative measures were taken, while on the other hand the intervention of foreign powers in Christian affairs continued and led amongst other incidents to the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1853. An incident of 1843, in the meantime, had made the Porte give a formal assurance to the French and English ambassadors with regard to the non-application of capital punishment to persons who had renounced the Muḥammadan creed (Young, *op. cit.*, ii. 11 sqq.).

The law of May 10, 1855 is an important landmark in the history of Ottoman policy towards the Christian subjects; this law abolished the capitation tax for non-Muslims and envisaged the possibility of their service in the army [cf. *DIYZYA* and the *Bibliography* of this art.]. This legislative measure was completed by the *Khatt-i Humāyūn* of February 18, 1856, which may be regarded as the Magna Charta of the rights of the non-Muslim subjects of the Empire; in this memorable edict the rights and privileges of the different religious denominations and their members were proclaimed with more detail; as to their military service the edict laid down the principle that it could be replaced by the payment of an exemption tax, which, under the name of *bedel*, came to be regularly applied to all non-Muslims. In accordance with the contents of the *Khatt-i Humāyūn*, the Ottoman legislation now began for the first time to take notice officially of the existence of the great number of Christian communities existing in the Empire. Organic statutes were elaborated for the more important of these communities (called *millet*): in 1860 for the Armenian Gregorian community and in 1862 for the Greek Orthodox community. In 1870 followed the institution, with the cooperation of the Porte, of the Bulgarian Exarchate, while in course of time a host of laws, decrees and regulations were issued, containing more detailed provisions with regard to these and the minor communities: Patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem, Mount Athos, the Serbian Church, the Nestorians, the Latin communities, and the different churches united with Rome (Armenians, Chaldaeans, Maronites, Melkites). This highly complicated legislation aimed at making these Christians Ottoman subjects in the full sense of the word, but met with great difficulties created by the existence of an ages-old system of autonomy and by the frequent intervention of the foreign powers. The leading principle of the government was to divest the purely religious authorities as much as possible of their power and to reinforce the power of the lay institutions. This policy led to endless troubles in which new regulations continually tried to restore order. In the constitution of Midḥat Paṣha (1876) Islam was proclaimed as the State religion, but immediately afterwards there follows the declaration that the profession of all recognized religions in the Empire is free and that all privileges granted to the different religious communities shall be maintained (art. 11). Art. 9 guarantees the personal freedom of all Ottoman subjects and art. 17 their complete equality before the law.

All the time during the period of reforms the Turkish government had to reckon with reactionary feelings against the *g'ours* in large sections of the Muḥammadan population, which in many instances made the application of equal treatment, before the law and elsewhere, illusory. This justified to a certain extent the never ending remonstrances

of the European powers, who lost no opportunity of insisting on new reforms in favour of the Christians. Art. 62 of the treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878) stipulated again for the equal treatment by the Ottoman government of all non-Muslim subjects, amongst others that every one, without difference of religion, should be admitted as a witness before the law courts.

The effect of the foreign intervention in their favour encouraged on the other hand large sections of the Christian population to disloyal feelings and actions against their legal government. While the latter did what it could do to assimilate the different groups of the population, the factors of dissolution became at the same time ever stronger. Even the peaceful relations that had hitherto characterized on the whole the intercourse between Muḥammadans and Christians — especially in the cities — began to make way for religious hatred between group and group, in which the government officials were often unable to observe the required neutral attitude. Amongst many other symptoms the Armenian troubles which began in 1889 in the Armenian wilāyets — where a racial antagonism between Muḥammadan Kurds and Christian Armenians had existed for centuries — were the most disastrous. They led to repeated Armenian attempts at revolt and to the notorious massacres in Constantinople of 1897.

By this development the treatment of the Christian subjects ceased to be a religious problem; it became a problem of nationality (*millet* in the new acceptance of the word) and of race, and at the same time one of the vital problems for the Empire. After the revolution of 1908 and the re-establishment of Miḥāṭ's constitution, these facts were not yet fully recognized. The Ottomanization of all subjects of the Empire was seriously attempted; the new representative bodies included a number of Christian members; occasionally there were Christian ministers. Then the world war precipitated the inevitable course of events. This time non-Muslims were for the first time incorporated in the Turkish army, but only for service behind the front. At the same time, the domestic policy of the Young Turks took a pan-Turkish turn, from which religious motives were quite absent. National Turkish feeling prevailed. The measures of deportation of Christian inhabitants from the frontier zones — measures from which the Armenians especially suffered terribly — were inspired by fear of disloyalty towards Turkey, though in their execution remnants of religious fanaticism, notably on the side of the Kurds, certainly played a large part.

The events after the armistice of Mudros have proved that a great part of the Christian population preferred independence or incorporation into a Christian state to remaining with Turkey. And the Turks themselves also were ready to part with their Christian subjects. Under these circumstances were concluded at Lausanne, in 1923, the agreements with Greece for the exchange of the Greek population of the new Turkish state against Turks established on Hellenic territory; only Constantinople and some islands were excluded from this measure. Since by the events of the war the number of Armenians and other Christians in Asiatic Turkey had already been reduced to a very small minority, the result was that the present Turkish republic has only to deal with

a Christian population of no numerical importance, most of whom live in Constantinople. The Lausanne Treaty of 1923 contains in its articles 37—45 only the obligation for Turkey to treat the minorities on an equal basis with the Turkish subjects; it provides for their right to live after a personal legal statute of their own. Finally the treatment of Christians in Turkey has definitely ceased to be a legal problem in the old sense of the word since, by the alteration of the Constitution on April 5, 1928 the state has been completely secularized (cf. *Tarih*, Istanbul 1931, iv. 213) by cancelling the article declaring that the state religion is Islām.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-NASAWĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD, an Arabic historian, biographer of the last Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn Māngūbirtī [q. v.], was born in Kharandiz (Yāqūt, ii. 415), an estate in the district of Nasā [q. v.] in Khurāsān where his family was reputed to have been already settled in the pre-Muḥammadan period (*Hist.*, ed. Houdas, p. 53). During his father's lifetime he represented him when the vizier Nizām al-Mulk, dismissed from office by Sulṭān Muḥammad, visited the family estates on his journey to Khwārizm and was received by him (*ibid.*, p. 30). He only mentions incidentally that he had stayed in his youth with Inančkhān in Māzandarān before the latter had risen to power. When the Mongols invaded Khurāsān in 1221 he had already succeeded his father in his ancestral citadel, which he saved from sacking by payment of 10,000 ells of cloth. Nizām al-Dīn al-Sam'ānī was his guest at this time; he enabled him to escape to Khwārizm before the arrival of the enemy and in gratitude Nizām al-Dīn procured him a rich grant of land from Ozlāgh Shāh, son of Muḥammad (p. 57 *sqq.*). When in Nasā, the capital of his district, Nuṣrat al-Dīn Ḥamza b. Muḥammad, the representative of a local royal family, came to power as successor to his nephew Ikhtiyār al-Dīn (p. 99), he appointed him his *nā'ib* (p. 104) and in this capacity he took part in a battle fought by Inančkhān, as governor of Khurāsān, at Nakhdjuwān near Nasā against the Mongols; according to the full story of the battle (p. 66), this was the only occasion on which he personally took part in a battle. When after the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad (1220) his eldest son Ghiyāth al-Dīn ascended the throne, Nuṣrat al-Dīn took the side of his younger brother Djalāl al-Dīn, and for this an expedition was sent against him under Tūlaḡ, son of Inančkhān. To save himself he sent Nasawī with 1,000 dinārs to Ghiyāth al-Dīn. After long wanderings and a two months' sojourn in Iṣfahān, he succeeded in giving the money to Djalāl al-Dīn's minister Sharaf al-Mulk, who then wrote a despatch to Tūlaḡ ordering him to abandon the siege of Nasā; but this arrived too late and Nuṣrat al-Dīn had already been slain (p. 109). Nasawī did not now dare to return home but went to Djalāl al-Dīn when the latter had entered Marāgha. He was appointed by him *Kātib al-Inshā'* (p. 110) and henceforth accompanied his master on all his campaigns. When Dīyā' al-Mulk 'Alā' al-Dīn to escape the jealousy of the vizier Sharaf al-Mulk had himself appointed governor of Nasā he aroused such discontent there by his misgovernment that he was dismissed. Nasawī was appointed in his stead governor of his native town with the title of vizier but had to stay with Djalāl al-Dīn and sent a deputy to his governorship (p. 149).

When Djalāl al-Dīn in 1230 was surrounded by the Mongols at Hānī and fought his way out once again, Nasawī became separated from him and was kept a prisoner for two months in Āmid but finally made his way to Maiyāfārikin where he learned of the sad end of his king who had been murdered by a Kurd on Aug. 16, 1231 (p. 245).

Ten years later in 639 (1241), he wrote the history of his sovereign entitled *Sirat al-Sultān Djalāl al-Dīn Mankobirtī*. He opens with a confused and romantic account of the early history of the Mongols and begins his subject with Muhammad's campaign to the 'Irāk in 614 (1217). He relies for his facts mainly on the stories of high officials of his hero's court; as a result his interest is mainly in diplomatic documents and administrative measures while military matters, which were his hero's main occupation, are dealt with rather briefly. His model was apparently the *Kitāb al-Yamīnī* of al-'Utbi which his master Nuṣrat al-Dīn was said to know by heart (p. 104); but he had not al-'Utbi's secure command of Arabic so that his style is fortunately much simpler and more matter of fact, in spite of all his attempts at rhymed prose and plays upon words. Persian influence on his style, which Houdas claims to notice, is on the other hand nowhere marked.

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(C. BROCKELMANN)

NASHĀT MIRZĀ 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB of Isfahān, one of the best Persian poets and stylists of the period of the early Qājārs. He was a physician in Shirāz and in his native city, devoting his leisure hours to poetry in which he displayed a great facility. He wrote verse in Arabic, Persian and Turkish and was further celebrated for his great skill in *shikasta*. Rumours of his poetical gifts induced the Qājār Fath 'Alī Shāh (1797—1834) to invite him to Teherān as court poet. There Nashāt soon rose to great honour and in 1809 was appointed Munshi al-Mamālik (secretary of state) with the title of Mu'tamad al-Dawla. In this capacity he carried through several important negotiations for the Shāh, such as the restoration of peace among the nomad tribes of Khurāsān in 1812 and 1818. Besides his own poems, he wrote an introduction to Ṣabā's famous *Shāhanshāh-nāma* and drew up a whole series of important diplomatic documents. Specially celebrated is the letter written by him to George III in which he expressed regret at the interruption of the friendly relations between England and Persia. He died in 1244 (1828—1829). He collected his poems into a book published in Teherān in 1266 (1850) under the title *Gan-djīna-yi Nashāt* (the "Treasury of Joy"). Nashāt's ghazels are all imitations of those of his great predecessors, particularly Ḥāfiẓ, but are distinguished by elegance and simplicity, smooth rhythm and considerable depth of feeling.

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Times, p. 225, 307, 311; E. Berthels, *History of Persian Literature* (in Russian), Leningrad 1928, p. 81—82; text and English transl., with commentary of 100 ghazels (for some reason only nos. 76—175) has been published by Kh. Sh. Dastur, *Diwān-i Nishāt*, Bombay 1916.

(E. BERTHEL'S)

NASHWĀN B. SA'ID B. NASHWĀN AL-ḤIMYARĪ AL-YAMANĪ, an Arab philologist. The notices of this individual and his career are exceedingly scanty. In Yāqūt's *Irshād* and in Suyūṭī's *Bughya* he is described in laudatory terms in the usual phrases as a great scholar, authority on *fiqh*, philology and *naḥw*; he was also distinguished as a historian and poet and was equally versed "in the other branches of *adab*". He compiled a dictionary entitled *Shams al-'Ulūm wa-Dawā' al-'Arab min al-Kulūm* in eight (according to others eighteen) volumes which his son later revised and condensed into two volumes; he also wrote a treatise on rhyme, *Kitāb al-Kawāfi*, and a book of a religious and philosophical nature, *Kitāb Ḥur al-'In wa-Tanbih al-Sāmi'in*. We know neither the year nor the place of his birth, nor with whom he studied nor in what places he lived. Only one story of his life has survived and that sounds improbable. Yāqūt says he was a great chief who besieged cities and fortresses and ruled over a hill-tribe in the Ṣabr range. Al-Suyūṭī takes this story from Yāqūt. According to al-Suyūṭī, he was a follower of the Mu'tazila. He is said to have died on the 24th Dhu 'l-Hijja 573 (1117). The importance of Nashwān lies in the fact that he was particularly well acquainted with the South Arabian tradition. He took up the work of his predecessor al-Hamdānī [q.v.], the task of rescuing from oblivion the legends of the South Arabian kingdoms. He uses these as the basis of his work and gives long quotations from the writings of his predecessor. His famous so-called Ḥimyarite *Qaṣida*, *al-Qaṣida al-Ḥimyarīya*, is based on such traditions of the Ḥimyarite rulers; it celebrates their deeds and the splendour of their ancient kingdom. In the commentary on this poem the annotator gives very full notes, in which he narrates legends of South Arabian princes and their history. Von Kremer supposes, relying on internal evidence, that the author of the *Qaṣida* and the commentator are the same person i.e. that Nashwān himself wrote the commentary on his *Qaṣida*. The commentator, whose name is not given, must at any rate have been very well acquainted with Ḥimyarite tradition. In the already mentioned dictionary *Shams al-'Ulūm*, Nashwān also uses his knowledge of South Arabian history. Whether all the facts given by him are historical cannot be discussed here; many of them are certainly based on tradition, since Nashwān himself, as his *nisba* shows, was of South Arabian blood. His works played a part in the struggle of the tribes of south Arabian origin against the northern Arabs for predominance in the Muslim world.

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p. 18 sq.; Nöldeke, in *G.G.A.*, 1866, N^o. 20; W. F. Prideaux, *The Lay of the Himyarites*, Lahore 1879; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'at fi Ṭabaḳāt al-Lughawiyin wa'l-Nuḥāt*, Cairo 1326, p. 403; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arib*, ed. Margoliouth, in *G.M.S.*, vi. 7, 1926, vii. 206.

(ILSE LICHTENSTÄDTER)

NASÎ (A.), intercalary month, intercalation, or man on whose authority an intercalation is undertaken, a word of uncertain meaning in Sūra ix. 37 and in Muḥammad's sermon at the farewell pilgrimage (Ibn Hishām, p. 968; cf. the article ḤADJĪJ). *Nasîy*, *nasy* and *nas'* are variants and the word is connected with *nasa'a* to "postpone" or "add" or with *nasiya* to "forget". In any case, it is given in Muslim tradition a meaning which brings it into connection with the method of reckoning time among the pagan Arabs. The Qur'anic verse describes *nasî* as "a further expression of unbelief" and it is therefore forbidden to the believers.

For the meaning of the word in the calendar we have the context of the above mentioned passages where sometimes the number of months in the year is put at twelve and sometimes the number of "holy" months at four. Qur'anic exegesis as a rule connects *nasî* with the "holy" months and explains it sometimes, it is true, as the postponement of the ḥadjj from the month fixed by God for it, but sometimes, and preferably, as "transference of the sanctity of one holy month to another, in itself not holy". The expositors are also able to give the reasons for such a postponement in full detail. As a rule however, these are pure inventions in which suggestions and perhaps memories of old traditions are freely expanded. A collection of such expositions in the form of regular ḥadīths is given in Ṭabarī, *Tafsir*, 2nd ed., x. 91—93.

The critical examination of these explanations reveals however traces of an older conception not quite unknown to Tradition, even in the form in which we have it, according to which *nasî* means either the intercalation of an intercalary month or the month itself. This interpretation of the word is the only one really acceptable in the circumstances. The association of the pre-Islāmic ḥadjj with annual markets made it necessary to fix the ḥadjj in a suitable season of the year. For that purpose a prolongation of the lunar year in some way was necessary and nothing contradicts that older tradition according to which it was obtained by the intercalation of an intercalary month. The lunar month was the only unit of time available for the purpose because it was the only one which the Beduins, the customers at the markets, could observe directly. Thus one had only to let them know at the ḥadjj of a year whether they had to reckon to the next ḥadjj twelve or thirteen months.

Definite evidence of this intercalation of a month is found in the astronomer Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī (d. 272) in his *Kitāb al-Ulūf* (see *J. A.*, ser. v., vol. xi. [1858], p. 168 sqq.) and following him in al-Birūnī who also deals at length with this intercalation in his *Chronology* (ed. Sachau, p. 11 sq., 62 sq.). According to him, the Arabs took this intercalation from the Jews. How much in what these scholars tell us is really historical knowledge and how much intelligent reconstruction can hardly be decided. It is remarkable however

that al-Birūnī when dealing fully with the Jewish intercalation (*op. cit.*, p. 52, 17) connects the Hebrew word for intercalary year, *'ibbār*, with *me'ubbārāth* "pregnant woman" and observes: "they compare the addition of a superfluous month to the year to the woman carrying something which does not belong to her body". In this connection we may recall that Ṭabarī (*op. cit.*, p. 91, 6) explains the Arabic *nasî* as *nasî'* "pregnant woman" among other interpretations, saying *nusî'at al-mar'a*, "on account of the increase which the child in her means". This agreement in the two explanations, which can hardly be accidental, might really indicate that *nasî* in the sense of intercalation or intercalary month is modelled on the Jewish *'ibbār* and thus support al-Birūnī's statement which is in itself not impossible. Caussin de Perceval (*J. A.*, ser. iv., vol. i., p. 349) even quotes the Hebrew *nāsî* (prince) as a title of honour of the leader of the Sanhedrin, to whom fell the duty of dealing with the intercalation (cf. *Bab. Talmud, Sanhedrin*, p. 112: "the intercalation of the year may only be done with the approval of the *nāsî*"). According to one of the meanings of the Arabic *nasî* given in Tradition, it was really the "name of a man" (see above), a meaning which is all the more remarkable in this connection, as it does not suit the Qur'anic passage. There is a definite agreement in the fact that in the Jewish intercalation only the month following Adar was an intercalary month while in the Arab system, as the critical examination of Tradition — contradicting the literal interpretation of its text — shows, only the month following Dhu'l-Ḥijja i.e. the intercalated month in both cases was inserted between the normal last month and the normal first of the year, Nisān or al-Muḥarram.

Nothing certain is known about the process of intercalation among the Arabs. It can only have been periodic and irregular attempts at correction based on observation of nature, particularly vegetation. The technical part must have been exceedingly simple and primitive. The same is true of the Jewish intercalation in the older period (see *Bab. Talmud, op. cit.*, p. 10^b—13^b). As the Jewish system served to move the feast of Pesah to a suitable season of the year, the Arab system can only have been intended to do the same for the ḥadjj and the fairs associated with it in the vicinity of Mecca. It was not intended to establish a fixed calendar to be generally observed. The Beduins had never had one and they have no use for one. According to Tradition, the management of the *nasî* was a prerogative of the Banū Kināna: and indeed fairs were held on the lands of the Kināna.

Bibliography: A. Moberg, *An-nasî in der islāmischen Tradition*, where the most important references are given. (A. MOBERG)

NASÎB (A.), the introductory lines of the Arabic *ḳaṣīda* [q. v.] which are devoted to recalling the memory of a woman whom the poet loved long years before. The *nasīb* is, so far as we know, the only kind of love-poem which has survived to us from the Arabic literature of the pre- and early Muḥammadan period and is almost the only place where women are the subject in the poetry of the Arabs. The essential feature is that the subject of the *nasīb* is always the lament of a man for a lost beloved. Even in the earliest *ḳaṣīdas* that have survived the *nasīb* is already

in the stereotyped form. It treats its subject again and again in the same way with only the slightest variations. We can distinguish three constantly recurring principal motives:

I. A Beduin on his wandering through the desert passes a spot where there are the traces of a tent-trench which has fallen in, dried camel dung, sooty stones, which once formed a cooking place, and tent-pegs. From these things he sees that this spot has been the resting-place of wandering Beduins. After some reflection he recalls that his tribe encamped here long before, jointly with another tribe, during the spring grazing and that he himself spent a happy time with his beloved. The poet usually then gives a description of the deserted camping place, the *aṭṭāl*; it can only be traced with difficulty as the wind and the rain which has fallen upon it have obliterated it and made it almost unrecognisable. The rain has produced a rich vegetation and gazelles and antelopes with their young have found shelter there.

II. The poet recalls the day when the two tribes, his own and that of his beloved, struck camp. There had been various signs of the approaching departure. The camels were brought back from the pastures and loaded; the raven, the bird of ill omen, also foretold the separation to the poet. In his mind he again sees the camels with their litters before him and compares them to ships. The women sit in the litters, among them his beloved. They go off and he follows them in spirit.

III. While grief for his lost beloved is keeping the poet awake, she sends him from far away her *khayāl*, a vision of herself. He is surprised that his delicate beloved has been able to travel so far, as she was never a good walker. The vision arouses painful memories in him and he weeps copiously as he recalls the beauty of his beloved.

Each of these three themes may be followed by a full description of the personality and journey of his beloved; she is a distinguished and modest lady, one of the noblest of her tribe; she is frequently married and sometimes even has children. Her husband is held up to ridicule. She is coquettish and likes to torment her lover. Her physical charms are described very fully and the various parts of her body celebrated in fine similes (in the style of the *wasf*, cf. the Song of Solomon and the *Alt-ägyptischen Liebeslieder*, ed. W. Max Müller). Her dress, her perfume and her jewellery are described in laudatory terms. The feelings of the lover are then detailed. Grief has made him old and grey; he is ill with longing for his beloved and after all these years his tears still flow at the thought of her.

Like all early Arabic poetry the *nasīb* in matter and structure follows with considerable strictness a definite chain of ideas so that there is a certain uniformity about it. We constantly find the same or similar comparisons; the ideas of the different poets do not differ essentially from one another but only the form and method of expressing them. The traces of the *aṭṭāl* look like writing made by the *qalam* on parchment. The girl is like a gazelle or an antelope, a simile which continuously recurs with new variations. The tears of the poet run like water from a leaky skin or fall like pearls from a necklace when the string is broken and so on. In consequence of the wealth of the Arabic language in synonyms these similes

have an ever-new charm in spite of the many repetitions. Stereotyped metonymies, such as we find in all branches of Arabic poetry, are also common in the *nasīb*. Thus the beloved, the *aṭṭāl*, the showers of rain, and parts of the body etc. are designated by metonymy. The *nasīb* usually begins (in so far as it has survived in its entirety) with formal phrases: *li-man al-diyār* etc.; frequently it ends with *da' dhā* "leave this", whereupon the poet turns to the description of the camel.

The *nasīb* had already become fixed in form in the pre-Muḥammadan period, and no poet could break away from it. Gradually its contents became more and more colourless; it became more and more stereotyped and stiff. In the old Arab poetry there is already no difference between the *nasīb* of a Beduin and that of a townsman. Kais b. al-Khaṭīm, Ḥassān b. Thābit and 'Adī b. Zaid describe the beauty of their beloved in the same way as, for example, Imra' al-Kais, and lament their separation from her just like a Beduin poet. We must remember however that in the pre-Muḥammadan period even a townsman knew Beduin life (of 'Adī b. Zaid we know that he spent a part of the year in the desert; cf. *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Cairo 1928, ii. 105). In later times however, the poets no longer knew the life of the desert from their own experience; the *nasīb* thus became more and more stereotyped. In the end it became a matter of ridicule that every *qaṣida* began with the lament at the *aṭṭāl*; a critic of the 'Abbāsīd period (cf. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, p. 144) asks whether every man with a command of language who would write a good poem must of necessity be lovesick.

From the *nasīb* we learn of amatory relations of a kind which probably played a considerable part in pre-Islāmic Arabia. These were unrestricted relations, not contracted in the forms which were already used in pre-Islāmic Arabia at a marriage. They were based on natural inclination and spontaneous devotion and ended with this. As is evident from the *nasīb* such unions were usually concluded in the spring grazing season when different tribes were encamping peacefully side by side. When the end of this fine season of the year came these love affairs also came to an end as a rule. The position and the reputation of the *khulla* (as the beloved is often called) were not affected by this illegitimate relation; she remained in her tribe and went off with them, while a *baghīy* did not live with her tribe.

As is the case with all Arab poetry, the question what is the oldest *nasīb* and its origin cannot be answered. Arab tradition records that Muḥalhil was the first to put a *nasīb* in front of a *qaṣida*; this does not mean however that he was the first to compose one. In the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo [1928], ii. 123 sq.) we find a parallel to the *nasīb*. Al-Nu'mān sent to King Anushirwān a girl with an accompanying letter which described her merits of mind and body. In the tales of the *root Nights* also, *nasīb*-like poems are inserted but these are all of a comparatively late period. Many parallels may be found in the *Song of Solomon*, and old Egyptian love-poems resemble in spirit and conception and frequently often in phrase the Arabic *nasīb*.

Bibliography: cf. the references in the article *QAṢIDA*; I. Guidi, *Il Nasīb nella Qaṣida Araba*, in *Actes du XIV^{ème} Congrès International*

des *Orientalistes*, iii. 3 sqq.; J. Horovitz, *Poetische Zitate in 1001 Nacht* (Sachau-Festschrift); G. Jacob, *Das Hohe Lied auf Grund arabischer und anderer Parallelen von neuem untersucht*, Berlin 1902; I. Lichtenstädter, *Das Naṣīb der altarabischen Kaṣīde* (Islamic, v., fasc. 1); D. S. Margoliouth *The Origins of Arabic Poetry* (J. R. A. S., 1925); W. Max Müller, *Altägyptische Liebeslieder*; W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, London 1907; J. Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, Göttingen 1893. (ILSE LICHTENSTÄDTER)

NAṢĪBĪN, a town in Mesopotamia. The name is certainly of Semitic origin and to be derived (with Philon Byblios in Steph. Byz.; Müller, *F. H. G.*, iii. 571, frg. 8) from *Naṣīb* = *σῆλαι* (naṣīb). The idol of Naṣīb is said to have been called Abnil (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, i., Rome 1719, p. 27), i. e. "stone of El" (according to W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, London 1927, p. 210, note 1). On coins the usual form of the place-name is NEṢIBI (Uranios in Steph. Byz.: *Νέσιβις*; Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, vi. 42: Nesebis); in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* and elsewhere we find the forms Nitibi(n), Nitibeni, Nizzibi etc. (J. Markwart, *Südarmenien u. d. Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, p. 259 sq., note 1). In Armenian the town is usually called Mchin (on the form see Markwart, *op. cit.*, p. 166 sq., note 3); Matt'ēos of Edessa (ed. Watarshapat, 2nd ed., 1898, p. 245 = Dulaurier's transl., p. 206) calls it "Nsepi, also called Mchin or Nsepin" (also on p. 62 Nsepi). But he also mentions a "Nsepin, which is the town of Sibar" (p. 187 = p. 158, ch. xcvi. of Dulaurier's translation which (p. 413) wrongly connects these with our Naṣīb and Sippara) which lies on the left bank of the Euphrates on the road from Severak or Sevaverak (Arabic Suwaidā) to Ḥiṣn Maṣṣūr (Armen. Harsan Msroy) (Matt'ēos, p. 157 = 130 Dulaurier; 186 sq. = 157 sq. Dulaurier). This Nsepin corresponds to the "town of Naṣīb on the bank of the Frāt, called Naṣīb al-Rūm, 3—4 days journey from each of Āmid and Ḥarrān on the road from Ḥarrān to the land of Rūm" (Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 789), in Pseudo-Wākidi (*Futūḥ Diyār Rab'ia wa-Diyār Bakr*, transl. by B. G. Niebuhr, in *Schriften der Akademie von Ham.*, vol. 1/iii., Hamburg 1847, p. 50, 175 sq.) mentioned along with Suwaida, i. e. Süverek, as Naṣīb al-Ṣaghīr, the name of which is marked on the Turkish General Staff's map of 1333 (1917—1918), scale 1:200,000, sheet Siverak-Kharput, 20 miles almost due west of Siverak and 1½ miles from Kaṇṭara at a bend of the Euphrates. The Syriac authors usually identify Naṣīb with the Šōbhā of the Bible and say that Nimrod founded the town (Michael Syr., *Chron.*, transl. Chabot, i. 20; Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 8).

The town lay in the plain below the *Μαγδον ὄρος* [see TÜR 'ABDĪN] on the river Mygdonios (Theophyl. Simok., ed. de Boor, v. 5, 3: *Μυγδων*), the Hirmās of the Arabs, Nehar Māsā or Māshī of the Syrians (Assyr. *Kharmish*); Nöldeke, in *Z. D.M.G.*, xxxiii. 328), the modern *Djaghdjagh*. The country between Naṣīb and the Tigris was called Bēth 'Arabāyē by the Syrians (Theophyl. Simok., i. 13, 8: *Βεαβαῖες*, iii. 16, 2; v. 1, 2; 3, 2: *Ἀραβία*; G. Hoffmann, *Aussätze aus syr. Akten pers. Märt.*, p. 23, note 170), by the Armenians Arvastan (cf. Arwāstān, in *J. A.*, 1869, p. 168; Arwāstān-i

Ḥrōm; Justi, *Beiträge*, i. 16, 24; Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 162 sq.).

The town is mentioned as early as Assyrian times under the name Naṣībina, first, so far as we know, about 900 B. C. in the reign of Adad-nirāri II (O. Schroeder, *W. V. D. O. G.*, xxxvii., No. 84, i. 41 sq.). In the period between 852 and 715 B. C. it was the capital of a province whose governors were allowed to hold the eponymate (Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung des assyr. Reiches*, p. 32, 106; Schachermeyr, article *Nasibina* in *Reallexikon d. Vorgesch.*, viii., 1927, p. 449). In the last wars of the Assyrians with the Babylonians Naṣībina is mentioned in 612 B. C. (C. J. Gadd, *The Fall of Niniveh*, London 1923, p. 35, Cuneiform tablet, British Museum 21901, reverse, l. 48).

Seleucus I is said to have settled Nisibis with Greeks (*C.I.G.*, iv. 6856; Tscherikower, *Philologus*, suppl.-vol. xix., part 1, p. 89 sq.). The Macedonians called the town *Ἀντιόχεια ἡ ἐν τῇ Μυγδονίᾳ* (Strabo, xvi. 747). In the reign of Antiochus IV the town struck coins with the legend *Ἀντιόχεων τῶν ἐν τῇ Μυγδονίᾳ* (Brit. Mus., *Catal. Seleucid. Kings*, p. 42, No. 86—88; Head, *Historia Numorum* 2, p. 815). Tigranes of Armenia took the town from the Parthians, who then held it, and put his brother Guras (*Ghōr*) in command of it; in the war against him, Lucullus occupied it in 68 B. C. (Plutarch, *Luc.*, p. 32, 4 sqq.). The Armenian historians say that the town was from the middle of the second century B. C. to the beginning of our era the capital of the Arsakunid kings and later of king Sanatrūg (St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, i., Paris 1818, p. 161; Marquart in Herzfeld, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxxviii. 659 sq.). About 37 A. D. the Parthian king Artabanus III took it from the Armenians and gave it to king Izates of Adiabene (Joseph., *Ant.*, xx., 3, 2). In the period of the Parthian war of Corbulo (62 A. D.) it was Parthian or Adiabenean (Tacit., *Annal.*, xv. 5). The emperor Trajan took Nisibis again and Hadrian restored it to the Parthians (Dio Cass., lxxviii. 23). In the Parthian war of Lucius Verus, it again suffered a siege by the Romans, as a result of which a pestilence broke out in it (Lucian, *De conscrib. hist.*, p. 15). The Parthians fled across the Tigris and the town then doubtless repassed into the hands of the Romans. After the victory of Septimius Severus over Pescennius Niger, the princes of Osrohoëne and Adiabene asked that the emperor should withdraw the Roman troops from Nisibis in return for an acknowledgment of his suzerainty (Dio Cass., lxxv. 1, 2 sqq.). The emperor then went to Nisibis in 195 A. D. and made it the capital of a new province; it was now given the name of Septimia Nesibi Colonia Metropolis (Dio Cassius, lxxv. 3, 2; Hill, *Catal. of Greek Coins, Brit. Mus.*, Arabia, *Mesopotamia and Persia*, London 1922, p. cviii sq. and 119—124; Macdonald, *Catal. of the Hunterian Collection*, iii. 315, pl. lxxix.). After the emperor's departure the governor Laetus defended the town against the attacks of the Parthians. After the assassination of Caracalla in 217 B. C. the Parthians again besieged the town but then made peace with Macrinus. The first Sāsānian Ardashīr at once besieged Nisibis (Zonar., xii. 13; Geogr. Synkell., p. 674). It was taken by the Persians in the reign of Maximinus but in 242 regained by Gordian III's son-in-law Timesitheus; Philip the Arabian, under whom it was given the name of Julia Septimia Colonia Nisibis Metropolis, soon withdrew however from the whole

of Mesopotamia. Odenathus of Palmyra in 261 again took Nisibis from the Persians and destroyed it (*Histor. Aug.*, Trebellius Pollio, *Triginta tyranni*, p. 13, 5). Diocletian made the town, which had become Roman again at the peace of 297 A.D. (Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 169), the sole centre of trade between Persia and the Roman empire (Petr. Patric., frg. 14, in *F.H.G.*, iv. 189; *Cod. Just.*, iv. 63, 4; *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, p. 22 in Riese, *Geogr. lat. min.*, p. 108) and one of the principal fortresses on the Mesopotamian *limes* (on the *limes* see Poidebard, *Syria*, xi., 1930, p. 33—42). In the Persian wars of Constantius, Nisibis, *Orientis firmissimum claustrum* (Ammian. Marcell., xxv. 8, 14), was thrice besieged (338, 346 and 350 A.D.) (Peeters, *Anal. Boll.*, xxxviii., 1920, p. 285—373). During the first siege died the monk Jacob of Nisibis, the teacher of Ephraim, who had built the great church in his native town in 313 A.D.; perhaps he is to be regarded as the founder of the "Persian school" of Nisibis, which Ephraim transferred from there to Edessa in 363 as a result of the persecutions by Shāpūr II (on it see I. Guidi, *Gli statuti della scuola di Nisibis*, in *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, iv., 1890, p. 165—195; J.-B. Chabot, *L'école de Nisibe*, in *J.A.*, ser. ix., viii., 1896, p. 43—93; Baumstark, *Gesch. d. syr. Literatur*, Bonn 1922, p. 113 sq.; Th. Hermann, *Die Schule von Nisibis vom 5.—7. Jahrh.*, in *Zeitschr. f. neutestam. Wiss.*, 1926, p. 89 sqq.).

In the war of 359 Shāpūr II at first passed by Nisibis on his way to Tela and Amida, while the Roman army was stationed at Nisibis (Ammian. Marc., xx., 7, 1—8). After the death of Julian, Jovian had to cede among other things the great fortress of Nisibis by the peace of 363 (Amm. Marc., xxv. 7, 91). The inhabitants were allowed to migrate to Amida (Amm. Marc., xxv. 8, 17—9, 6; Zosim., iii. 33 sq.; Ps.-Dionys. of Tellmahre, *Chron.*, under the year 674; Syr. Vita of Ephraim, ed. Lamy, p. 24 sq.; Faustos Byz., Venice 1832, p. 26; Nau, in *R.O.C.*, ii., 1897, p. 58). They were perhaps sent on from here and settled in the above mentioned "Little Naşibin". From this time the fortress on the *limes* was Sargathon, 70 *stadia* west of Nisibis, the modern Serdje-Khān (Honigsmann, *Syria*, x., 1929, p. 283 sq.). The Romans made frequent attacks on the lost town but always without success, for example in 421—422 A.D. after their victory at Sargathon (Socrat., *Hist. Eccl.*, vii. 18), in 503 under their general Areobindos (Jos. Styl., ch. 54, p. 44, ed. Wright; Mich. Syr., transl. Chabot, ii. 159), in 526—527 under the Dux and Stratelates Timostratos (Zach. Rhet., ix. 1, p. 256) and in 572 under Patricius Marcianus (John of Ephesus, iii. 6, 2). In the sixth century the inhabitants were still inclined to be friendly to the Romans (Ps.-Zach. Reth., vii. 5, p. 211, ed. Land). After the Nestorian academy of Edessa had been transferred to Nisibis in 489 by the Metropolitan Barşawmā as a result of the persecutions of the Nestorians in the Byzantine empire, the town remained for centuries the intellectual centre of Nestorianism (cf. also Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 150). In the reign of Khusrāw II the Church of St. Sergius in Nisibis was built (Theophyl. Simok., v. 1, 7). Sergius Stratelates was held in particular veneration by the nomad tribes of this region (Nöldeke's *Tabarī*, p. 284, note 1; Peeters, in

Hushardzan, Vienna 1911, p. 187; Herzfeld-Sarre, *Archäol. Reise im Euphrat- u. Tigrisgebiet*, i., 1911, p. 138, note 2).

In the year 18 (639) 'Iyādh b. Ghanm advanced against Naşibin which after a brief resistance submitted to the Arabs on the same terms as had been granted to al-Ruhā' (Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iv. 35, 37, 55, 57, year 18 A.H., § 83, 87, 127, 129; according to al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 175 sq. and al-Kh̄wārizmī, ed. Baethgen, in *Abh. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, viii/iii. 110 sq. not till the following year; cf. Caetani, *op. cit.*, p. 165, 19 A.H., § 42b, 43). In the reign of 'Abd al-Malik in 684 A.D. Buraida rebelled in Naşibin (Mich. Syr., ii. 469; Barhebr., *Chron. Syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 111; Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, i. 755, 65 A.H., § 15). An earthquake devastated the town in 717 (al-Kh̄wārizmī, *op. cit.*, p. 122, year 99 A.H.). The Metropolitan Cyprianus in 758—759 completed the choir of the Church (ḫbyḫn) and the altar of the Cathedral of Naşibin (al-Kh̄wārizmī, *op. cit.*, p. 128, year 141 A.H.). In the period of troubles in Mesopotamia the people of Dārā, Naşibin and Āmid used to go out on plundering expeditions (Mich. Syr., iii. 103; Barhebraeus, *Chr. syr.*, p. 153). A band of Karmātas in 315 (927—928) attacked Kafartūthā, Rās al-'Ain and Naşibin (al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, p. 384).

Saif al-Dawla began his campaign against Armenia in 328 (940) from Naşibin (Freytag, in *Z.D.M.G.*, x. 467). Byzantines in 331 (942) under John Kurkuas invaded Mesopotamia and took Maiyāfāriḳīn, Arzan and Naşibin (Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, p. 179; Weil, *Gesch. der Chal.*, ii. 690). Naşibin by this time probably belonged to the Ḥamdānid Nāşir al-Dawla (cf. Barhebraeus, p. 183 under the year 347 [958]; *Z.D.M.G.*, x. 482). After his death in 358 (968—969) his son Abu 'l-Muzaffar Ḥamdān was for a short time governor of Naşibin (*Z.D.M.G.*, x. 485). The Byzantines again attacked the town under the Domesticus (the Armenian Meḥ) on the 1st Muḥarram 362 (Oct. 12, 972) and instituted a dreadful massacre in it (Barhebraeus, p. 192; *Z.D.M.G.*, x. 486; Weil, iii. 19 sq.; Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, ed. Kračkovsky-Vasiliev, p. 145 = *Patrol. Orient.*, xxiii., Paris 1932, p. 353 wrongly makes the Emperor John Tzimiscēs himself conduct the campaign; cf. against this: D. N. Anastasievich, in *Byz. Zeitschr.*, xxx., 1929—1930, p. 403 sq.).

Ṭoghrolbeg's army in 435 (1043) laid waste the country round Naşibin (Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, p. 226). Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn in 1106 sent Abū Maṣṣūr al-Djawālī, lord of al-Mawṣil, to Naşibin against the Franks (Mich. Syr., iii. 193). Soon afterwards the Ortoḳid İlghāzī Nađīm al-Dīn took the town (Mich. Syr., *op. cit.*; Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, p. 273) and after the Sulṭān had granted it to the emir Mawdūd b. Altuntekin (Mich. Syr., iii. 215) İlghāzī took it again in 513 (1119—1120) (*ibid.*, p. 217). But it changed hands again very soon, when in 515 (1121—1122) Sulṭān Maḥmūd gave it to the emir Bursuḳī along with al-Mawṣil, D̲j̲azirāt b. 'Omar and Sindjār (Barhebraeus, p. 283). The Franks in 523 (1128—1129) advanced as far as Āmid, Naşibin and Ra's al-'Ain (Barhebraeus, p. 289). In 1134, Zangī put down a rising in Naşibin (Mich. Syr., iii. 242). Bābek, installed there as governor by Zangī himself, destroyed all the fortresses in the neighbourhood so that Zangī might have no base against him (Mich. Syr., iii. 264). Nūr al-Dīn of

Ḥalab in 1171 took the town without opposition and dealt rigorously with the Nestorian Christians there. All their new buildings were destroyed the treasures plundered and about 1,000 volumes of their writings burned (Mich. Syr., iii. 339 sq.). After his death, his nephew Saif al-Dīn of al-Mawṣil seized the town (Mich. Syr., iii. 360). It surrendered to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 1182 (Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, p. 360). In the following year the latter gave to 'Imād al-Dīn Sindjār, Naşibin and other towns in exchange for Ḥalab (Barhebraeus, p. 362) and he ruled there till his death in 594 (1198) (Barhebraeus, p. 398, 402). In the region of Naşibin there was fierce fighting in 582 (1186—1187) between Kurds and Turkomans (Barhebraeus, p. 370). 'Imād al-Dīn was succeeded in 1198 by his son Kuṭb al-Dīn but Nūr al-Dīn Arslānshāh of Mawṣil immediately took the town from him. But when a severe epidemic wrought great havoc in his army, he abandoned it and Kuṭb al-Dīn returned thither (Barhebraeus, p. 402). Nūr al-Dīn in 600 (1203—1204) had to break off a second siege of Naşibin prematurely (Barhebraeus, p. 416 sq.). Malik al-'Adil took the town in 606 (1209—1210) from Kuṭb al-Dīn (Barhebraeus, p. 424). After his death (615 = 1218—1289) it passed to Malik al-Ashraf of Urfa (Barhebraeus, p. 424, 439).

The Arab geographers placed Naşibin in the fourth clime, the southern boundary of which ran about 12 farsakh south of the town on the direction of Sindjār (al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, p. 32 sq., 35, 44). According to Yāqūt, it lay on the upper course of the Hirmās in the midst of numerous gardens. Ibn Ḥawqāl, who in 358 (968—969) visited the town which lay at the foot of Djabal Bālūsā, speaks of the pleasant life in it, apart from the dangerous scorpions found there. Al-Maḳḍisī describes the fine houses and baths, the market, the Friday mosque and the citadel. Ibn Djabair also visited it in 580 (1184—1185) and mentions its gardens, the bridge over the Hirmās inside the town, the hospital (*māristān*), several schools and other places of interest. In the viiith (xivth) century it was already for the most part in ruins; but the Friday mosque was still in existence and the gardens around it from which rose-water was exported (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, according to whom the walls had a circumference of 6,500 paces, praises its fruits and wine but laments the unhealthy moistness of the climate, the large number of scorpions and the plague of midges.

Hülāgū in 657 (1259) occupied al-Ruhā, Naşibin and Harrān (Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iv. 10). The Mongol Khān Mangū Timūr [q. v.] died, poisoned in Djazīrat b. 'Omar, on his way from there to Naşibin on the 16th Muharram 681 (April 26, 1282; Barhebraeus, p. 546 sq.). When Timūr Khān in 1395 was on his way to Tūr 'Abdīn, the people of Naşibin and Ma'arra hid in caves from the Mongols but were suffocated in them with smoke (App. to Barhebraeus, *Chronography*, ed. Wallis Budge, ii., p. xxxiv.). The Ḥasanāyē Kurds in 1403 pillaged Naşibin and the country around (*ibid.*, p. xxxvi.).

The town passed into the hands of the Ottomans in 1515 (v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii., Pest 1828, p. 449 sq.). It became the capital of a sandjak in the pashalik of Āmid (Hādjdī Khalifa, *Djihan-numā*, Stambul 1732, p. 438). Later it was placed in the sandjak of Mārdīn in the pashalik of Baghdād (St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, i., Paris

1818, p. 161 sq.). To its position on the southern border of the highlands and on the road from al-Mawṣil to Syria it owes its great strategic and commercial importance. The building of the Baghdād railway has brought it new life; it is said now to have about 50,000 inhabitants.

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NAŞİF AL-YĀZIDJĪ. [See AL-YĀZIDJĪ.]

NĀSIKH. [See NASKH.]

DAYĀ SHANKAR KAUL NASĪM (1811—1843) was a Kashmīrī paṇḍit who studied poetics under Ātiṣh. His fame rests entirely on one poem, a romance called *Gulzar-i Nasim*, composed when he was 22. It greatly resembles Mir Ḥasan's *Sihṛ al-Bayān*, and is generally awarded the second place among Urdū poetic romances. Naşīm also translated the Arabian Nights into Urdū. Naşīm is among the great Urdū mathnawī (mathnawī in the sense of poetic romance) writers, and is one of the very few Urdū authors who were Hindūs.

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AL-NAŞİR LI-DĪN ALLĀH, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. AL-MUSTAḌRĪ BI-AMR ALLĀH, the 34th 'Ab-bāsid caliph (575—622 = 1180—1225), was

the son of a Turkish slave-girl named Zumurrud.

He was the only caliph of the later period of the caliphate who was able to pursue a consistent policy. This was entirely directed towards restoring the temporal power of the caliphate. The caliph was assisted by the fact that the Saldjūk empire which had previously held the secular power had begun to collapse. In the confusion which brought about its final downfall, the caliph did all he could to hasten its end and did not hesitate to support the Khwārizmshāh Takash as the strongest rival of the dying Saldjūk empire in his fight against the last Saldjūk Sultān Tughril II. This struggle finally ended in the defeat of the Saldjūks at Raiy where Tughril died fighting (Rabi' I, 590 = March 1194).

As a result of the diversity of the political aims of the two allies a quarrel broke out between the caliph and the Khwārizmshāh as soon as negotiations for the partition of the Saldjūk territory were begun. The caliph wished to seize the opportunity to extend his personal estates by incorporating the Persian provinces while the Khwārizmshāh in the exercise of the temporal power wished to succeed to the whole inheritance of the Saldjūks. While Takash was involved in war in the east, Ibn al-Qaṣṣāb, the caliph's vizier, was able to conquer Khūzistān and other Persian provinces (beg. of 591 = 1195). His troops were however completely routed by Takash on his return (Shābān 592 = July 1196) so that the caliph had to abandon his conquests. Only Khūzistān was left to him.

In the years following, the caliph had a hand in the intrigues of local rulers in Persian 'Irāk, usually against the Khwārizmshāh (from 596 = 1200 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad). The disputes with the latter culminated in 613 (1216) when the caliph had a supporter of the Khwārizmshāh, Oghalmish, vizier of the governor of Persian 'Irāk, assassinated by Ismā'ili envoys. The Khwārizmshāh now began to prepare for the decisive struggle against the caliph; he prepared for war and in 614 (1217) invaded Persian 'Irāk. Here, in order to destroy the caliph as a political force also, he had his 'ulamā' in a *fetwā* declare the caliph al-Nāsir unworthy of the caliphate and appointed an 'Alid named 'Alā' al-Mulk from Tirmidh as imām. The caliph in vain attempted through negotiations to persuade the Khwārizmshāh to retreat. Instead he advanced on Baghdad from Hamadhān. But he was unable to deal his blow at the caliph owing to an unexpected circumstance; for in consequence of the early coming of a severe winter, which destroyed his army, the Khwārizmshāh was forced to abandon his march and return home with the intention of advancing on Baghdad next year.

In order to meet the danger threatening him, the caliph however in the meanwhile began negotiations with the Mongol Cingiz Khān in order to persuade him to attack the Khwārizmshāh. In 616 (1219) the latter was attacked and decisively defeated by Cingiz Khān before he could resume his intended campaign against Baghdad. He died while fleeing from the Mongols on an island in the Caspian Sea (617 = 1220).

The caliph had thus achieved his immediate aim and rid himself of his most dangerous opponent for the moment. But the Mongols were approaching perilously near him, especially after the conquest of Marāgha (618 = 1221) had established them

in Ādharbāidjān. At first however, there were only minor complications with the Mongols.

On the other hand, after the temporary withdrawal of the Mongols, the young Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn Mangubartī, Muḥammad's son and successor, attacked al-Nāsir and took Khūzistān from him.

As al-Nāsir had concentrated his whole attention on the east where he was fighting to strengthen and increase his private domains, he took no interest in the west where Saladin was waging his great struggle with the Crusaders and gave Saladin very insufficient help in spite of several appeals from him.

Al-Nāsir's policy seems also to have aimed at the restoration of the internal unity of Islām in addition to restoring the temporal power of the caliphate. He himself had a leaning to the Shī'a of the Imāmī sect (Twelver-Shī'a) and invited Alids to his court; he seems to have wished to reconcile in his person the claims of 'Abbasids and 'Alids. He also established an agreement with the extreme Ismā'ili sect of the Assassins. In 608 (1211-1212) the Grand Master of the Assassins, Ḥasan III, abandoned his claims to the imāmate and paid homage to the 'Abbasid caliph.

Al-Nāsir's efforts to centralise round his person the order of chivalry known as the *futuwwa* in a reorganised form are also perhaps connected with his political plans; in 578 (1182-1183) he had himself been admitted by the Shaikh 'Abd al-Djabbār b. Šaliḥ into the *futuwwa* order. He then only allowed those of the organisations of the order to remain in existence which acknowledged his personal control. By admission into the order he was then able to establish connections with the princes of the Muslim world, who now regarded him as the head of their order (the chroniclers tell of this in the year 607 = 1210). Ibn al-Furāt gives us a description of the robing of a prince as an external sign of his admission into the order in the presence of the caliph's envoy (the story is reproduced in v. Hammer, in *J. A.*, 3rd ser., vi., 1855, p. 285 sq.). The strict regulations introduced by the caliph into the *futuwwa* order are well illustrated in the edict of 9th Šafar 604 (Sept. 4, 1207), published by P. Kahle in the *Oppenheim-Festschrift*, which the caliph had issued on the occasion of the murder of a member of the order.

Al-Nāsir died on the last night of Ramaḍān 622 (Oct. 6, 1225) at the age of about 70. Ibn al-Aṭhīr describes him as tyrannical towards his subjects and inconsistent in his measures; his fondness for the *futuwwa* and its sporting activities (cross-bow shooting, training carrier pigeons) seems to him a strange caprice. Ibn al-Ṭiṭṭakā judges him more favourably; he describes him as unceasingly engaged in the duties of a ruler and lays stress on his rich endowments, although he also mentions his fondness for money. When a mediæval Muslim ruler is reproached with covetousness it usually only means that he was endeavouring to carry through a sound and cautious financial policy. Al-Nāsir is further reproached with having allied himself with the Mongols and thus being the cause of the great disaster which the Mongol hordes later inflicted on the lands of Islām.

Among buildings known from inscriptions to have been built by al-Nāsir are the Talisman Gate in Baghdad (618 = 1221-1222; blown up in March 1917 on the retreat of the Turks from Baghdad) and

the sanctuary of the Mahdī (Ghaibat al-Mahdī) in Samarra. Both are interesting and suggestive for his political aims, the latter as a distinctly Shī'a sanctuary for his Shī'a tendencies and the Talisman Gate for the remarkable pictorial representation once visible upon it; the caliph seated between two dragons, the jaws of which he is tearing apart and grasping their tongues. According to M. van Berchem's brilliant interpretation, we have here the caliph represented as victorious over two enemies, who had disputed his spiritual power: the Grand Master of the Assassins Ḥasan III as for a time the representative of the most radical opposition to the orthodox 'Abbāsid Caliphate, who had finally paid homage to the caliph in 608 and died in 618; the other, the Khwārizmshāh who had dared in 614 to set up an anti-caliph but was overcome in 617 and died a fugitive. In this connection the inscription also is interesting; in it the caliph uses the expression *al-da'wa al-ḥādīya*, which is a name the Assassins gave themselves (cf. M. van Berchem, in *J. A.*, ser. 9, vol. ix., 1897, p. 456 and 462), for his own caliphate.

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AL-NĀSĪR IBN 'ALENNĀS (the last name is also written 'Alnās, 'Annās and even Ghilnās by Ibn 'Idhārī), fifth ruler of the Ḥammādid dynasty, succeeded his cousin Bulukkin b. Muḥammad in 454 (1062). His reign marks the apogee of the little Berber kingdom founded by Ḥammād [q. v.]. The ephemeral rise of the Ḥammādid was the immediate result of the downfall of their relations and neighbours, the Zirids of Ifrīkiya, the first victims of the Hilālī invasion. On his accession, al-Nāṣir, who lived in the Ka'at Bani Ḥammād, was already ruler of a little kingdom, the chiet towns of which were Ashīr [q. v.], Miliana, Algiers, Hamza (Bura), Ngau and Constantine. Shortly afterwards, he regained Biskra whose governor had rebelled against Bulukkin; but his chief hope of extending his territory lay in the decline of the kingdom of Kaïrawān.

The abandonment of the old capital by the Zirid al-Mu'izz and his flight to al-Mahdiyya (1057) had left Ifrīkiya a prey to anarchy. The country districts were in the hands of the Arabs and the towns had chosen their own rulers; on all sides governors were in rebellion; leaders of the tribes imposed their authority on the threatened citizens; some towns turned to the Ḥammādid who were able to protect them. The people of Kaṣṭiliya [q. v.] for example sent a deputation to al-Nāṣir to convey him their homage; the people of Tunis did the same. At their request the Ḥammādid sent them as governor 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ of the Ṣanhādja family of the Banū Khurāsān. The latter worked wonders; he negotiated agreements with the marauding Arabs which secured the safety of the city. Later, after casting off Ḥammādid suzerainty, he made Tunis the capital of a kingdom.

If the arrival of the invading nomads had meant an immediate accession of strength to al-Nāṣir and an increase of population and economic activity to his capital, they were not without danger as neighbours. The Arabs soon involved him in a dangerous adventure. In 457 (1064) the Athbadj, one of their tribes, asked him to help them against their enemies, their brethren the Riyāh, who had joined the Zirid ruler Tamīm [q. v.]. Al-Nāṣir agreed, seeing an opportunity to invade and perhaps annex Ifrīkiya. He put himself at the head of a large army which included Arabs, Ṣanhādja, and even Zenāta, led by the king of Fās, al-Mu'izz b. 'Aṭiya. The Riyāh in their turn received subsidies and arms from al-Mahdiyya. The armies met at Sbiba, near the ancient Sufes. From the first the Zenāta of Fās, won over by the enemy, gave way, which resulted in the rout of al-Nāṣir. With great difficulty he reached Constantine with 200 men, then the Ka'at the outskirts of which were systematically sacked by the Arabs.

After this disaster al-Nāṣir tried to make terms with the prince of al-Mahdiyya; the negotiations failed, perhaps through the fault of the ambassador, and al-Nāṣir incited again by the Athbadj, resumed hostilities against the unfortunate Zirid kingdom. He entered Laribus and Kaïrawān (460 = 1067) but these successes led to nothing; he had to abandon them again as he could not hold his conquests. These adventures, into which he was dragged by the Arabs and which brought him no lasting advantage, lasted for some ten years. In 470 (1077) al-Nāṣir made peace with the Zirid Tamīm and gave him his daughter in marriage.

The Arab scourge which had ruined the kingdom of Ifrīkiya began now to threaten seriously the Ḥammādid kingdom. The Zenāta, hereditary enemies of the Ṣanhādja lords of the Ka'at, found among the immigrant nomads allies always ready to resume the conflict. In 468 (1075), the Zenāta chief Ibn Khazrūn, supported by the Arab Banū 'Adī of Tripolitania seized Msila and Ashīr. Al-Nāṣir succeeded in driving him back to the desert where, drawing him into a trap, he had him murdered. He sent his son al-Manṣūr against the Zenāta Banū Tuḍjīn, who had joined the Banū 'Adī and were laying waste the country districts of the Central Maghrib. The rebels were caught and tortured.

The Athbadj Arabs themselves, of whom al-Nāṣir had hoped to make valuable auxiliaries, proved most undesirable neighbours. Although he seems to have put down — not without cruelty — the majority of the revolts, life in his ancestral capital became more and more difficult from year to year. This decided him to select another. Occupying the lands of the Bidjāya Berbers, he founded there, on the site of the ancient port of Saldæ, a town which was first called al-Nāṣiriya and later became known as Bougie. There he built the splendid Palace of the Pearl (Kaṣr al-Lu'lu'). "Having peopled his new capital he exempted the inhabitants from the *kharaḳ* and in 461 (1068) he settled there himself" (Ibn Khaldūn). The exodus of the Ḥammādid royal family to the coast was caused by the same event as had led the Zirids of Kaïrawān to move to al-Mahdiyya: the settlement of the nomad Arabs in Barbary and the insecurity which resulted in the interior. This exodus was only completed under al-Nāṣir's successor, his son al-

Manṣūr [q. v.]. The latter assumed power at his father's death in 481 (1088).

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(GEORGES MARÇAIS)

AL-NĀSIR, the name of two Aiyūbids.

I. AL-MALIK AL-NĀSIR ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN DĀWŪD B. AL-MALIK AL-MU'AZZAM, born in Djumādā I 603 (Dec. 1205) in Damascus. After the death of his father at the end of Dhu 'l-Ka'da 624 (Nov. 1227) Dāwūd succeeded him on the throne of Damascus and the Mamlūk 'Izz al-Dīn Aibak acted as regent. Dāwūd's uncles however, covetous of territory, did not leave him long in peace. Al-Malik al-Kāmil [q. v.] first of all claimed the fortress of al-Shawbak [q. v.] and when it was refused him he occupied Jerusalem, Nābulus and other places (625 = 1228). In this perilous position, Dāwūd appealed to another uncle al-Malik al-Ashraf, who administered the Aiyūbid possessions in Mesopotamia. The latter came to Damascus but then took al-Kāmil's side and arranged with him a formal division of the whole kingdom. By the arrangement between the two brothers al-Ashraf was to receive Damascus and Dāwūd Ḥarrān, al-Raḡḡa and Ḥimṣ, while al-Kāmil took southern Syria with Palestine, and Ḥamāt was left to Dāwūd's brother al-Malik al-Muzaḡffar. But when Dāwūd would not consent to this, al-Ashraf began to besiege Damascus. After al-Kāmil had concluded peace with the Emperor Frederick II he joined al-Ashraf and after a three months' siege, forced his nephew to yield (Sha'bān 626 = June–July 1229) whereupon al-Ashraf was recognised as lord of Damascus under al-Kāmil's suzerainty while Dāwūd had to be content with al-Kerak [q. v.], al-Shawbak and several other places. In spite of this unfriendly treatment, Dāwūd remained loyal to al-Kāmil when the other Aiyūbids [q. v.] combined against him, and entered his service in Egypt. Soon after al-Kāmil accompanied by Dāwūd had taken Damascus, he died in Radjab 635 (March 1238) and Dāwūd whom al-Kāmil had appointed governor of Damascus had to return to al-Kerak. In Egypt al-Kāmil's son al-Malik al-'Ādil was recognised as his successor and appointed his cousin al-Malik al-Djawād Yūnus governor of Damascus. When Dāwūd tried to assert his claims to Damascus he was defeated at Nābulus. In the following year Yūnus, who did not feel secure against Sulṭān al-'Ādil, exchanged Damascus with his cousin al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Aiyūb for Sindjār, al-Raḡḡa and 'Āna. This pleased neither al-'Ādil nor Dāwūd so they joined forces for an attack on Aiyūb. The events that followed have already been fully related in the article AL-MALIK AL-ṢĀLIḤ NAḌJM AL-DĪN AIYŪB so that the reader may be referred to it. After Dāwūd had lost all his possessions except al-Kerak he appointed his youngest

son al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isā as his deputy and fled to Ḥalab (647 = 1249–1250) where he was kindly received by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf (see below). His private fortune in the form of valuable jewels, valued at least 100,000 dinārs, he entrusted to the care of the caliph al-Musta'ṣim, who acknowledged the receipt of them but never could bring himself to restore the treasure entrusted him. Soon afterwards Dāwūd's two older sons, who had felt themselves neglected, turned to Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Aiyūb and offered him al-Kerak in return for fiefs in Egypt which offer the latter gladly accepted. Alleging unfavourable reports about Dāwūd, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf had him brought to Ḥimṣ in the beginning of Sha'bān 648 (Oct. 1250) and put under arrest. In 651 (1253–1254) he was released on the intercession of the caliph on condition that he was not to stay in any lands under the rule of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf. He therefore wanted to go to Baghdad but was not admitted into the city. He then lived for a time very wretchedly in the region of 'Āna and al-Ḥaditha until he found a place of refuge in al-Anbār. His appeals to the caliph were not answered; finally however, the caliph obtained him permission to settle in Damascus. After several unsuccessful efforts to get back his property in Baghdad which had been confiscated, he was in the desert when he was taken prisoner by al-Malik al-Mughith, then lord of al-Kerak and al-Shawbak and brought to al-Shawbak. As the caliph thought he could be of use to him in the impending fight with the Mongols, he sent an envoy to al-Shawbak to fetch him; the envoy was bringing him back to Damascus when he heard of Hūlāgū's capture of Baghdad; he thereupon left Dāwūd who went to al-Buwa'idā, a village near Damascus. Here he died of the plague on 27th Djumādā I, 657 (May 12, 1259). Abu 'l-Fida' speaks highly of Dāwūd's eloquence and poetical gifts.

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II. AL-MALIK AL-NĀSIR ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MUZAFFAR YŪSUF, born in Ḥalab on 19th Ramaḡān 627 (Aug. 1, 1230). His father was al-Malik al-'Azīz, lord of Ḥalab, his mother Fāṭima, daughter of Sulṭān al-Kāmil. On 4th Rabi' I (Nov. 5, 1236) Yūsuf succeeded his father under the guardianship of his paternal grandmother Ḍa'ifa Khatūn bint al-Malik al-'Ādil [see ḤALAB]. After her death in Djumādā I 640 (Nov. 1242) Yūsuf himself assumed the reins of government and soon extended his power over most of Syria. When Aiyūb the Sulṭān of Egypt with the help of the Khwārizmians had conquered Palestine and also Damascus Yūsuf became ultimately involved in the conflict. The Khwārizmians were dissatisfied with Aiyūb, went over to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il, lord of Ba'albek and Boṣrā, and laid siege to Damascus on his behalf. The lords of Ḥimṣ and Ḥalab then appeared on the scene. The Khwārizmians were completely

routed (644 = 1246) and Ismā'il had to flee to Ḥalab and take refuge with Yūsuf [see AL-MALIK AL-ŠĀLIḤ NAḌJM AL-DĪN AIYŪB]. In 646 (1248–1249) the latter's general Shams al-Dīn Lu'lu' al-Armanī attacked Ḥimṣ [q. v.] and after a two months' siege forced the emir al-Malik al-Ashraf to capitulate and cede the town to Yūsuf in return for Tell Bāshir [q. v.]. Two years later, the latter conquered Naṣibin, Dārā and Qarkisiyā from the Atābeg of al-Mawṣil Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' [see LU'LU']. After the assassination of Tūrānshāh [see AIYŪBIDS] in 648 (1250), Yūsuf was made sultān by the Damascus emirs and in Rabī' II (July 1250) he entered Damascus. To avenge the murder of Tūrānshāh he prepared for war against Egypt and proposed an alliance with Louis IX of France; but these negotiations came to nothing. In Raddjāb of this year (Oct. 1250) the Syrians were defeated by the Egyptian emir Fāris al-Dīn Aḳṭai near Ghazza. Yūsuf did not lose courage however but prepared for a new attack on Egypt. In the vicinity of al-'Abbāsa [q. v.] he met the Egyptian army (Dhu 'l-Ka'da 648 = beg. of Feb. 1251); victory was within Yūsuf's grasp when the treachery of his Turkish mamlūks turned the scale in favour of Egypt. Yūsuf had to take to flight, several Syrian princes were taken prisoners and Aḳṭai invaded Syria where he occupied Nābulus and several other important towns until a strong Syrian force finally checked his further advance. After long negotiations, peace was finally concluded at the beginning of the year 651 (1253) by which Yūsuf had to give up any claims on Egypt, but a year or two later war very nearly broke out again. On the advance of the Mongols under Hūlāgū [q. v.], Yūsuf endeavoured to avert the danger by showing a humble frame of mind and sent envoys with presents to the Mongol camp; but when he began to calculate on getting support from other Muslim rulers and answered a threatening message from Hūlāgū in a challenging fashion, the latter laid siege to Ḥalab. Yūsuf seems at first to have thought of advancing against him to raise the siege. He encamped in front of Damascus and sent messengers with appeals for help in all directions but as neither Syrians nor Egyptians answered him and Ḥalab fell into the hands of the Mongols (658 = 1260), there was nothing left for him but to abandon Damascus and go south. Ḥamāt, Ba'albek and Damascus were taken and Yūsuf had finally to surrender to Hūlāgū. The latter had him executed, probably after the defeat of the Mongols at Ḥimṣ towards the end of the year 659 (1261; see also the article ḤALAB). According to Abu 'l-Fidā', Yūsuf was distinguished for his scholarship and poetical gifts; he was further kindly and good natured and fond of good living and so lacked the strength to maintain order in his kingdom.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-NĀSIR, the name of two Mamlūk sultāns.

I. AL-MALIK AL-NĀSIR NĀSIR AL-DĪN MUḤAM-

MAD, the ninth sultān of the Bahri Mamlūks, son of Sultān Kalā'ūn [q. v.] and a Mongol princess named Aslūn (Ashlūn) Khātūn. Born in the middle of Muḥarram 684 (Dec. 1285), he received homage as sultān after the assassination of his brother al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalil in Muḥarram 693 (Dec. 1293). After the two emirs Zain al-Dīn Ketbogha al-Manṣūrī and 'Alam al-Dīn Sandjar al-Shudjā'i had agreed that the former should hold the office of administrator of the government (*niyābat al-saltāna*) and the latter the vizierate, these appointments were confirmed by the nine year old sultān; but the agreement between the two high officials was not long maintained. When al-Shudjā'i tried to get rid of his rival, he was unsuccessful and was himself killed. In order to get all the power into his own hands, Ketbogha pardoned the two murderers of Sultān Khalil, who naturally felt it necessary to overthrow Nāsir in order to escape his vengeance, and when al-Khalil's old Mamlūks mutinied out of indignation, they were brought to terms by the loyal troops. Ketbogha then succeeded without much difficulty in persuading the emirs that the political situation required a man and not a child on the throne, whereupon al-Nāsir was deposed and Ketbogha proclaimed sultān with the title al-Malik al-'Adil (Muḥarram 694 = Dec. 1294). Two years later (Muḥarram 696 = Nov. 1296), Ketbogha shared the fate of his predecessor. He was succeeded by one of al-Khalil's murderers, al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ḥusām al-Dīn Lādjin al-Manṣūrī who was murdered in Rabī' II 698 (Jan. 1299). The emirs in authority then agreed to recall the 14 year old Nāsir who was in al-Kerak and in Djumādā I (Feb. 1299) he entered the capital in order to receive for the second time the diploma of sultān from the caliph and the oath of fealty from the emirs. The actual rulers were now the administrator of the kingdom Sallār al-Manṣūrī and the commander-in-chief of the troops, Rukn al-Dīn Baibars al-Djāshnagīr. The most important event in the period was the war with the hereditary enemy, the Mongols. In Rabī' I, 699 (Dec. 1299) the Ilkhān Ghāzān [q. v.] crossed the Euphrates and was soon before Ḥalab. In the same month Nāsir who had left Cairo in Dhu 'l-Hijja 698 (Sept. 1299), because the Egyptians had long been afraid of a Mongol invasion, reached Damascus. The sultān encountered the much superior enemy near Ḥimṣ, his tried emirs were defeated and the army returned to Egypt in great disorder while Ḥimṣ fell into the hands of the Mongols. Damascus met the same fate, except the citadel which was bravely defended by its Egyptian commander Ardjawāsh. In the meanwhile the Egyptians were preparing with desperate energy to resume the struggle and in Raddjāb 699 (March–April 1300) a new army left Cairo. But when the Mongols found they could not take the citadel of Damascus, they withdrew before it came to a battle and the Egyptians reoccupied Damascus, Ḥalab and the whole of Syria. After an unsuccessful campaign against northern Syria in Rabī' II 700 (Jan. 1301) which only resulted in the pillaging of the region visited by the Mongols, Ghāzān sent an embassy to open up peace negotiations; but as these overtures came to nothing, the decision was left to arms for the third time. In Shabān 702 (April 1303) the Mongol general Kuṭluṣhāh (Kuṭluḡshah) crossed the Euphrates and at the same time a portion of the Egyptian army under the command

of Baibars al-Djāshnagīr entered Damascus. On 2th Ramaḍān (April 20), a battle was fought on the plain of Mardj al-Suffar after the rest of the Egyptian troops under Sulṭān al-Nāṣir and the caliph al-Mustakfī had joined Baibars. Nightfall put a stop to the desperate fighting but it was renewed next day and ended with the total defeat of the Mongols; 10,000 prisoners are said to have fallen into the hands of the victors. Ghāzān died soon afterwards and his successor Ūldjaitū did not dare to measure his strength with his formidable opponent. For the rest al-Nāṣir's second reign was a fairly peaceful one apart from a few military enterprises of slight importance. At the beginning of the year 702 (1302), an expedition was sent against the Templars who had established themselves in the island of Arwād on the Syrian coast and harassed the mainland opposite [see ṬARTŪS]. The district of Sīs [q. v.] was also invaded; its ruler had made common cause with the Ilkhān and did not send Egypt the usual tribute promptly. The Egyptian authorities were on the whole on good terms with foreign powers; on the other hand, home affairs gave cause for anxiety. After the defeat at Hims, the Beduins in Upper Egypt rebelled against the authorities and levied taxes on their own account. A large army was therefore equipped to punish the rebels. At the same time, the governor of Kūṣ advanced from the south and cut off their access to the southern desert. The rebellion was put down with ruthless vigour, the men massacred without mercy, the women and children taken prisoners and property carried off. Many took refuge in caves difficult of access but they were suffocated with smoke in them. The large Christian and Jewish elements in the population had also to suffer a great deal. Several of the Umayyad, 'Abbāsīd and Fātimīd caliphs had already issued special regulations affecting non-Muslims and the 'Abbāsīd al-Mutawakkil had gone furthest in this direction; in general however, such measures were only enforced for a short period and were therefore usually repeated after a time; at least this is true of Egypt. In al-Nāṣir's reign many Christians were holding honoured positions as officials when suddenly from some insignificant cause the secret jealousy of the Muslims flared up and in 701 (1300–1301) an edict was issued which ordered among other things that in future Christians should wear blue and Jews yellow turbans in order to be at once distinguishable from the true believers nor were they to be allowed to carry arms or ride horses. Very soon a prohibition was issued against the appointment of Christians and Jews to the offices of the sulṭān or of the emīrs. The immediate consequence of this measure was that several churches were destroyed by the fanatical mob and the others remained closed until the authorities allowed them to be reopened at the demand of the Byzantine emperor and other Christian rulers. On the 23rd Dhū 'l-Hijja 703 (Aug. 8, 1303) the whole of Egypt was affected by a terrible earthquake in which not only many private houses but also palaces and mosques were destroyed and large numbers of people perished. All traces of the catastrophe were however obliterated with the greatest energy and the emīrs and well-to-do citizens vied with one another in spending lavishly to restore the shattered buildings. After an unsuccessful attempt to escape from the tutelage of the two emīrs

Sallār and Baibars, both of whom aimed at the sole power and regarded each other with suspicion, the sulṭān, who was prevented from exerting any influence in the government, left the capital on the 24th Ramaḍān 708 (March 7, 1309) under the pretext that he wished to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca but went instead to al-Kerak. On reaching the citadel, he told the emīrs who accompanied him that he was abandoning the pilgrimage and abdicating in order to live in peace in al-Kerak. Baibars was proclaimed his successor under the title al-Malik al-Muẓaffar on the 23rd Shawwāl (April 5, 1309) while Sallār remained in office as administrator. Baibars however enjoyed no real popularity; an oppressive rise in prices made him hated among the people who without justice blamed him for the difficult times. Sallār was intriguing secretly and al-Nāṣir was vigorously adding to the number of his followers in Syria. When Baibars heard that al-Nāṣir had entered Damascus and the Syrian emīrs had gone over to him, there was nothing left for him but to abdicate and appeal for mercy to his rival. The latter pardoned him and even offered him the lordship of Ṣihyawn [q. v.]. But after he had made his entry into Cairo al-Nāṣir had Baibars strangled (beg. of Shawwāl 709 = March 1310). Very soon afterwards, Sallār was also disposed of; he died of starvation in prison. The Mongols not long after this resumed hostilities. Two emīrs who did not feel safe with the sulṭān went to the Ilkhān Ūldjaitū and urged him to invade Syria. The Mongol expedition did not however go beyond the siege of the town of al-Rahba (Ramaḍān 712 = Jan. 1313). When the Mongols saw that their efforts were unavailing, they abandoned their plan of campaign and retired. At the beginning of the year 715 (1315) a campaign was undertaken against Malatya, on the course of which see the article MALATYA. At the same time, the lord of Sīs had to cede several strongholds and increase his annual tribute. Little Armenia was several times invaded by the Mamlūks who wrought great havoc there. In Mecca the sons of the Sharīf Abū Numayī [q. v.] were engaged in a prolonged struggle for supremacy; as the Mamlūk sulṭāns claimed to exercise a kind of suzerainty over the two holy cities, al-Nāṣir intervened without however playing any very effective part. His authority was recognised in Madīna in 717 (1317) and when he intervened in the domestic troubles of the Yaman and sent troops thither to support al-Mudjāhid, one of the pretenders to the South Arabian throne, he was assisted by the Meccans (725 = 1325). In the meanwhile, the situation had improved in favour of al-Mudjāhid so that the troops sent to his help by al-Nāṣir had to return amid great hardships after achieving nothing. Al-Nāṣir also tried to extend his power into Nubia. For this purpose he sent in 716 (1316–1317) a Nubian prince named Abd 'Allāh, who had been converted to Islām and brought up in Egypt, with an army to put him on the throne. He succeeded in driving out the legitimate heir but the latter was able after a time to return and expel the intruder 'Abd Allāh whose tyrannical rule had made him generally hated. Al-Nāṣir was more successful in N. W. Africa; in 711–717 (1311–1317) he was mentioned as sulṭān in the *khutba* in the pulpits of Tunis, whose ruler, the Hafṣīd Abū Zakariyā' Yahyā, owed his throne to him. In 723 (1323) he finally concluded peace with the Ilkhān

Abū Saʿīd. After the latter's death in Rabi' II 736 (Nov. 1335), Ḥasan Buzurg pledged himself to recognise al-Nāṣir's suzerainty if the latter would support him with an armed force. Al-Nāṣir, who was a better diplomat than soldier and had not the courage to intervene at the decisive moment, did not fulfil the condition. Al-Nāṣir had diplomatic relations with most of the rest of the known world and at his court appeared embassies not only from the Golden Horde, the Ilkhāns, the Rasūlids of Yaman, the king of Abyssinia, and the Ḥafṣids of Tunis, but also from the Emperor of Byzantium, the Czar of Bulgaria, the Pope, the King of Aragon, Philip VI of France and Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Tuḡluḡ of Dihli. Al-Nāṣir died in *Dhu 'l-Ḥijja* 741 (June 1341); he left eight sons, who reigned one after the other but were themselves ruled by the emirs who were usually quarrelling among themselves. His immediate successor on the throne was al-Malik al-Manṣūr Saif al-Dīn Abū Bakr, who was deposed after only two months in favour of another son of the late sulṭān.

In al-Nāṣir's third reign the position of the Christians improved, and he frequently tried to alleviate their hard lot, although his efforts sometimes failed against the stubborn opposition of the Muslim clergy. The ordinances of the period when Sallār and Baibars were the real rulers were at least not enforced to the full extent and we even find that the sulṭān put Christians, i.e. Copts, into the government offices, presumably simply because they were cleverer and more wily than the Muslims. Men of learning were treated with a benevolent interest, and the Aiyūbid Abu 'l-Fida' [q. v.], celebrated as a historian and geographer, was the sulṭān's trusted friend "perhaps the only one among all the nobles whom al-Nāṣir treated till his death with equal love and respect" (Weil, iv. 400). Al-Nāṣir further abolished many taxes which oppressed the people. He built canals and roads and carried out other public works for the improvement of means of transport. Architecture in particular flourished exceedingly; among the splendid buildings which date from his reign special mention may be made of al-Ḳaṣr al-Ablaḡ, al-Madrasa al-Nāṣiriya, and *Djāmi'* al-Nāṣir. These works however cost large sums of money and there were really no bounds to his extravagance. He was able through his long reign to maintain the Mamlūk state in its place among the great powers, and he was also able to make his authority felt at home. In some respects he reminds one of Sulṭān Baibars I; like the latter he was little scrupulous in his choice of means. To undeniable gifts he added suspicion, covetousness and a revengeful nature, and it has been observed, undoubtedly with justice, that al-Nāṣir inspired more awe than respect.

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II. AL-MALIK AL-NĀṢIR NĀṢIR AL-DĪN ḤASAN, the nineteenth sulṭān of the Bahri Mamlūks, son

of the preceding. After the murder of his brother al-Malik al-Muzaḥḥar Saif al-Dīn Ḥādjdī, Ḥasan who was then only eleven, or, according to others, thirteen years old was proclaimed sulṭān on the 14th Ramaḍān 748 (Dec. 18, 1347). Another son of the sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalā'ūn, called Ḥusain, was also put forward but this plan fell through and he never attained the throne at a later date. More important than the elevation of this minor prince to the throne was of course the distribution of the high offices of state among the emirs; the emir Baibogha Arwas became administrator of the kingdom, his brother Mendjek al-Yūsufi vizier, and the chief emir *Shaiḡhū*, Atābeg of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḡ Ṣālaḡ al-Dīn Ṣāliḡ [q. v.], afterwards sulṭān. Thanks to Baibogha's adroit policy, al-Nāṣir was able to survive for four years, although, except for the last few months, he exercised no influence worth mentioning on affairs of state. His reign was filled with unedifying quarrels among the ruling emirs and systematic raiding by the Beduins. The most noteworthy event of the period was however the visitation of a great part of the world by the devastating pestilence, which, known in Europe as the "Black Death", spread from Asia through Egypt and over almost all Europe to England and Scandinavia. In Egypt the plague raged in the second half of the year 749 (1348—1349) being accompanied by a no less fatal cattle-plague. In Syria it had appeared a few months earlier. Everywhere countless men fell victims to the angel of death and it is not surprising that the political and economic life of the state was crippled. The plague only died down in the following year. In *Shawwāl* 751 (Dec. 1350) the sulṭān succeeded in getting rid of the most powerful emirs and taking the reins of government into his own hands, but after a very few months he was deposed and his brother al-Malik al-Ṣāliḡ Ṣālaḡ al-Dīn Ṣāliḡ, the eighth of the sons of sulṭān Muḥammad b. Ḳalā'ūn, was placed on the throne (*Djumaḍā* II 752 = Aug. 1351). He ruled only for three years; on the 2nd *Shawwāl* 755 (Oct. 20, 1354) he was dethroned and his brother al-Nāṣir restored. The real ruler at first was *Shaiḡhū*; but in 758 (1357) the latter was waylaid and so severely wounded that he died a few months later. His successor *Ṣarghatmish*, who was suspected of having instigated the murder, did not allow the sulṭān the slightest independence, but was however arrested in Ramaḍān 759 (Aug.—Sept. 1358). In *Muḥarram* 761 (Nov.—Dec. 1359) the governor of Ḥalab undertook an expedition against Sis and established Muslim garrisons in Adana and Tarsus. About the same time, the troops who had been sent to Mecca by the Egyptian government to settle the endless family feuds there were defeated by the Meccans and those taken prisoners sold in Yanbu' as slaves. On hearing this the sulṭān is said to have sworn to exterminate the *sharīfs* completely; but before he could carry out this plan, he was himself deposed. For, as he wished to preserve his independence, he quarrelled with the powerful emir Yalbogha, who had reproached him with his extravagance. The latter combined with several other dissatisfied emirs and prepared to fight. Al-Nāṣir was defeated and had to abandon his plan of escaping secretly to Syria. Instead he was taken prisoner and handed over to his enemy Yalbogha (*Djumaḍā* I 762 = March 1361). His ultimate fate is unknown; according to one, in

itself quite credible, story he was strangled and his body thrown into the Nile. His mosque (*Djami' Sultan Hasan*) built in Cairo in the years 1356–1363 is considered the most important example of Egyptian-Arabic architecture.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, v. 447 sqq.; Ibn Iyās, *Tārīkh Miṣr*, i. 190 sqq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iv. 476 sqq.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 87 sq.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-NĀSIR, honorific of the fourth sovereign of the Maghribī dynasty of the Mu'minids or Almohads [q. v.], ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD B. YA'KŪB AL-MANŠŪR B. YŪSUF B. 'ABD AL-MU'MIN. He was proclaimed on the death of his father on the 22nd Rabi' I 595 (Jan. 25, 1199). The beginning of his reign was marked by the suppression of a rising led by an agitator in the mountainous country of the Ghumāra and a long stay at Fās during which he rebuilt a part of the wall of the *ḥaṣaba* of this city. Hearing of the rising of Yahyā b. Ishāk Ibn Ghāniya in Ifriqiya, he set out for the eastern part of his empire and laid siege to the town of Mahdiyya [q. v.] which was taken on the 27th Djumādā I 602 (Jan. 9, 1206). He returned to Morocco in the following year leaving as his deputy in Ifriqiya the shaiḫ Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Abi Ḥafṣ al-Hintāti, ancestor of the Ḥafṣids [q. v.]. At the same time, he sent from Algiers against Majorca [cf. BALEARIC ISLANDS], which had belonged to the Banū Ghāniya since the period of the last Almoravids, a fleet which took the island; this remained in Muslim hands till 627 (1230). In 607 (1211) al-Nāṣir sent an expedition to Spain which ended in a disaster to the Muslim troops in front of Ḥiṣn al-'Ikāb or las Navas de Tolosa [q. v.] on 15th Ṣafar 609 (July 16, 1212). This severe reverse deeply affected al-Nāṣir who returned to Morocco and made his subjects take the oath of allegiance to his son Yūṣuf. He then retired to his palace. He died in Ribāṭ al-Faṭḥ (Rabat, q. v.) on 10th Sha'bān 610 (Dec. 25, 1213). According to some chroniclers, he died a violent death on the same date in Marrākush, his capital, the victim of a conspiracy hatched by his viziers.

Bibliography: cf. the article ALMOHADS. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-NĀSIR. [See UṬRŪSH.]

AL-NĀSIR LI-DĪN ALLĀH, official name of several Zaidi imāms.

I. Among the Caspian Zaidis this title was borne by 1. AL-NĀSIR AL-KABIR AL-UṬRŪSH [q. v.] and his great-grandson 2. AL-NĀSIR AL-ṢAGHİR AL-ḤUSAIN B. AL-ḤASAN B. AL-ḤASAN B. 'ALĪ. The latter gained for himself a dominion beginning in Hawsam, where he could find associations with the earlier period of Zaidi rule. He laid great emphasis on the religious character of Zaidism; he gave out of the state treasury funds to support people who learned the Qur'ān by heart. He was also a poet. After his death (476 = 1083), his tomb in Hawsam was a much visited place of pilgrimage.

II. Among the Yaman imāms this title was borne by 1. AL-NĀSIR AḤMAD, son of al-Hādī Yahyā and his brother's daughter Fāṭima. In the heavy fighting which the father had to wage in order to found the new state, Aḥmad had been more distinguished than his elder full brother Muḥammad. Homage was, it is true, paid first to

the latter as al-Murtaḍā shortly after the death of al-Hādī (289 = 911); but after 6 months he abdicated as he could make no progress against the Ḳarmaṭian 'Alī b. Faḍl, and suggested as his successor the vigorous Aḥmad, whom the Banū Ḳhawlan especially favoured. As a poem composed when allegiance was sworn to him in Ṣafar 301 (Aug.—Sept. 913) challenged him to do, he made war on the Ḳarmaṭians his first duty and played a considerable part at least in damming back the threatened Ismā'īlisation of the Yaman. He died at Ṣa'da, probably in 315 (927); his tomb is there. All succeeding bearers of the title except the next one: 2. ABU 'L-FATH AL-NĀSIR AL-DAILAMĪ, so called from his first Caspian sphere of activity, were of his family although of different lines. In the Yaman, in contrast to his predecessors, he began operations south of Ṣan'ā', fell in 447 (1055) fighting 'Alī al-Ṣulaiḥi there and was buried near Ḍhamār. The life of 3. AL-NĀSIR ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN was marked by internal strife which ultimately caused his death. In the first half of the viiith (xivth) century, several imāms had disputed the succession. About the middle of the century, his father al-Mahdī 'Alī b. Muḥammad attained considerable influence, which was however much reduced in the period before his death at Ḍhamār in 774 (1372). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn became sole imām and advanced as far as the Tihāma against the Rasūlids [q. v.]. But when in 793 (1391) he died at Ṣan'ā', his death was concealed for two months on account of the insecurity and his body was concealed in the castle in a coffin covered with plaster. It was only when rumours of his death reached the Qāḍī al-Dawwārī in Ṣa'da that the latter arranged for his burial in Ṣan'ā'. The son 'Alī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn could only obtain recognition as "Imām of the Djihād" and fell in 840 (1336), one of the many victims of the great plague. When in spite of opposition a Zaidi power was once more built up, it was destroyed by the young dynasty of the Ṭāhirids from the Tihāma (850–923 = 1446–1517), especially by its second member 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Dāwūd, from 883 (1478), until at the end of the ixth (xvth) century AL-Hādī 'Izz al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan again reestablished and extended their power. His son 4. AL-NĀSIR AL-ḤASAN B. 'IZZ AL-DĪN (c. 900–929 = 1494–1523) who had primarily inherited from his father a love of learning, could only maintain a limited power in the north. He had to put up for a long time with an anti-imām al-Manṣūr Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sarāḍjī in Ṣan'ā'. 5. AL-NĀSIR AL-ḤASAN B. 'ALĪ B. DĀWŪD at the end of the xth (xvth) century organised in the north one of the centres of resistance to the Turks who had been penetrating into the country since 927 (1521) and 943 (1536) but was taken prisoner by them in 1004 (1596–1597). Among the pretenders within the family of al-Manṣūr b. al-Ḳasim (d. 1029 = 1620), the liberator from the first Turkish conquest, was 6. AL-NĀSIR MUḤAMMAD B. ISHĀK B. AL-MAHDĪ AḤMAD; he set up first in 1136 (1723–1724) in the north in the hills of Sufyān among the Banū Bakil, then in 1139 (1726–1727) away in the south at Ṣafār but had finally to submit to his cousin's son al-Manṣūr al-Ḥusain b. al-Ḳasim b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Mahdī Aḥmad and died in 1167 (1753) as a private individual in Ṣan'ā'. In 1252 (1836) the dissatisfied troops who had been discharged by the very extravagant imām al-Manṣūr 'Alī b. al-Mahdī 'Abd Allāh

summoned 7. AL-NĀSİR 'ABD ALLĀH B. ḤASAN to the imāmate. He had inherited strong religious tendencies from his grandfather al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad and from his great grandfather al-Mahdī 'Abbās and insisted on the strict observance of the neglected *sharī'a*. He had even to appoint teachers to instruct in the divine service. He was ambushed and murdered with 6 followers in 1256 (1840) while on a peaceful excursion to the Wādī Ḍahr northwest of Ṣan'ā' by people of the Banū Ḥamdān and was succeeded by the brother of his predecessor, al-Ḥādī Muḥammad b. al-Mahdī 'Abd Allāh, who had been long kept in prison by 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥasan. — As required of an imām, most of the above wrote a great deal; a number of works, chiefly of a legal nature, have survived, mainly by the earlier Yaman imāms.

Bibliography: Cf. the article ZAIḌIS.

(R. STROTHMANN)

NĀSİR 'ALĪ of Sarhind (d. in Dihlī on the 6th Ramaḍān 1108 = March 29, 1697), one of the best of the Persian poets of India, who were by this time very numerous; their productions however are for the most part of little artistic value. Of his life we know only that he travelled a great deal but finally settled in Sarhind where he enjoyed the favour of the governor Saif Khān Badakhshī and of the Amīr al-Umarā' Dhū 'l-Fikār Khān. His principal work is a version of the love story of Madhumalat and Manūhar in Persian verse, the original having been written in Hindi by Shaikh Djamnān. The same subject was taken after Nāsir 'Alī by Mīr 'Askar 'Ādil Khān Rāzī (d. 1696), one of the governors of Delhi under 'Ālamgir (1659—1707), who called his poem *Mīhr u-Māh*. Besides the poem Nāsir 'Alī wrote a short *mathnawī*, Sūfī in character, and a description of Kashmīr both of which still survive. His lyrical *Dirwān* was collected by his friends after his death; it consisted of the usual *ghazels*, some *Sākī-nāma*'s and poems in praise of the Kalendar dervishes (lith. Lucknow 1244 and 1281 and Cawnpore 1892).

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *G.I.Ph.*, ii. 252, 310; V. Ivanow, *Curzon Collection Cat.*, No. 278—279 and *Asiatic Society of Bengal Coll.*, No. 813—817. There are MSS. in most European libraries.

(E. BERTHELS)

NĀSİR AL-DAWLA ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤASAN B. 'ABD ALLĀH, a prince of the Ḥamdānīd dynasty [q.v.]. From the year 308 (920—921) he acted as lieutenant to his father, Abū 'l-Ḥaidjā 'Abd Allāh [q.v.], in the governorship of al-Mawṣil, and on the latter's death in 317 (929) succeeded to the leadership of the Ḥamdānīd family. Owing to the part played by Abū 'l-Ḥaidjā in the second temporary deposition of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Muqtadir [q.v.], the latter, on his restoration, attempted to put an end to the Ḥamdānīds' control of al-Mawṣil by appointing a governor unconnected with them. Nevertheless when this officer died during the same year, al-Ḥasan was confirmed in all his father's holdings.

The Ḥamdānīds profited by the rapid decline in the power of the 'Abbāsīds that set in from this time to extend their rule; and though they remained tributary to the caliphs, by 332 (943—944) they had secured control of most of the *Djazīra* and of northern Syria. Al-Ḥasan also made two unsuccessful attempts, in 322 (934) and 326 (938), to add *Āḥarbaīdjān* to his dominions. During

the early part of this period of expansion al-Ḥasan was much occupied in the suppression of local rebellions. He was anxious also to remain in the caliph's good graces, and for this reason declined to assist the general Mu'nis [q.v.] in his quarrel with al-Muqtadir, which ended in the latter's death. In 323 (935), however, the caliph al-Rāḍī attempted to displace him in the governorship of al-Mawṣil in favour of his uncle Sa'īd. Al-Ḥasan thereupon had Sa'īd murdered; and though al-Rāḍī at first sought to impose his will by force of arms, he was in the end obliged to agree to al-Ḥasan's restoration.

The reign of al-Rāḍī saw the final collapse of the traditional 'Abbāsīd system of government with the appointment of Ibn Rā'īk as *amīr al-umara'* [q.v.]. This development resulted in a still greater weakening of the caliphs' power; and in 327 (938—939) al-Ḥasan made an attempt to withhold his dues, which, however, were promptly exacted by Ibn Rā'īk's successor, Badīkam [q.v.]. In 330 (941—942), again, when the caliph al-Muttaḳī [q.v.] and Ibn Rā'īk (who had meanwhile been restored) fled to al-Mawṣil from Baghdad on its occupation by the brothers al-Barīdī [q.v.], al-Ḥasan had Ibn Rā'īk assassinated, forced the caliph to give him the amirate together with the *laḡab* Nāsir al-Dawla, and later married his daughter to the caliph's son. But though he and his more celebrated brother 'Alī, who was at the same time entitled Saif al-Dawla [q.v.], were able to restore al-Muttaḳī to his capital and drive the Barīdīs back to al-Baṣra, they were almost immediately obliged by a revolt of the Turkish troops under Tūzūn [q.v.] to retire again to al-Mawṣil. Al-Muttaḳī now appointed Tūzūn amīr in Nāsir al-Dawla's place. But his evident helplessness encouraged Tūzūn to abuse his power; and in 332 (943—944) the caliph again sought refuge with the Ḥamdānīds. Saif al-Dawla now tried, though without success, to defeat Tūzūn in battle, while al-Ḥasan removed the caliph for greater safety from al-Mawṣil to Raḡḡa. After some months, however, al-Muttaḳī was persuaded by Tūzūn's professions of loyalty into returning to Baghdad, only to be met on the way by the amīr, who blinded and deposed him. On this Nāsir again withheld his dues. But Tūzūn and al-Mustakfī [q.v.], the new caliph, came against him and forced him to pay. Tūzūn, however, died in 334 (945—946), whereupon Nāsir made a bid to recover the amirate. But later in this same year Baghdad was occupied by Aḥmad b. Būyḥ Mu'izz al-Dawla [q.v.]; and henceforward Nāsir's career hinged chiefly upon the maintenance of his power against that of the Būyids.

The struggle began immediately. As soon as he was established in Baghdad Mu'izz al-Dawla led an expedition against the Ḥamdānīds, and though Nāsir al-Dawla forced him to return to the capital by himself occupying the east bank and blockading the Round City, in the end he drove the Ḥamdānīd forces out. Nāsir retired to 'Ukbarā, and from there sued for a peace that should grant him the tributary lordship of all the country north of Takrīt, as well as Syria and Egypt. But a revolt among his Turkish troops forced him to flee before this was concluded, and it was only by the aid of a force sent by Mu'izz that he succeeded in suppressing it. Mu'izz's object in helping him was no doubt to preserve some order in the Ḥamdānīd

dominions until he should be ready to absorb them. For he now took one of Nāṣir's sons as a hostage for his obedience, and two years later led another expedition against al-Mawṣil. This again came to nothing, however, since Mu'izz was obliged to make peace before attaining his object, owing to the outbreak of trouble in Persia, where his brother required his assistance. Nāṣir now agreed to pay tribute to Diyār Rabī'a, the Dījazira and Syria, and to have the names of the three Būyids pronounced in the *khutba* after that of the caliph throughout this territory.

It was not till 345 (956—957) that further trouble arose between the rival potentates. In that year Mu'izz was called away from Baghdād to deal with a revolt, whereupon Nāṣir sent two of his sons to occupy the capital. Mu'izz, however, succeeded in overcoming the rebel; and on his return the Ḥamdānids decamped. Yet in spite of this provocation Mu'izz contented himself with exacting an indemnity and a renewal of Nāṣir's contract to pay tribute, and it was only when Nāṣir withheld the second year's payment that he took further steps against him. He then advanced into his territory, took al-Mawṣil and Nişibin, and finally sent a force to al-Rahba. Nāṣir, who had fled first to Maiyāfārikin and then to Aleppo, which was now held independently by Saif, attempted to make peace. But Mu'izz rejected his advances, and came to an agreement only when Saif offered to take his brother's place as tributary for al-Mawṣil, Diyār Rabī'a and al-Rahba.

Five years later, in 353 (964), Nāṣir opened negotiations to recover his position as tributary for these territories. But he included in his demands one, for the recognition of his son Abū Taghlib al-Ghaḍanfār [q. v.] as his successor, which Mu'izz was unwilling to grant. He again attacked the Ḥamdānids, occupying both al-Mawṣil and Nişibin. But they were more successful in withstanding him on this occasion; and an agreement was arrived at whereby Abū Taghlib undertook the payment of tribute for his father's former holdings.

In 356 (967) both Mu'izz and Saif died. Almost the last action recorded of Nāṣir is the advice he then gave his sons to refrain from attacking Mu'izz's son and successor Bakhtiyār till he should have exhausted the resources bequeathed to him. For on the death of Saif, to whom he had been much attached, Nāṣir lost all interest in life, and so antagonized his family by his avarice that they resolved to take the control of affairs into their own hands. Abū Taghlib, who had in any case taken his place as tributary, and his mother, Nāṣir's Kurdish wife Fāṭima bint Aḥmad, contrived to gain possession of all his property and fortresses; and when Nāṣir attempted to enlist the help of another son, they imprisoned him in the castle of al-Salāma in the fortress of Ardūmuşt. He died, still in confinement, either the next year, 357 (968), or the year after.

Nāṣir al-Dawla's rule was disastrous for the territory over which he had control. The contemporary Ibn Ḥawkal [q. v.] refers in several passages to his ruinous exactions and tyrannical seizures of land (see his descriptions of al-Mawṣil, Balad, Sindjār and Nişibin). And Miskawaih notes that by bringing fictitious claims against landowners he would force them to sell to him at low prices, till he became not only the lord, but also the owner, of most of the region of al-Mawṣil.

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NĀSİR AL-DAWLĀ. [See IBN BAKĪYA.]

NĀSİR AL-DĪN. [See MAḤMŪD I, MAḤMŪD II, MAḤMŪD, MAḤMŪD II.]

NĀSİR AL-DĪN. [See HUMĀYŪN.]

NĀSİR DĪN ALLĀH. [See MAS'UD B. SA'ID.]

NĀSİR AL-DĪN KUBĀÇA. [See SIND.]

NĀSİR AL-DĪN AL-TŪSĪ. [See AL-TŪSĪ.]

NĀSİR-I KHUSRAW, whose full name was ABŪ MU'IN NĀSİR B. KHUSRAW B. ḤARITH, one of the most important Persian poets of the xth century.

Life. Nāṣir was born in 394 (1003) in Kubā-diyan in the district of Balkh. The Persian historians usually call him 'Alawī which in this case can hardly mean descent from the caliph 'Alī but simply indicates his adherence to the Shī'a. His father was probably a small landowner in the vicinity of Balkh. Nāṣir received a good education and was early acquainted with almost all branches of the learning of his day. In the forties of the xth century we find him as an official in Marw where, according to his own confession, he led a rather dissolute life. In 1045 however, a sudden change came over him, the real reasons for which are unknown, but which Nāṣir himself explained by a prophetic dream. He decided to give up his position and all his pleasures and went on pilgrimage to Mecca on which he visited the Ka'ba four times. This journey had important results for Nāṣir. He left Persia at a difficult period, when the country was being laid waste by the continued wars between the various princes. He found the same wretched picture in all the other Muslim countries which he had to traverse on his journey. Only Egypt proved a pleasing exception; there he saw prosperity, rich bazaars, harmony and tranquillity. As the Ismā'īli dynasty of the Fāṭimids were ruling in Egypt at this time, Nāṣir concluded that Islām had diverged from the true path and that only Ismā'īlism could save the true believers from inevitable ruin. Nāṣir made the acquaintance of several Ismā'īli dignitaries, joined their sect and finally received the blessing of the caliph al-Mustansir (1036—1094) in order to spread the new teaching in his native Khurāsān. He was consecrated as a *hujjā*, a fairly high official in the complicated Ismā'īli hierarchy. Returning to Balkh he devoted himself with the greatest zeal to his new task. But the Saldjūks who ruled the land soon became convinced that Nāṣir's activity was a serious threat to them. He was persecuted and had to flee from Balkh. He went first to Māzandarān but found that this also was not safe enough and was finally forced as a last resort to take refuge in the Yumgān valley among the inaccessible mountains of Badakhshān. There in these poor and inhospitable highlands the aged poet spent his last years; there his most important works were written and there he died in 1060 or 1061 (452—453). Down to the present

day there has survived in this region a little sect known as the Nāṣiriya, which owes its origin to the "saint *Sho Nosir*" and tells fantastic stories about its founder.

Works. Nāṣir's works were probably very numerous but have survived only in very imperfect and corrupt form. The most important is the great philosophical *Diwān*, which was composed in the miserable years of his exile. The artistic value of his poems is not especially high, the style is often clumsy and awkward but the philosophical matter which still awaits its investigator is of very great importance for the history of Persian literature. It is a complete encyclopædia of Ismā'īlī teaching but of course unsystematic and disconnected. From the linguistic standpoint also the work is of extraordinary interest. A good edition of the Persian text appeared in *Teherān* in 1928. Two not very long didactic poems are appended to the *Diwān*: *Rūshanāi-nāma*, which presents a whole philosophic system having an undeniable similarity with the teaching of Avicenna, and *Sa'adat-nāma* which sharply criticises the aristocracy of the kingdom and praises the peasant, "the nourisher of every living creature".

The best known of Nāṣir's prose works is the *Safar-nāma*, a description of his pilgrimage to Mecca which is an exceedingly valuable source of the most varied information. Unfortunately this work has come down to us only in a very mutilated form and has probably been edited by a Sunni hand. The other works of Nāṣir are mainly Ismā'īlī textbooks. Among them first place should be given to the *Zūd al-Muṣāfirīn*. It is an encyclopædia of a special character which deals with the most varied questions of a metaphysical and cosmographical nature. A good edition of the Persian text was published in Berlin in 1923 (Kaviani). No less important is the *Wādih-i Dīn*, an introduction to Ismā'īlism, which gradually initiates the reader into Ismā'īlī beliefs by means of quotations from the *Qur'ān* cleverly put together. A number of other similar pamphlets like *Umm al-Kitāb*, which were quite recently fairly widely disseminated among Ismā'īlīs of the Pamirs are credited to our author but so far nothing definite has been ascertained about their authenticity.

Although a considerable portion of Nāṣir's works is now available in good editions, one cannot yet assert that sufficient light has been thrown upon his striking personality. It would be particularly valuable if his philosophical system could be studied as it is of far reaching importance for the history of thought in Persia.

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and of the *Sa'adat-nāma*. — Translations: Guy Le Strange, *Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Diary of a Journey through Syria and Palestine*, London 1888; A. P. Fuller, *Account of Jerusalem* (*J. R. A. S.*, 1872, p. 142—164); E. Berthels, *Safar-nāma* (Russian), Leningrad 1933. — In addition to the new edition of the *Diwān*, already mentioned there is also an oldest lithographed text, Tabriz 1280. A *Tardjī-band*, the authenticity of which is doubtful, has been publ. with Russian transl. by V. Zhukovski, in *Zapiski* (iv. 386—393). Text of the *Wādih-i Dīn* pr. Berlin 1925 (Kaviani). (E. BERTHELS)

AL-NĀṢIRA, Nazareth, the home of Jesus, lies in a depression sloping to the south surrounded by hills in a fertile district. While the hills to the north and northeast are not very high, in the northwest the *Djebel al-Sikh* rises to 1,600 feet above sea-level. The name of the town, which does not occur in the Old Testament, is found in the New and in the Greek fathers of the Church in the varying forms *Naṣarā*, *Naṣaret* and *Naṣapeṣ* with ζ, but according to Jerome it had in Hebrew a *šade*, which is confirmed by the Syriac Nāṣrat and the Arabic Nāṣira as well as by the Talmudic derivative form נוצרי, pl. נוצרים while the Christian Arabic has ζ. All these forms as well as *Naṣapynōs* (Mark i. 24) have in the first syllable an o obscured to o in Talmudic. In Christian Aramaic there is a subsidiary form נצורת with o in the second syllable with which is connected the derivative *Naṣaparioṣ* (Matt. xxvi. 71; John xviii. 5), cf. *ṭāw Naṣaparioṣ aīpeioṣ* (Acta xxiv. 5). The Mandaean term Naṣoraeen (e.g. Dalman, *Aram. Gramm.*, 2, p. 178; Gressmann, in *Z. A. T. W.*, xliii. 26 sq.) is usually connected with this but Lidzbarski (*Mandäische Liturgien*, p. xvi. sq.; *Z. S.*, i. 230 sqq.) wants to explain it as "observers", while Zimmern (*Z. D. M. G.*, lxxiv., p. 429 sqq., 76, 46) seeks its origin in the Babylonian *nāṣira*. That the Arabic *naṣarā*, Christians, *naṣrān* and *naṣrānīya* come from the name of the town is known to the Arab writers.

Nazareth, which in the time of Jesus was a little town of no importance (cf. John i. 47: "what good can come out of Nazareth"?; it is not even mentioned by Josephus), was not in the early Christian period one of the places of the New Testament to which large numbers of pilgrims went. According to Epiphanius, it was inhabited exclusively by Jews till the time of Constantine the Great. The number of Christians however gradually increased and was maintained after the Muslim conquest (636). In the time of Arculf (c. 670) it had two churches, and in 332 (943) Maṣ'ūdī mentions a church held in great veneration there, no doubt the church of St. Mary. Before Galilee was conquered by Tancred and the Crusaders, Nazareth was destroyed by the Saracens; it revived under Christian rule, especially after the bishopric of Scythopolis was transferred thither. The Russian abbot Daniel (1113—1115) has given us a very good picture of the Church of the Annunciation and of the Well of Mary there in this period. In 1187, Saladin took Nazareth and at the peace between him and Richard (1192) it remained in his hands. In 1251, during the last unsuccessful crusade, Louis IX undertook a pilgrimage from Akka to Nazareth. Yāḳūt (623 = 1225) who relies on the Gospel story instead of Muslim legend mentions Nāṣira as a village 13 miles from Ṭabariya. In 661 (1263) the Mamlūk

Sultān Baibars ordered the emir 'Alā' al-Dīn to destroy Nazareth and particularly the Church of St. Mary. Dimashki (c. 1300) calls it a Jewish town belonging to the province of Şafat and inhabited by Yamanis, and Khālil al-Zāhiri (d. 872 = 1468) numbers it among the townlike villages in Şafat. The Christian visitors however describe Nazareth as a wretched village inhabited by very few Christians with a ruined church and complain of the hostile attitude of the Muḥammadan population. It was not till 1620 that better days dawned when the Druse chief Fakhr al-Dīn [q. v.] opened the town to the Franciscans. The Roman Catholic monastery with the Church of the Annunciation was rebuilt, although not completed till a century later. There were only a few Christians in addition to the monks in the town, until in the middle of the xviiith century the *Shekh* Zāhir al-'Amr of 'Akka increased its prosperity after which they gradually grew in number. In 1890 according to G. Schumacher, there were 7,419 inhabitants in the town of whom 1,825 were Muslims, 2,870 Greek Catholics and the remainder Christians of other confessions; since then the number has increased. Jews were not allowed to live there. The great monastery with the Church of the Annunciation in the southeast belongs to the Roman Catholics, the Church of the Annunciation in the northeast to the Greek Church. The Muslims have a mosque of considerable size and five *walis*. The well of Mary which has a dome over it and is open on one side, has its water brought from a spring below the Greek Church of the Annunciation.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, i/1. 26; Mas'ūdi, ed. Paris, i. 123; Yākūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 729; Dimashki, ed. Mehren, p. 212; R. Hartmann, *Khālil al-Zāhiri's Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, 1907, p. 47 sq.; *Die Pilgerfahrt des russischen Abtes Daniel*, transl. by Leskien, in *Z.D.P.V.*, vii. 17 sqq.; Propst, *Die geogr. Verhältnisse Syriens und Palästinas bei Wilhelm Tyr.*, i. 55; Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königr. Jerusalem*, p. 441, 444, 885, 920 and *passim*; Robinson, *Palästina*, iii. 419 sqq.; Sir George Adam Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, index s. v.; Tobler, *Nazareth in Palästina*, 1868; G. Schumacher, in *Z. D. P. V.*, xiii. 235 sqq. (with map and photograph).

(FR. BUHL)

NĀSIRĀBĀD. [See SĪSTĀN.]

NASKH (A.), infin. I from *n-s-kh*, with the technical sense of "abrogation (of a sacred text)". See KUR'ĀN, 3.

NASHKI. [See ARABIA, d.]

AL-NASR, the vulture. It gets its name from the fact that it tears the dead animals on which it feeds to pieces with its beak and devours them. It eats till it can no longer fly. It is said to attain the age of 1,000 years. Its eyes are so sharp that it can see its prey at a distance of 400 farsakh; its sense of smell is equally sharp but fragrant scents are so deadly to it that they destroy it. It shows great endurance in flying and follows armies and pilgrim caravans in order to fall upon the corpses of man and beast. It also follows flocks because it is particularly fond of stillborn lambs, a statement which is confirmed by Brehm who says it attacks lambing sheep. It lays its eggs on high cliffs and is said not to sit on them but to leave them to the heat of the sun. It is however very anxious lest its eggs or

young be eaten by bats and therefore covers them with the leaves of the plane-tree. The use of the gall, brain, flesh and bones in mediæval times corresponds to the usage in ancient medicine.

al-Nasr was also the name of a deity in pre-Islamic Arabia (see Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 23).

Bibliography: Kazwini, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 424; Damiri, ii. 476; Ibn al-Baitār, ii. 370. (J. RUSKA)

AL-NASR, the title of Sūra c.x., taken from its first verse. The word means "help, assistance" and is often used of God's help in war and then with the meaning of "victory". Sūra lxi. 13 is also associated with *al-fath*, cf. xlviii. 13. The Sūra clearly belongs to a later period and verse 2 in particular recalls the year 9, the Year of the Embassies. It is therefore natural to refer *al-fath* (verse 1) in keeping with the frequent use of the word to the capture of Mecca, except that it is not mentioned as a fact (as Weil, *Ibn Hishām*, p. 933 translates it) but is represented as an assumption, which is also true of verse 2. This is perhaps only a rhetorical figure intended to emphasise the general prevalence of the idea and does not exclude reference to a particular event.

Bibliography: Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurāns*, i. 219 sq. (FR. BUHL)

NAŞR B. AḤMAD B. ISMĀ'IL called al-Sa'd, a Sāmānid. After the murder of his father in Djumādā II, 301 (Jan. 914) the eight year old Naşr was put on the throne and the able vizier Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Djaihāni given the regency. Soon afterwards the people of Sistān rebelled against the Sāmānids and placed themselves under the rule of the governor Badr al-Kabir appointed by the caliph al-Muktadir. At the same time the caliph's generals al-Faql b. Ḥumaid and Khālīd b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī occupied the towns of Ghazna and Bust which were in the possession of the Sāmānids. When al-Faql fell ill, Khālīd rebelled against al-Muktadir, routed the troops sent against him and went to Kirmān where he encountered a force sent against him by Badr. The battle ended in Khālīd's defeat; he was himself wounded and taken prisoner; he died soon afterwards of his wounds. In the same year, the uncle of Naşr's father Ishāk b. Aḥmad b. Asad rebelled in Samarkand and marched on Bukhārā, accompanied by his son (Ramādān 301 = April 914) but was driven back by Ḥamūya (Ḥammūya) b. 'Alī. A second attempt also failed; Ishāk took to flight again and Samarkand fell into the hands of the government troops. He then tried to hide himself but had finally to come out of his place of concealment and throw himself on Ḥamūya's mercy. The latter took him to Bukhārā where he remained till his death, while his son Ilyās went to Farghāna. In the year 302 (914—915) another son of Ishāk's, Abū Ṣāliḥ Manşūr, stirred up trouble in Naisābūr in combination with al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī al-Marwazī (al-Marwarrūdhī), who had rendered great service to the Sāmānids but felt he had been neglected by them. After Manşūr's sudden death Ḥusain, who was suspected of having poisoned him, went to Naisābūr and seized the town. In Rabi' I 306 (Aug.—Sept. 918) he was taken prisoner by Aḥmad b. Sahl, a tried general, who had been long in the service of the Sāmānids, and brought to Bukhārā, while Aḥmad took up his residence in Naisābūr. Ḥusain was after some time released and given a position at

the court of Naṣr; for some unknown reason he was again thrown into prison and ended his days there; in the following year, Aḥmad b. Sahl deserted the Sāmānids because Naṣr had not kept his promise to him, and recognised only the caliph's authority. He went from Naisābūr to D̲jurd̲jān and drove out its governor Ḳarategin. He then returned to K̲hurasān and entrenched himself in Marw; in Rādjab 307 (Dec. 919) however, he shared the fate of Ḥusain. Ḥamūya cunningly succeeded in enticing him out of the town. Aḥmad was defeated and taken prisoner and died a few months later in Bukhārā in prison. In Ṭabaristān also there was fighting. After the death of the Zaidi imām al-Uṭrūsh [q. v.], al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim, called al-Dā'ī al-Saghīr, was recognised as his successor. In 308 (920—921) the latter sent his general Lailā b. al-Nu'mān al-Dailamī to D̲jurd̲jān. From there he went first to Dāmaghān and then to Naisābūr where he had the *khutba* read for al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim (D̲hu 'l-Hij̲d̲ja 308 = April—May 921), after Ḳarategin had been put to flight. In the neighbourhood of Ṭūs he encountered Ḥamūya b. 'Alī whom the government of Bukhārā had sent against him. At first a considerable part of the Sāmānid army took to flight but Ḥamūya himself stood firm and Lailā had no further success; he had to take to flight, was captured and beheaded by Ḥamūya's orders (Rabī' I 309 = July—Aug. 921). Ḳarategin then returned; but when he left D̲jurd̲jān and Abu 'l-Ḥusain b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Uṭrūsh seized the town, Naṣr sent 4,000 horsemen there, led by Sīmdjūr al-Dawātī, who at once laid siege to Abu 'l-Ḥusain. When the latter made a sortie with a force twice this size, he fell into an ambush but escaped to Astarābād̲h̲ and thence to Sāriya. Sīmdjūr then went to Astarābād̲h̲; but when his efforts came to naught he bribed Abu 'l-Ḥusain's deputy Mākān b. Kākī and persuaded him to pretend to vacate the town for a time and then to reoccupy it. This was done as arranged; Sīmdjūr occupied Astarābād̲h̲ but soon returned to Naisābūr whereupon his subordinate, only left there as a feint, was driven by Mākān first out of Astarābād̲h̲ and soon afterwards out of D̲jurd̲jān. In 310 (922—923) Ilyās b. Ishāk rebelled in Farghāna and went to Samarkand; this enterprise came to nothing through the ability of Abū 'Amr Muḥammad b. Asad, who with 2,500 men prepared an ambush and scattered Ilyās's army, said to have numbered 30,000 men. After some time, the latter joined the governor of al-Shāsh, Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Abī Yūsuf, but had again to take to flight and went to Kāshghar where he joined the Dihkān Toghāntegin. After failing in an attempt to invade Farghāna he returned to Kāshghar. He was finally pardoned by Naṣr and settled in Bukhārā. About the same time Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. 'Ubaid Allāh al-Bal'amī [cf. BAL'AMĪ] was appointed vizier in place of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Djaihānī. In the year 314 (926) Naṣr at the instigation of the caliph al-Muqtadir undertook an expedition against al-Raiy where Fātik, a freedman of the rebel governor Yūsuf b. Abī 'l-Sādj, was ruling. He took the town in D̲jumādā II (Aug.—Sept. 926) and returned to Bukhārā after two months' stay there. Al-Raiy remained in possession of the Sāmānids till the beginning of Sha'bān 316 (Sept. 928) when the governor appointed by Naṣr fell ill and surrendered the town to the 'Alid al-Ḥasan

al-Dā'ī and his general Mākān b. Kākī. In 317 (929—930) or 318 (930—931) Naṣr's brothers, Yahyā, Manṣūr and Ibrāhīm, whom he had imprisoned in the citadel of Bukhārā, succeeded in regaining their freedom with the help of their followers among the dissatisfied elements of the citizens and seized the town. When Yahyā claimed the throne, Naṣr who had gone to Naisābūr at the head of a large army to assist the caliph against the rebel Asfār b. Shīrīya had to return as quickly as possible and after several encounters with Yahyā was able to restore order. Yahyā was pardoned and the governorship of K̲hurasān given to the emir of Ṣaghāniyān Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Muzaḥḥar. On the fighting in D̲jurd̲jān and Kirmān see the article MĀKĀN B. KĀKĪ.

The last year of Naṣr's reign was marked by a great revival of Shī'a propaganda, which had never ceased in K̲hurasān and had been particularly encouraged just at this time by the rise of the Fātimid caliphate. When the people of Naisābūr paid homage to an 'Alid named Abu 'l-Ḥusain Muḥammad b. Yahyā as caliph, Naṣr invited him to Bukhārā and when he left not only gave him a robe of honour but also granted him an annual allowance from the treasury. Ḥusain b. 'Alī al-Marwazī had been converted to the Shī'a by Fātimid emissaries in K̲hurasān. He was followed by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nakhshabi (al-Nasafi) who transferred his activities to Bukhārā and gained a number of proselytes among the high officials. He finally succeeded in winning Naṣr himself over to his party and in inducing him to pay the Fātimid caliph al-Ḳā'im [q. v.] a considerable sum to atone for the death of Ḥusain b. 'Alī who had pined away in a Bukhārā prison. This naturally aroused the wrath of the orthodox clergy, who were joined by the Turkish guards and provoked a powerful reaction. Naṣr regretted his complaisance and is said to have abdicated in favour of his son Nūh, who had not been guilty of any heresy. Naṣr's ill-health may have contributed to this decision. The details are variously recorded; in any case, the Shī'is in Bukhārā and K̲hurasān were persecuted and al-Nakhshabi with several followers executed.

According to the usual statement, Naṣr died after thirteen months illness of pulmonary consumption on 27th Rādjab 331 (April 6, 943); others say he was murdered like his father. According to some reports, he died earlier, on 12th Ramaḍān 330 (May 31, 942). This latter date perhaps refers not to his death but to his abdication. Nūh's formal accession in any case only took place after his father's death.

If we may believe Ibn al-Athīr, Naṣr was distinguished by a singular gentleness of character; according to other sources however, this was not the case. He was also celebrated as an enlightened patron of poets and scholars and is particularly held in honour for encouraging the poet Rudagi [q. v.] in every way.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, viii. 58—60, 64—66, 86—89, 91, 95—97, 121, 138 sq., 141, 145, 154—157, 164, 195 sq., 207, 227 sq., 242, 267, 269, 283, 291—294, 300 sq.; Mas'ūdi, *Murūjī*, ed. Paris, ix. 5 sqq.; al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, i. 138, 188; *Description topographique et historique de Boukhara par Mohammed Nerchakhy suivie de textes relatifs à la Transoxiane*, ed.

Charles Schefer, p. 92—94, 98, 101—103, 111 sq., 228; Gardizi, *Zain al-Akhbār*, ed. Muḥammad Nāzim, p. 25 sq., 29—32; Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-Nāma* ed. Schefer, i. 187 sqq.; ii. (transl.), 274 sqq.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī-i Kāzwini, *Ta'rikh-i Guzida*, ed. Browne, i. 343 sq., 346 sq., 381—383; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*², p. 10—12, 25, 109 sq.; 112, 176, 240—246. — Cf. also the art. SĀMĀNIDS. (K. V. ZETTERSTEEN)

NAṢR B. SAIYĀR AL-LĀITHĪ, governor of Khurāsān. As early as 86 (705) we find him distinguishing himself in the campaigns of Ḳutaiba b. Muslim [q.v.] in Central Asia and from this time onwards his name is often mentioned in history. In 106 (724) he took part in the campaign conducted by Muslim b. Sa'īd al-Kilābī, governor of Khurāsān, against Farghāna. When the two tribes of Rabi'a and al-Azd refused military service, Naṣr was sent with the Muḍaris against the mutineers and defeated them at al-Barūkan near Balkh. After serving for some years as commander of Balkh he was relieved of his office but afterwards restored to it. When the governor of Khurāsān Asad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kasri [q.v.] died and the caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik sought counsel of a trusted adviser, who was acquainted with the conditions in Khurāsān, regarding the filling of the vacant post, the latter proposed among other names that of the seventy-four year old Naṣr because he was "abstemious, experienced and shrewd" (*ʿaṣīf muḍjarrab ʿaḳīl*), and in Radjab 120 (June—July 738) he received the diploma of investiture. He honestly endeavoured to live up to the above description of him. The old cities of Khurāsān were four in number: Merw, Naisābūr, Merw al-Rūdh and Herāt; there were also special commands in Balkh, Samarkand and Khwārizm. After taking over the governorship, Naṣr transferred his headquarters from the remote Balkh to the more central Merw. In 121 (738—739) he declared war on his Turkish neighbours and advanced to Samarkand. From there he penetrated to Ushrūsana and thence on to al-Shāsh. The Turkish chief Kurşul, who had shortly before killed the Khākān and was regarded as one of the leading personalities among the Turks, along with al-Ḥārith b. Suraidj, a Murdji'i who had rebelled against Arab rule and taken refuge among the unbelieving Turks, endeavoured to check his progress; when the opposing forces actually met however, Kurşul was taken prisoner and killed. Naṣr then made peace with the ruler of al-Shāsh on condition that he banished al-Ḥārith, whereupon the latter went to Fārāb while Naṣr continued his campaign into Farghāna without winning any considerable success. The result was that he had to be content with concluding a treaty of peace. The Soghdians who had at an earlier date migrated to join their Turkish neighbours in al-Shāsh and Farghāna, but found the troubled conditions prevailing after the assassination of the Khākān intolerable and wished to return to their old Iranian home, were treated by Naṣr with a wise leniency and an agreement was come to by which the Transoxanians who had been converted to Islām but had gone back to the faith of their fathers were not to be persecuted in any way, the private debts and arrears of taxes of the emigrants were remitted and the Muslim prisoners taken by them were only to be restored to liberty after the evidence of witnesses had been taken and

a judicial decision given. These measures, it is true, provoked not only the displeasure of the Arab emirs in Khurāsān but also the dissatisfaction of the caliph Hishām; nevertheless Naṣr succeeded in carrying out his plans. As regards domestic politics he regulated the relations between the Muslims and those under their protection by an important reform in the system of taxation, by which he ordained that all landowners, including Muslims, should pay the land-tax (*kharāj*) while the poll-tax (*ḡizya*) should be imposed on non-Muslims exclusively. But the deep rooted clannishness of the Arab caused him continual difficulties. In the first four years of his tenure of office he chose his subordinates exclusively from the tribe of Muḍar; then he began to be little more broad-minded in this respect and to pay some attention to the Yamanis and thus gradually to pave the way to a reconciliation of the tribes at feud with one another. In the year 123 (740—741) the governor of the 'Irāk, Yūsuf b. 'Omar al-Thakafi, endeavoured to arouse the caliph's suspicions of him; Hishām however saw through his plan and left Naṣr in his post. When al-Walid II ascended the throne in Rabi' II 125 (Feb. 743) he confirmed Naṣr in office but soon afterwards allowed himself to be persuaded by Yūsuf b. 'Omar to recall him and therefore ordered him to come to Damascus and to bring with him all kinds of hunting-birds and musical instruments. Naṣr however did not hurry and before he reached the frontier of al-'Irāk, the news of the caliph's assassination reached him and he at once turned back. When al-Walid's successor, Yazid III, appointed Maṣṣūr b. Djumhūr governor of al-'Irāk and Khurāsān, Naṣr refused to recognise him. In 126 (743—744) trouble broke out among the Azd and Rabi'a in Merw. When Naṣr wanted to pay the troops not in money but with the gold and silver instruments procured for the caliph al-Walid they mutinied; Djuda'i b. 'Alī al-Kirmānī put himself at their head and appealed to their feelings by demanding vengeance for the Banu 'l-Muhallab who had been mercilessly persecuted by the Umayyads, a course which he knew would appeal to them. When the Muḍaris appealed to Naṣr to render al-Kirmānī innocuous, he declined at first but later yielded to them and had him arrested (end of Ramadān 126 = middle of July 744); but a month afterwards he escaped from prison. Negotiations were then opened between Naṣr and al-Kirmānī but they led to no real decision. A much more dangerous opponent was al-Ḥārith b. Suraidj who at the end of Djumādā II 127 (beginning of April 745) again appeared in Merw after a many years' sojourn among the Turks. In order to be safe from this rival, Naṣr had unfortunately secured a pardon for Ḥārith and his followers from the caliph Yazid III and after his arrival in Merw he endeavoured to win al-Ḥārith over by the greatest indulgence and friendliness. He even went so far as to confer on him the governorship of Transoxania; but all his efforts were in vain; al-Ḥārith adhered firmly to his Murdji'i conceptions and stubbornly refused to recognise Naṣr as governor. As his following was steadily growing, he finally demanded that Naṣr should resign his office and leave the choice of his successor to a court of arbitration. Naṣr said he would agree to this, but when he declined to obey the judgment of the court insisting on his

resignation, open fighting broke out. Al-Hārith tried to take the city by surprise but was driven back (end of Djumādā II 128 = end of March 746). He then joined forces with al-Kirmānī and they attacked Našr with their combined strength. After several days' fighting, the latter had to abandon Merw and retire to Naisābūr; it was not long however before the two rebels fell out. Among other things al-Kirmānī's cruelty made him hated; in addition there were the endless feuds among the various Arab tribes. After al-Hārith's most influential follower Bišr b. Djurmūz al-Ḍabbī had left al-Kirmānī with 5,000 men, al-Hārith soon followed his example but was killed in the fighting that ensued (end of Raddj 128 = April 746). Al-Kirmānī was now lord of Merw. The Yamanīs stood by him while the Muḍarīs sought refuge with Našr in Naisābūr. Našr's position was by no means an enviable one. So long as al-ʿIrāk was in the hands of the Khāridjīs and the ʿAlid rebel ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [q. v.], Našr's communications with the caliphate were cut and even after Yazid b. ʿOmar b. Hubaira had regained al-ʿIrāk for Marwān II, he could not reckon on any very considerable help. There was therefore nothing left for him but to concentrate his efforts on the reconquest of the city of Merw. After repeated encounters between his troops and those of al-Kirmānī, he went there in person and pitched his camp opposite that of his opponent. The two rivals continued to fight with varying fortunes without being able to bring about a decision. Našr's appeals to Marwān and Ibn Hubaira for reinforcements remained unheeded; in view however of the danger that threatened from Abū Muslim [q. v.], the leader of the ʿAbbāsid propaganda, negotiations were begun between Našr and al-Kirmānī. After a son of Hārith b. Suraidj had killed al-Kirmānī to avenge the death of his father, the Khāridjī Shaibān b. Salama took his place and in the name of the Azd concluded a truce for one year. Abū Muslim was able however to bring this agreement to nothing by persuading ʿAlī b. Djudaʿ al-Kirmānī that Našr had instigated the murder of his father and the Azd who were devoted to him broke the truce just concluded and resumed hostilities against Našr. When Abū Muslim was approached for assistance by the two combatant parties he was able to come forward as an arbiter and decided in favour of the Azd against the Muḍar. He then entered Merw, according to the most probable statement in Rabīʿ II 130 (Dec. 747), and made the inhabitants swear allegiance in general terms to a caliph of the family of the Prophet without a name being mentioned. For Našr there was nothing left but to seek safety in flight. From Merw he fled via Saraḫs and Tūs to Naisābūr, where the news reached him that his son Tamīm, whom he had sent against Abū Muslim's general Kaḥṭaba b. Šhabīb al-Ṭāʿī [q. v.] had been defeated and slain at Tūs. From Naisābūr he went to Kūmis and thence to Djurdjān. Nubāta b. Ḥaṇẓala al-Kilābī was here with a large army which Ibn Hubaira had at last sent him by the caliph's orders. But Našr and Nubāta did not cooperate and in addition the Kaīsīs went over from the former to the latter. On the 1st Dhu ʿl-Hidjja 130 (Aug. 1, 748) Nubāta was defeated by Kaḥṭaba and fell in the battle. After his defeat Našr could no longer stay in Kūmis but fled, pursued by Kaḥṭaba's son

Hasan, to al-Raiy, without receiving any support from the Umayyad officials. Reaching al-Raiy, he fell ill; nevertheless he wished to continue his journey to Hamadhān but was no longer able to move without assistance; he had to be carried and died in 12th Rabīʿ I 131 (Nov. 9, 748) in Sāwa [q. v.] at the age of 85. Našr combined with his eminent qualities as a statesman considerable gifts as a poet.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

NAŠR ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-ḤAMID ABU ʿL-MAʿĀLĪ of Šīrāz, a Persian author and statesman, vizier of the Ghaznawid Khusraw Malik (1160—1186) by whose orders he was arrested and executed. Našr was the first Persian to succeed in giving a satisfactory Persian version of the celebrated *Khalīla u-Dimna*. His version is based on the Arabic of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥaffaʿ and was completed about 538—539 (1144), i. e. in the time of Bahrāmshāh (1118—1152). For a long time his translation was regarded as a model of elegant Persian style which could not be surpassed and served as the basis for the metrical version by Kānīʿī (658 = 1260) and for a series of Turkish translations. It was only in the xvth century when even Našr Allāh's language appeared too homely and archaic that his translation was superseded by the celebrated *Anwār-i Suhailī* of Ḥusain Wāʿiẓ al-Kāshifī [q. v.], d. 939 (1532—1533).

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *G. I. Ph.*, ii. 327—328; S. de Sacy, *N. E.*, x. 94—196; Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 745. The Pers. text lith. Tabriz n. d.

(E. BERTHELS)

NAŠR AL-DAWLĀ ABU NAŠR AḤMAD B. MARWĀN, third and most important prince of the Marwānid dynasty [q. v.] of Diyār Bakr. He succeeded to the provincial sovereignty on the death of his elder brother, Mumahhid al-Dawlā Abū Maṣṣūr Saʿīd, in 401 (1010—1011), after a struggle with the latter's murderer, and was in the same year formally recognized by the ʿAbbāsid al-Kādir, from whom at the same time he received his *laqab*, and by the Būyid amīr, Sultān al-Dawlā. Though now established in the capital, Maiyāfāriḳin, he was unable to obtain effective control of Āmid, the next most considerable city of the province, until 415 (1024—1025), when his tributary, Ibn Damna, who had hitherto ruled it, was assassinated; and during his reign of over fifty years, he suffered several ineffective attacks on his territory from the Uḳailids of Diyār Rabīʿa, to whom he appears, at one period at all events, to have paid tribute (see Ibn al-Aṭṭir, ix. 121),

and to whom, in order to compose a quarrel arising out of his divorce of a lady of that family, he was obliged, in 421 (1030), to cede Nişibin. In 433 (1041—1042) Diyār Bakr was invaded from Ādharbāidjān by the bands of Ghuzz Turks which had pushed northwards on the advance of the Seldjūkid leaders into the Djabāl; and for two years parts of it were subjected to their depredations. Otherwise the province enjoyed, throughout his reign, a tranquillity remarkable in this troubled age.

The ruler of Diyār Bakr was regarded as a principal guardian of the frontier of Islām, and as such was expected to harass the Christians whenever opportunity offered (see the letter addressed to Naşr al-Dawla by the Seldjūkid Tuğhrīl-beg: Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 275). Nevertheless Ibn Marwān's relations with the Byzantine Empire were for the most part amicable, being based on a pact of mutual non-aggression, to which both parties appealed when it was infringed. The only important breaches of this agreement occurred in 418 (1027), when Naşr al-Dawla seized Ruhā (Edessa), which, however, was recovered by the Greeks four years later, and in 426 (1034—1035), when an attempt was made by the Christian inhabitants of that city, in league with Arabs of the Numair tribe, to invade his territories. Later their good relations were of use to the Emperor — Constantine X —, who in 441 (1049—1050) obtained Ibn Marwān's help in securing from Tuğhrīl-beg the release of the Georgian general Lipariti with whom he had been in league against the Georgian king, and who had been captured the year before by Tuğhrīl's half-brother Ibrāhīm Ināl. Up to 436 (1045) Armenia, which also marched in part with Diyār Bakr, was still independent of the Empire; and in 423 (1032) a Marwānid commander led a successful raid into this country. In 427 (1035—1036), on the other hand, a ḥadjdj caravan from northern Persia was attacked and looted near Ānī by Armenians of the Sunāsuna tribe, upon which Ibn Marwān forced the aggressors to give up their prisoners and booty.

Early in Naşr al-Dawla's reign the north of Syria and parts of the Djabira contiguous to Diyār Bakr were obliged to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Fātimid caliphs, though their hold on these parts remained somewhat precarious. And his own territories were menaced by Fātimid pretensions, when in 430 (1038—1039) the governor of Damascus, Anūshṭikin al-Dizberī, who was then reasserting his rule in northern Syria, projected an attack on Diyār Bakr. This, however, came to nothing.

The reign of Naşr al-Dawla saw the rise of the Seldjūkids from complete obscurity to the empire of Persia and the Trāḳ. His first communication with them occurred as early as 435 (1043—1044), on the Ghuzz invasion of Diyār Bakr, when he addressed a letter of protest to Tuğhrīl, who, though he was scarcely in a position to do so, undertook to restrain the marauders. (It may be noted, nevertheless, that Ibn al-Azrak describes this Ghuzz invasion as having been actually instigated by Tuğhrīl, who, he says, granted the province as a fief to its two leaders in advance; cf. Amedroz, *The Marwānid Dynasty of Maiyāfāriqin*, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 137. Surely this author is mistaken in considering the date 434 as wrong, since it agrees exactly with those given by Ibn al-Athīr). Eight years later Naşr al-Dawla acceded

to Tuğhrīl's demand for recognition as suzerain; and this subservience, which was renewed in 446 (1054—1055), when Tuğhrīl made a triumphal tour through Ādharbāidjān and Muslim Armenia, spared Diyār Bakr the experience of a Seldjūkid visitation. In the following year, however, Tuğhrīl's attention was drawn to the murder of a Kurdish chieftain by Naşr al-Dawla's son Sulaimān, his lieutenant in the Djabira; and in 448 (1056—1057), when the sultān was obliged to visit al-Mawşil in order to oppose a combination of Shīʿi leaders headed by al-Basāsiri [q. v.], he forced an indemnity from Ibn Marwān by laying siege to Djabirat Ibn ʿUmar.

Naşr al-Dawla was sagacious, or fortunate, in his choice of the three wazirs who served him in turn, namely Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Isfahānī, to whom he owed his throne (in office 401—415 = 1010—1025), Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Maghribī [q. v.] (in office 415—428 = 1025—1037) and Abū Naşr Ibn Djabir (afterwards entitled Fakhr al-Dawla) [q. v.] (in office 430—453 = 1039—1061). It was no doubt owing in part to their abilities that the remarkable tranquillity enjoyed by Diyār Bakr during his reign was turned to advantage and resulted in an equally remarkable prosperity. This Naşr al-Dawla fostered by a reduction of taxation and by renouncing the practice of fining the rich in order to augment the revenues. Nevertheless his court is said to have surpassed those of all his contemporaries in luxury, and many instances are quoted of his profusion and generosity. Maiyāfāriqin became during his reign a centre for men of learning, poets and ascetics, as also a refuge for political fugitives. Among the latter were the Būyid prince al-Malik al-ʿAziz [q. v.], who was ousted from the amirate in 436 (1044—1045) by his uncle Abū Kalīdjār [q. v.], and the infant heir of the ʿAbbāsīd al-Kāʾim — afterwards al-Muktadī [q. v.] — who was removed with his mother from Baghdād on the occasion of its occupation in 450 (1058) by al-Basāsiri.

Naşr al-Dawla is described as being resolute, just, high-minded and methodical, and though much addicted to sensuality, he was strict in his observance of religious injunctions. He died, aged about eighty, on 24th Shawwāl 453 (November 1061), leaving Fakhr al-Dawla still in office to secure the succession to his second son, Abu 'l-Qāsim Naşr, Nizām al-Dīn.

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(HAROLD BOWEN)

NAŞR AL-DĪN (pron. Naşreddin) KHODJA, the hero of the stories of wit and stupidity among the Turks, who bears a strong resemblance to the German Till Eulenspiegel, the English Joe Miller, the Italian Bertoldo, the Russian Bala-kirew, etc. Various opinions are current about his life. One tradition for example makes him a learned man of the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, but another makes him a contemporary of the Khwārizm-shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Takash (reigned c. 1172—1200). The two traditions are not to be taken seriously; at most they might be regarded as an indication that many of the jests of the Khodja date from the period of the caliphate or that some of them came through a Persian intermediary.

The other versions of the life of Naşreddin can be divided into two groups, of which the first puts him in the xivth and beginning of the xvth century (the period of Bāyazid I, Timūr and the eighth Karamanid 'Alā' al-Dīn), and the second in the xiiith century (the period of the Saldjūk 'Alā' al-Dīn).

The first view appears to come from the *Travels* of Ewliyā Čelebi (iii. 16—17). There, for example, the story of Timūr's meeting with the Khodja in the baths is told, when the Khodja said that he would give 40 *akke* for Timūr's shirt but nothing for him himself. In spite of all the improbability of such an utterance and in spite of the fact that the older *tedhkires* put this answer in Aḥmadi's [q. v.] mouth (cf. also E. J. W. Gibb, *Ottoman Poems*, 1882, p. 166—167) Ewliyā's story, was given currency in Europe by Cantimir, Diez, Goethe, von Hammer, etc. When Mehmed Tewfik accepted this story of Ewliyā's in his editions of the jests of Naşreddin and Buadam (since 1883) which were later translated into German (about 1890), it was given renewed life and became almost the predominant opinion in Europe.

The second group of traditions champions the xiiith century as the period of Naşreddin and relies on the following facts. Firstly the poet Lāmi'ī (d. 1532—1533) asserted in his *Leṭā'if*, that Naşreddin was a contemporary of Shaiyād Hamza who lived in the xiiith century; secondly in old manuscripts the Khodja is associated with the Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn. Köprülü-Zāde (see *Bibl.*) therefore inclines to the view that he was a contemporary of the Saldjūk 'Alā' al-Dīn (xiiith century). Sh. Sāmī Bey (*Kāmūs al-A'lām*, vi. 4577) and P. Horn (see *Bibl.*) had already decided for the Saldjūks and the latter definitely for 'Alā' al-Dīn, but Köprülü-Zāde supported his view by evidence, partly new, which we proceed to quote: 1. the inscription on the tomb of Naşreddin in Aḳshehir bears the date 386, which on the supposition that it is reversed, would indicate that the Khodja died in 683 (1284—1285); 2. on two authentic charters of endowment (*waḳfiya*) of the year 655 (1257) and 665 (1266/7) respectively, a certain "Naşreddin Khodja" appears before the *kaḏī* as a witness, and 3. the statement which the former mufti of Siwri-Ḥişār, Ḥasan Efendi, made about 45 years ago in the *Medimū'a-i Me'arif* about Naşreddin, agrees with this assumption. According to Ḥasan Efendi, Naşreddin was born in the village of Khorto (خورتو) near Siwri-Ḥişār in the year 605 (1208—1209), held there the office of Imām in which he succeeded his father, and moved in 635 (1237—1238) to Aḳshehir where he died in 683 (1284—1285).

Although this evidence is by no means to be rejected off hand, it seems to have been completely neglected by other scholars (Krymski in 1927 [see *Bibl.*] does not even mention Köprülü's book) except for my article entitled *Je li Nasreddin-hodža živeo?* ("Did Nasreddin Khodja really live?") in the Christmas supplement to the *Belgrade Politika* (Jan. 6, 1932), where it was described as worthy of consideration, if not yet absolutely convincing.

After all these traditions and opinions, it is not a matter for surprise that some scholars (H. Ethé, R. Basset, M. Hartmann, A. Wesselski [see *Bibl.*]) have been more or less sceptical about the historicity of the Khodja.

These doubts are to some extent closely connected with the question of the origin of Naşreddin's jests. Basset, for example, thinks (in *Recherches sur Si Djeh'a...*) that they are a translation of the old Arabic droll stories which were current in large numbers at the end of the fourth (tenth) century about a certain Djuḥā (Djoḥā) of the tribe of Fazāra in Kūfa. Djuḥā's stupidity became proverbial among the Arabs, as is already evident from Maidānī (d. 1124) (cf. *Arabum proverbialia*, ed. G. Freytag, i. 403, N^o. 175), and a *Book of Anecdotes of Djuḥā* (کتاب نوادر جحا) is expressly mentioned as early as the *Fihrist* of al-Nadīm (d. 995) (cf. Flügel's edition, i. 313). This collection, which had previously reached the west through oral transmission, was translated into Turkish in the xvth or xvth century and the hero identified with a certain Naşreddin Khodja, whose existence Basset thinks is at least doubtful.

This thesis of Basset's was not everywhere accepted without demur. Horn and Christensen (see *Bibl.*), for example, do not believe in a translation from the old book of Djuḥā's jests and Wesselski holds the view "that there is no evidence of the existence of any story of Djuḥā in the period before that of Naşreddin's alleged or actual life, which could with certainty be assumed to be the source of one of the jests of Naşreddin". M. Hartmann describes Naşreddin's jests as the common property of the literature of the world, expressed to some extent in a specifically Turkish guise and therefore regards any question as to whether there ever was such a person as of little importance. Horn and Krymski also regard the Khodja's jests as folk stories found almost everywhere. Christensen thinks similarly but admits that these jests form an independent collection "into which probably very many stories from the old book (of Djuḥā) have been incorporated".

Whatever the truth may be, one thing seems to be certain: the immediate source for most of the stories of Naşreddin is to be sought, as Basset and Hartmann say, in the world of Arabic culture and Islām where Djuḥā certainly is often the hero of such anecdotes. In other words, Djuḥā might be regarded as the ultimate prototype of many of the adventures of Naşreddin. While Basset's theory then may not be correct in all details, it seems to be right in its main features, especially in the fact that it has directed the student of Naşreddin to the influence of the rich Arabic literature of humorous anecdote. That many of these stories are originally not Arabic but Persian, Syriac, Indian, Greek, etc. is quite natural, especially when we remember that they are common to many literatures, but in this case it must often have been the Arabic version that was the source upon which the Turkish drew.

For the problem of Naşreddin it is also important to put on record that stories of Djuḥā are very early mentioned by Persian poets and authors (Minūčihri, d. 1040—1041) or transmitted (a story in Anwarī [d. c. 1190], three stories in Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [d. 1273] and a dozen stories in 'Ubaid-i Zakānī [d. 1370—1371]). When we remember the part played by Persian culture among the Saldjūks of Rūm and their Ottoman successors, we cannot consider it impossible that some stories of Djuḥā may have come to the Turks through Persian literature.

This is all the more probable as Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī himself spent the greater part of his life in Anatolia (especially in Konya) and used Djuḥī's (as Djuḥā is called among the Persians) popularity to illustrate his mystic ideas (cf. *Mathnawī*, ed. Nicholson, ii. 3116 sqq.).

Particularly in view of this popularity and the fact of oral transmission, it is not impossible that the common people altered the name Djuḥā (Djoḥa), which was strange to them, into Khodja, as Basset repeatedly insists (*Mélanges africains et orientaux*, Paris 1915, p. 49). On the other hand, there may have been a droll Khodja named Naşreddīn among the Ottomans (or Seldjuks), around whom gathered humorous stories of others, in addition to his own jests, and thus became the typical representative of wit and stupidity. For this reason he was probably also credited with the tales of the simplicity of Karakūsh [q. v.], Saladin's steward, who had been dead since 1201.

Other jests attributed to Naşreddīn go back several centuries further which is proof that they cannot originate with him. The fact that most of the jests are not original is obvious (cf. e.g. Wesselski's parallels), in spite of all the changes and transformations they have undergone among the Turks.

One of the Turkish versions (with additions) was, according to Basset, translated in the middle of the xth (xvii) century into Arabic and thus the Turks returned to the Arabs part of what they had formerly borrowed from them. Naşreddīn and Djuḥā, being similar types, later became amalgamated in such a way that the Arabic editions identify the two in the title: *Nawādir al-Khodja Naşr al-Dīn Efendi Djuḥā*. Sometimes however, the Arabs distinguish between the two by calling Naşreddīn the "Rumelian Djuḥā" (Djuḥā al-Rūmī).

This Djuḥā of the *Nawādir* easily reached the Berbers through the Arabs as Si Djehā (Djoḥā). In a similar way the Nubians procured their Djauha and the Maltese their Djahan. Whether the fool of Sicilian popular story, Giufà or Giucà also comes from Djuḥā is a further question.

On the other hand, the Turkish version of the jests of Naşreddīn (under his or another name or anonymously) became known not only to the Rumanians, Bulgars, Greeks, Albanians, and Jugoslavs but also in Armenia, Georgia, the Caucasus, the Crimea, the Ukraine, Russia, Turkestan etc. On these long travels, Naşreddīn naturally underwent many changes; distortions and additions were made which are quite foreign to the Turkish text, so that the number of his (or Djuḥā's) stories increased to several hundreds (in Wesselski to 515 or 555). The oldest manuscript (Leyden, N^o. 2715), which was already in the possession of a European in 1625, only contains 76 jests.

The first edition of the chapbook on Naşreddīn, which was the foundation of many later editions, appeared in 1837 (125 jests). Mehmed Tewfik's edition (1299 = 1883) in which the coarse stories of the chapbook are omitted only contains 71 but a few months later Tewfik published a further 130 under the name *Bu Adam* ("This Man", i.e. the same Naşreddīn) (in the final edition of 1302 *Bu Adam* only contains 96 stories). Anecdotes of Naşreddīn were later collected by I. Kúnos from the lips of the people between Aidin and Konya and separately published (Budapest 1899, with 166 stories and introduction, and in

Radloff's *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme*, vol. viii., St. Petersburg 1899). The fullest, but uncritical, Turkish edition is that of Behā'ī (pseudonym of Weled Çelebi), the fourth edition of which (1926) contains nearly 400 anecdotes.

The Turkish editions in the Roman alphabet are much shorter (e.g. *Nasrettin Hoca Hikayeleri*, 1928 [only 79 pp.] and *Letaifi Nasrettin Hoca*, 1929 [only 96 pp.]) or are divided into various periods of Naşreddīn's life (like the *Nasrettin Hoca* of Kemalettin Şükrü 1930—1931, in four parts).

The first European translations were based on the early editions of the Turkish chapbook: the German by Camerloher and Prelog (Triest 1857, with 126 jests) and the French of Decourdemanche (*Les plaisanteries de N. hodja*, Paris 1876, also containing 126 anecdotes) which was increased in the second edition (1908) by those about Karakūsh. Decourdemanche also provided a translation based on much larger material (he drew upon unpublished manuscripts also) entitled *Sottisier de Nasr-Eddin-Hodja* (Brussels 1878, with 321 humorous anecdotes). While the translation by Camerloher and Prelog made it possible for R. Köhler to find many stories told of Naşreddīn in European collections and to trace many of them back to an Indian origin (*Orient und Occident*, i. [1862]; a later edition with additions in his *Kleineren Schriften zur Märchenforschung*, i. [1898]), Decourdemanche's translation served Dragomanov as the basis for his studies on the dissemination of stories of Naşreddīn in the Ukraine (*Kiewskaya Starina*, 1886).

Later (about 1890) Mehmed Tewfik's edition, including a portion of *Bu Adam* was translated into German by Müllendorff (Reclam N^o. 2735). The remainder of the *Bu Adam* stories (N^o. 131—226) were translated by Menzel; the much too long *Abenteuer Buadems* (= N^o. 197) in the *Türkische Bibliothek* (vol. xiii., 1911) and the others in the *Beitrügen zur Kenntnis des Orients*, vol. ix. (1911), p. 124—159. Naşreddīn's jests have also been translated into English, Russian, Hungarian, Greek, Serbo-Croat, Little Russian, Bulgarian, etc. Wesselski's *Der Hodscha Nasreddin* (1911) is at present the most complete translation of these anecdotes in a number of versions (see *Bibl.*).

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that some anecdotes of Naşreddīn were retold by A. Pann in Rumanian (1853), by Murad Efendi (= Fr. v. Werner) in German (1878), by V. Veličko in Russian (1892), by V. Ştürat in Little Russian (1896) and by Köprülü-Zāde in Turkish verse (1918).

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Basset, *Contribution à l'histoire du sottisier de Nasr Eddin Hodja*, in *Keleti Szemle*, i. 219—225; F. Schwally, *Zum arabischen Till Eulenspiegel*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lvi. 1902, p. 237 sq.; A. Wesselski, *Der Hodscha Nasreddin*, Türkische, arabische, berberische, maltesische, sizilianische, kalabrische, kroatische, serbische und griechische Märlein und Schwänke, gesammelt und herausgegeben, vol. i.—ii., Weimar 1911, with a full introduction and valuable "Anmerkungen literatur- und stoffgeschichtlichen Inhalts"; Köprülü-Zade Mehmed Fu'ad, *Nasreddin Khodja* (on the turnover also: *Manzûm Hikâyeler*), Stambul 1918 (50 versified stories with important preface and appendix); A. Christensen, *Fûhi in the Persian Literature*, in E. G. Browne, *Festschrift*, Cambridge 1922, p. 129—136; Behā'i, *Leṭā'if-i Khodja Nasreddin*⁴, Stambul 1926, with verbose preface and appendix of little value; A. Krymski, *Istoriya Turečini ta yi pi'menstva*, vol. ii., part 2, Kiev 1927, p. 92—106, with full bibliography; Kemaleddine Chukru, *Vie de Nasreddine Hodja*, Stambul n. d. (1930; deals very briefly with Khodja's life on p. 7—8 and gives French translation of his jests arranged under 4 periods of his life). — Also the catalogues of MSS. in Leyden, Vienna, London, Berlin, Paris etc. (FEHIM BAJRAKTAREVIĆ) NAṢRĀNĪ. [See NAṢĀRĀ.]

NAṢRIDS, Ar. BANŪ NAṢR, also sometimes called BANU 'L-AḤMAR, a Muslim dynasty which ruled over the kingdom of Granada in the north of Spain from 629 to 897 A. H. (1231—1491).

While, thanks to the narratives of the contemporary Ibn al-Khaṭīb [q. v.] and Ibn Khaldūn [q. v.], we are very well informed about the history of the kingdom of the Naṣrids down to the second half of the xivth century, we have for the later period only a very few sources available in Arabic — and it is not always easy to fill the gaps from Christian sources —: a few pages of al-Maḥḥārī's *Nafḥ al-Ṭib* and the short anonymous chronicle published in 1863 by Müller.

We give below a chronological list of the Naṣrids; when a date A. D. is not preceded by its equivalent A. H., this is because it is not given either by Muslim historians or Arabic inscriptions.

1. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad I *al-Ghālīb bi'llāh*: 629—671 (1232—1273).
2. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad II *al-Faḥīh*: 671—701 (1273—1302).
3. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad III *al-Maḥlū'*: 701—708 (1302—1309).
4. Abū 'l-Djuyūsh Naṣr: 708—713 (1309—1314).
5. Abū 'l-Walid Ismā'il I: 713—725 (1314—1325).
6. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad IV: 725—733 (1325—1333).
7. Abū 'l-Ḥadjjādī Yūsuf I *al-Mu'ayyad bi'llāh*: 733—755 (1333—1354).
8. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad V *al-Ghānī bi'llāh*: 1^o. 755—760 (1354—1359); 2^o. 763—793 (1362—1391).
9. Abū 'l-Walid Ismā'il II: 760—761 (1359—1360).
10. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad VI: 761—763 (1360—1362).
11. Abū 'l-Ḥadjjādī Yūsuf II *al-Mustaḥsin bi'llāh*: 793—794 (1391—1392).

12. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad VII: 794—810 (1392—1408).

13. Abū 'l-Ḥadjjādī Yūsuf III *al-Nāṣir li-Dīni'llāh*: 810—820 (1408—1417).

14. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad VIII (*al-Aisar*): 1^o. 1417—1427; 2^o. 1429—1432; 3^o. 1432—1445.

15. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad IX (*al-Ṣaḥīr*): 1427—1429.

16. Abū 'l-Ḥadjjādī Yūsuf IV: 1432.

17. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad X (*al-Aḥnaf*): 1445—1455.

18. Abū 'l-Naṣr Sa'd *al-Musta'in bi'llāh*: (1455—1465).

19. Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī: 1465—1482.

20. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad XI (Boabdil): 1^o. 887—888 (1482—1483); 2^o. 892—897 (1487—1491).

21. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad XII (*al-Zaghāl*): 888—892 (1483—1487).

I. Foundation of the Naṣrid kingdom. At the time when the power of the Almohads was beginning to collapse in Spain, two influential families, the Banū Mardaniṣh in Valencia [q. v.] and the Banū Hūd in Murcia [q. v.], took advantage of the civil strife to form for themselves little principalities in the east of the Peninsula. At the same time a member of the Arab family of the Banu 'l-Aḥmar, settled in Arjona, a little town some 20 miles north of Jaen, who traced their descent from the chief of the Banū Khazraḍj, Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, also tried his fortune at profiting by the troubled times. He was Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. Naṣr and was known as al-Shaikh. In 629 (1231) he found a few supporters to proclaim him; these were mainly members of his own family and of another, related to it, the Banū Ashkilūla. The towns of Jaen, Guadix and Baza rallied in the following year to his standard. After various exploits the details of which are somewhat obscure, Muḥammad I, ancestor and founder of the dynasty of the Naṣrids, took Granada, in 635 (1237—1238) and made this town his capital. He soon decided to build a royal residence on the famous hill of the Alhambra ([q. v.]; al-Ḥamrā' or Ḥamrā' Gharnāta). In the course of the following year, he made himself lord successively of Malaga and Almeria. The little town of Lorca did not come under his sway until 663 (1264—1265). Hitherto Muḥammad I had had to employ all his forces to fight against his Muslim rivals and in order to have his hands free he declared himself the vassal of Ferdinand I, king of Castille (1217—1252) to whom he undertook to pay a considerable annual tribute. He had to take part with his overlord in the capture of Seville from the Muslims in 1248 and be a passive witness of the triumphs of the armies of the king of Castille in the south of Spain. When on the death of Ferdinand I, Alfonso X succeeded him, Muḥammad I had to renew his oath of vassalage to the latter. His kingdom, "the kingdom of Granada", was now the only area in the Peninsula ruled by a Muslim prince; bounded by the Mediterranean from the Straits of Gibraltar to Almeria, this kingdom did not go farther inland than the mountains of the Serrania de Ronda and the Sierra d'Elvira.

II. The Naṣrid kingdom in the xivth century. — Muḥammad I died in 671 (1273) and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad II, called al-Faḥīh, who on his accession sought an

alliance with the Marinids who were finally putting an end to Almohad rule in Morocco. The Marinids answered his appeal. On coming to the throne Muḥammad II had found himself faced with the necessity of putting down threatening rebellions; the most serious was that of the Banū *Ashkilūla*, governors of Malaga and Guadix. He was able to rout the rebels near Antequera, with the help of forces sent him by the Infante Don Philip and Don Nuño de Lara. On the other hand, he soon realised that the king of Castille, his suzerain, had every interest in letting the kingdom of Granada exhaust itself in internal strife. This is why the Naṣrid turned to the Marinids. In consideration for the return of Algeciras [q.v.] and Tarifa [q.v.], the sultān of Fās Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakḥ agreed to cross into Spain where he inflicted two defeats on the Castillian troops. The chroniclers of the Marinid dynasty record the four expeditions of the king of Fās into Spain and give details of the loss of Tarifa which the Spanish leader Alonso Perez de Guzman, celebrated in legend as Guzman el Bueno, was to defend heroically a little later, in 1293. But it is from this time that the permanent intervention of the sultāns of Fās in the affairs of the Naṣrids of Granada dates; under pretence of a *ḡiḥād* they were able at every opportunity to add to the confusion of a political situation already much troubled and to weigh heavily upon the destinies of the Naṣrid throne by playing a game of alliances which were often broken as readily as they were made. The kings of Granada henceforth were to have at their side a regular body of Moroccan soldiers, the *ghuzāt* (sing. *ghāzī*) under the command of a Marinid *shaikh*, consisting of adventurers of fortunes who had become more or less undesirable in their native land.

When he died in 701 (1302) Muḥammad II was succeeded by his son Muḥammad III who was later to be known as al-Makhlūf (the deposed). It was he who built the great mosque of the Alhambra. He had to put down risings by the governors of Guadix and Almeria but had to bow before the rising of a prince of his family, Abū ʿI-Djuyūsh Naṣr b. Muḥammad, who assumed the power in 708 (1309). Muḥammad III abdicated and withdrew to Almuñecar [q.v.].

Naṣr's reign was hardly any longer or happier than that of his predecessor. After a display of energy by which he forced the king of Aragon to raise the siege of Almeria and the king of Castille to raise the siege of Algeciras, he failed against a conspiracy hatched by a Naṣrid prince Ismāʿīl, who seized the power in Granada and left only the town of Guadix to Naṣr. The latter established himself here in 713 (1314) and stayed there till his death in 722 (1322).

The fifth Naṣrid ruler, Abū ʿI-Walīd Ismāʿīl I b. Faradj b. Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf b. Naṣr, was one of the most remarkable members of the dynasty. As soon as he had assumed the power, he showed a certain strength of character and did his best to put his frontiers in a state of defence. He regained for a time the old Naṣrid lands which had passed to the Marinids: Algeciras, Tarifa and Ronda. In 719 (1319) he had to meet an offensive from Castille and with the help of the *Shaikh* al-*Ghuzāt*, Abū Saʿīd ʿUṭhmān b. Abi ʿI-ʿUlā al-Marīni, he inflicted heavy defeats on his enemies at Alicum and in the Sierra d'Elvira. In this last battle the Infantes Don Juan and Don Pedro, guardians of

king Alfonso XI, were killed. Soon afterwards, Ismāʿīl I regained the fortresses of Huescar, Orce and Galera, then that of Baza. In the following year he took Martos. In 725 (1325) he was assassinated in his palace at the instigation of one of his relations with whom he had quarrelled, the lord of Algeciras Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. He left four sons of whom the eldest, Muḥammad, succeeded him on the throne of Granada.

Muḥammad IV was still a minor on his accession and remained for several years under the strict guardianship of his ministers, notably of the vizier Muḥammad Ibn al-Maḥrūk. The latter, after a long struggle with the *Shaikh* al-*Ghuzāt* Ibn Abi ʿI-ʿUlā, was finally put to death by orders of his sovereign who then took the reins of power into his own hands. The remainder of his reign was continually troubled. The help which he sought from the Marinid Sultān Abū ʿI-Ḥasan ʿAlī against the Christians earned him the enmity of the family of the Banū Abi ʿI-ʿUlā. In succession he lost Ronda, Algeciras, Marbella and Gibraltar and was ultimately assassinated in 733 (1333).

His brother Abū ʿI-Ḥadjdjādī Yūsuf I b. Ismāʿīl succeeded him and reigned for a considerable period. His first care was to avenge his brother by expelling from his kingdom the Banū Abi ʿI-ʿUlā who took refuge in Tunis and in giving the office of *Shaikh* al-*Ghuzāt* to a Marinid lord, Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar Ibn Raḥḥō. The struggle with the Christians was resumed in his reign. He sought and obtained the help of the Marinid Abū ʿI-Ḥasan, who crossed the Straits of Gibraltar in 741 (1340) with a large force and laid siege to Tarifa. This expedition ended disastrously. The king of Castille, Alfonso XI, with his army and that of the king of Portugal inflicted a sanguinary defeat on the Muslims near the mouth of the Río Salado, on the 7th *Djuma* I 741 (Oct. 30, 1340). Abū ʿI-Ḥasan had to take refuge in Algeciras, whence he was able to reach Morocco. Yūsuf I returned with all speed to Granada, while Alfonso XI profiting by the confusion of the Muslims seized Alcalá la Real, Priego and Benameji. After taking Algeciras he granted the Naṣrid king a truce of ten years, at the end of which he laid siege to Gibraltar. Alfonso XI however died of the plague during the siege. Yūsuf I himself was assassinated by a madman in the great mosque of Granada on the day of the feast of the "Breaking of the Fast" of 755 (Oct. 19, 1354). This Sultān's name will always be associated with certain monuments of the Alhambra. It was he for example who built the great gateway of the enceinte, called *Bāb al-Sharīʿa* (gate of the Esplanade; commonly called wrongly "gate of Justice", in Spanish "Puerta Judicaria" or "de la Justicia") the inscription on which records that it was finished in Rabiʿ I 749 (June 1348; cf. my *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, N^o. 171). It was also Yūsuf I who in 750 (1349) built the madrasa of Granada (*ibid.*, N^o. 172).

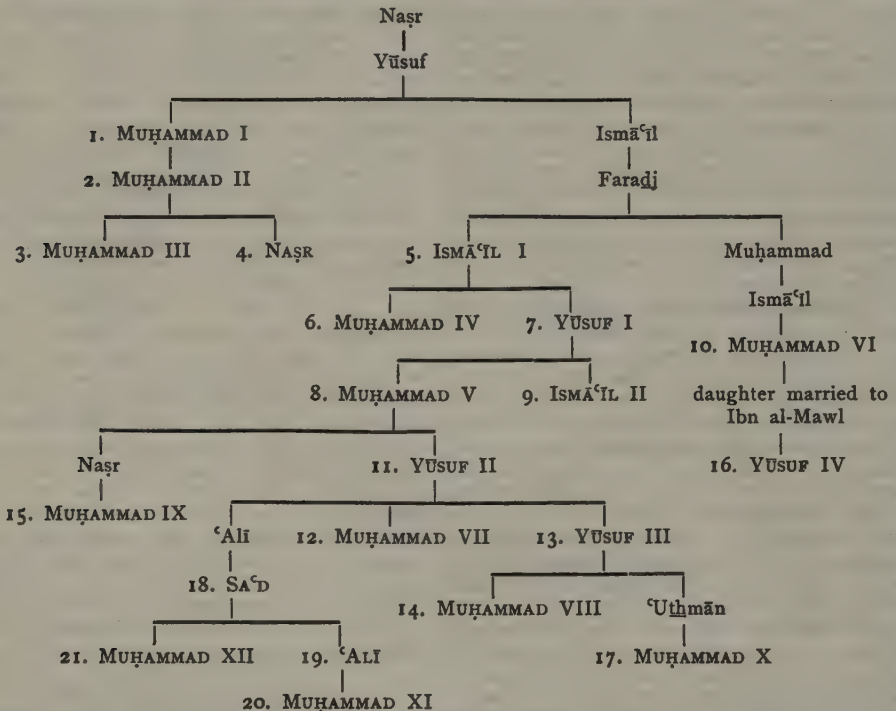
His successor was his eldest son Muḥammad V, who bore the honorific *laḥab* of al-*Ghanī* bi-ʿllāh. This sultān left the exercise of power in the hands of his father's old minister, the ḥadjīb [q.v.] Riḍwān, who maintained peaceful relations with Castille. After a few years, a conspiracy of dissatisfied Naṣrid princes forced Muḥammad V to abdicate and take refuge in Guadix, and afterwards in Morocco where he was well received by the Marinid sultān Abū Sālim (760 = 1359).

Ismā'il II b. Yūsuf I, brother of Muḥammad V, a Našrid prince devoid of personality and prestige, was put on the throne, but only for a few months. In 761 (1360) he was assassinated at the instigation of the *ra'īs* Muḥammad VI b. Ismā'il b. Našr, who seized the power; his troops soon afterwards suffered a defeat at the hands of the Christians at Guadix. He was soon overthrown by Muḥammad V who had returned to Spain and asked the help of Peter the Cruel of Castille to recover the throne. Muḥammad VI also appealed to the Christian ruler but the latter had him put to death in 763 (1362).

Muḥammad V's second reign lasted for good or evil another 30 years. It was mainly occupied by family quarrels and civil strife. It was at this time that the famous vizier Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb had to seek refuge in Morocco, which however did not save him from assassination. It

(1392) and the throne passed to his son Muḥammad VII. The latter imprisoned his elder brother Yūsuf in the fortress of Salobreña and resumed the offensive against the Christians, who took the fortress of Zahara from him in 809 (1407). When he died next year his elder brother Yūsuf III, the prisoner of Salobreña, assumed power and held it till his death in 820 (1417). After him his eldest son Muḥammad VIII became king of Granada; he is usually called by the chroniclers *al-Aisar* ("the left-handed"). It was in his reign, also much troubled, that we find the family of the Banu 'l-Sarrādj, the Abencerages [q. v.] and that of the Zegrī (Arabic *thaghrī*: "man of the frontier") beginning to play an important part in the history of Granada and the civil wars which characterise it. After various adventures, Muḥammad VIII had to abandon his

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE NAŠRID SULTĀNS.



Ponce de Leon and the Duke of Medina Sidonia. Archidona also fell to the Christians. In the reign of his successor Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alī, the Christian offensive, with the accession of the Reyes Católicos, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castille, developed an extent and energy which it had rarely displayed previously. The second last Naşrid king Muḥammad XI, generally known in history as Boabdil (a corruption of his *kunya* Abi 'Abd Allāh), was forced to declare himself the vassal of the Reyes Católicos and the last Muḥammad XII called al-Zaghall ("the brave") in spite of initial successes at the siege of Loja (1482) and the battle of al-Sharḳiya (1483), had no alternative but to bow to the triumph of the Castilian armies, and withdrew when the situation became hopeless to his estates of Alpujarra [q. v.]. Loja (1486), Velez-Málaga, Málaga and Almería (1487), Baza (1489) fell in succession. There was nothing left for Granada but to open its gates to the conquerors who entered it on 2nd Rabi' I, 897 (Jan. 1492). Muḥammad XI became an exile in Morocco where he ended his days in poverty and misery.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

NAŞŞ (A.), etymologically: what is apparent to the eye, as a technical term: text. In this sense the word does not occur in the Qur'an nor in the *Ḥadīth*. Al-Shāfi'ī, on the other hand, appears to be acquainted with it. In his *Risāla* he uses it chiefly in the sense of *naşş kitābīn* (p. 7, 16, 30, 41) or *naşş hukmīn* (p. 5) "what has been laid down in the Qur'an". In other passages *naşş al-kitāb* is distinguished from *sunna* (p. 21, 4, infra, 24, 7, paen., 30, 21, 63, 21). The combination *naşş sunna* occurs, however, also (p. 50, 14, 66, 2). From these passages it may also appear that al-Shāfi'ī uses the term chiefly to denote legal precepts. In accordance with this is the definition of the term as given in the *Lisān al-'Arab*: "the *naşş* of the Qur'an or of the *sunna* means the precepts (*ahkām*) contained in the plain words (*ḡāhir*) of these sources".

An extension of the term has taken place chiefly in three directions, so that *naşş*, apart from the general sense of text, may mean: *a.* the text of a precept of the law, written or not written; *b.* the *ḡāhir* [q. v.] of a sacred text; *c.* the sense of such a text. For other special meanings of the term, cf. Dozy, *Suppléments aux dictionnaires arabes*, s. v.

Bibliography: al-Shāfi'ī, *al-Risāla fī Usūl al-Fiḥḥ*, Cairo 1321; Muḥammad A'lā al-Taḥānawī, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*, ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1862, p. 1405 sqq.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

NASSADS were the light wooden warships built in Nassau or Hohenau (Lower Austria), the "Nassauer" or "Hohenauer", Magyar *nassád*, pl. *nassádok*, Slav. *nasad*, which were used on the Danube. They were usually manned by Serbian seamen who were called *martaloses* (from the Magyar *martalóc*, *martalós*, lit. "robber"). According to a Florentine account, this Danube flotilla in 1475 consisted of 330 ships manned by 10,000 "nassadists" armed with lances, shields, crossbow or bow and arrow, more rarely with muskets. The larger ships had also cannon. About 1522 the commander of the Danube fleet was Radić Božić who reorganised it at Peterwardein (cf. K. J. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, II/i. 258 sq.). Through want of money, the Serbian seamen then deserted to the Turks (*ibid.*, p. 262) who after the fall of Belgrade seized the Danube fleet and developed it into a powerful arm. About 1530 the Danube fleet consisted of 800 nassads and was commanded by the woiwod Kāsīm (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 85).

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(FRANZ BABINGER)

NASTA'LĪK. [See ARABIA, i. 391^b.]

NAŞUH PASHA, an Ottoman grand vizier, was of Christian descent and was born either in Gümüldjina (the modern Komotini, Thrace, Greece) or in Drama. According to some sources (e. g. Baudier and Grimestone in Knolles), he was the son of a Greek priest, according to others (e. g. Na'imā, *Tārīkh*, first edition, p. 283: *arnaud*

djins?) of Albanian origin. He came early in life to Stambul, spent two years in the Old Seray as a *teberdār* (halbardier) and left it as a *čaušh*. Through the favour of the sultān's confidant Mehemmed Agha he rapidly attained high office. In quick succession he became woiwod of Zile (Anatolia), master of the horse and governor of Füleke (Hungary). He married the daughter of the Kurdish Mir Šeref and thereby obtained riches as great as his power, which every one was now beginning to fear. His ambition and arrogance, his venality and cruelty knew no bounds and he was even said to be aiming at the throne. In 1015 (1606) he was to conduct the campaign against Persia, as the son-in-law of Mir Šeref and on account of his local knowledge, with the rank of third vizier and ser'asker, but his attention was claimed by the trouble in Anatolia which was affecting the whole of Asia Minor; through Kurd treachery he lost a battle and it was only in the autumn of 1608 that his troops joined the army of the grand vizier who received him very coolly (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 412 sq.). In 1011 (1602) Naşūh Pasha had been appointed governor of Siwas, the next year of Ḥalab and in 1015 (1606) of Diyārbakr. His goal was the grand viziership. He did not hesitate to ask the sultān to give him the imperial seal and the post of commander-in-chief in return for a sum of 40,000 ducats and the maintenance of the army at his own expense. Aḥmad I handed on the offer to the grand vizier, who summoned Naşūh Pasha to him and fined him that sum as a punishment (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 446 sq.). When soon afterwards the grand vizier, the Croat Kuyudju Murād Pasha died at the age of over 90, Naşūh Pasha became his successor (Aug. 22, 1611). In the following year he married 'Ā'isha, the three year old daughter of Sultān Aḥmad I (Feb. 1612). His arrogance now knew no bounds; all his opponents were ruthlessly disposed of. His personal qualities dazzled everyone: "Of imposing appearance, brave and eloquent, never weary of talk or action, but at the same time passionate, impetuous, quite incapable of kindly conduct and flattering words and always intent on humbling the other viziers" (J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 472). As human life was nothing to him but wealth everything, he accumulated vast treasures. Sycophants and astrologers nourished in him the delusion that he was born to rule. The number of his enemies increased from day to day as a result of his intrigues and his ruthlessness. When on Friday the 13th Ramaḍān 1023 (Oct. 17, 1614) he was to accompany the Sultān to the mosque, suspecting no good, he said he was ill. The *bostāndji bashī* sent to him had him strangled by his own garden guards. His body was buried on the Oğ Maidān. His estate which fell to the coffers of the state was enormous: pearls, jewels, carpets, cloth and bullion without number (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 474 sq. quoting Mezeray, i. 195). — Naşūh Pasha left several sons, one of whom Ḥusain Pasha (d. 1053 [1643]; cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, v. 260 and Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, *Fedhlike*, ii. 226) had a son named Mehmed. The latter wrote a history of the Ottoman empire (*Dheil-i Tawārikh-i Āl-i 'Othmān*) from the death of Murād IV (1048 = 1639) to 1081 (1670) the original MS. of which is in Dresden (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 211).

Bibliography: The historians Na'imā and Pećewi, utilised by J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 319, 384, 412, 446, 448, 463, 471, 475; also O. Sapiencia, *Nuevo tratado de Turquía* (Madrid 1622), fol. 21b: *De la vida y muerte de Nassuff-Baxā* (by a slave in Murād's camp); Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, *Fedhlike*, i. 361 sqq.; Edw. Grimestone in Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*; Michel Baudier, *Inventaire de l'histoire générale des Turcs* (4th ed., Paris 1612), p. 796 sqq.; *Copie d'une lettre écrite de Constantinople à un Gentilhomme François, contenant la trahison de Bascha Nassouf, sa mort estrange, et des grandes richesses qui lui on esté trouuees* (Paris 1615, 8 pp. 8°: rare pamphlet); N. Barozzi and G. Berchet, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti: Turchia*, i. 259; Hurmuzaki, *Suppl.*, i. 142 sq.; Hans Jakob Amann, *Reiss ins Globte Land*, ed. A. F. Ammann (Zurich 1919—1921), p. 44, 107 sq., 119, 125, 127—130. — On an Arabic work dealing with Naşūh Pasha's governorship in Ḥalab cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 211, note. — Sources of secondary value are *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, iv. 556 and *Ḥādīkat al-Wuzarā'*, p. 59 sqq. (with many errors). — On the rumour that Naşūh Pasha had made an arrangement with the Persians and that the discovery of this treachery caused his death, cf. the contemporary stories mentioned by J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 474, note, as well as the Paris pamphlet of 1615. (FRANZ BABINGER)

NATĪDJA (A.) is the usual name for the conclusion resulting from the combination of the two premisses (*muḥaddamāt*) in the syllogism (*kiyās*). It corresponds to the Stoic ἐπιφορά; this word in the works of Galen known to the Arabs is applied to the various discharges from the body but also means, as with the Stoics, the conclusion. Aristotle used the word συμπέρασμα: that which concludes or completes the syllogism.

In place of the usual natīdja we also find *ridf* or *radf* (= deduction). (TJ. DE BOER)

NĀṬIK. [See SAB'IVA.]

NAVARINO (Ναβάρινο), a little seaport in the southwest of Messenia not far from the ancient Pylos, opposite the promontory of Koryphasium on which there was in prehistoric times an acropolis and later, during classical antiquity, an often mentioned settlement. The harbour of Navarino is one of the safest in the Greek east for it is sheltered by the island of Sphacteria, which lies right opposite it and has intimate connections with many ancient, medieval and modern events. Recent research has shown that Navarino has no connection with the Homeric Pylos. The latter was in Triphylia near the village of Kakobatos where prehistoric tombs were recently excavated. The derivation of the name Navarino cannot be given with certainty. According to Fallmerayer, *Gesch. der Halbinsel Morea*, i. 188, the name Navarino is a distinct survival of Avar rule in Morea between 587 and 807. On the other hand, Hopf thought that it owed its name to the Navarrese (cf. below). Fallmerayer's view has been adopted by E. Curtius, *Peleponnesos*, i. 86; ii. 181 and W. Miller among others. According to M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, i. 411, the name Navarino developed from εἰς τὸν Ἀβαρίνον. Hopf's view is however wrong, for Navarino is mentioned before the appearance of the Genoese in the Morea. In the middle ages the country round Navarino

was called Zonglon (Zonchio), from which came the French name of the place Junch (Old French jonc "rush"). One of the earliest mentions of Navarino is in the geographical treatise, the *Nuzhat al-Mushāʾiq* of Idrisi; he refers to the place as Irouda and adds that it has "a very commodious harbour". After the period of Frankish rule, information about Navarino becomes fuller. The Knights, who under Guillaume de Champlitte and Godefroy de Villeharduin had planned the conquest of the Morea, in 1205 took its inhabitants and governor prisoners after the capitulation of Navarino.

Later the Baron of Thebes and Marshal of Achaia, Nicolas St. Omer (d. 1294), built for his nephew Nicolas III St. Omer, the Neocastro (New Castle) of Navarino. This is said, according to Buchon, to have been called Neo-Avarino in contrast to Palaio-Avarino. At the end of 1381 or early in the next year, the Navarrese company seized Navarino and made it the chief centre of their military power. Navarino then became known as Château Navarres (*Voyage d'Outremer*, par le Seigneur [Nomp] de Caumont, publ. par la Grange, Paris 1858, p. 89). The Greeks however at this time called Navarino Spanochori (= village of the Spaniards, after the Navarrese). In 1417 Venetian soldiers occupied Navarino and six years later the republic of St. Mark became the lawful owner of the place. In the summer of 1460 Sulṭān Muḥammad II appeared before Navarino with an army, which, in spite of the recently concluded peace treaty, laid waste the country round the town. In August 1500 the Turks took Navarino from the Venetians without difficulty after taking Modon and Koron shortly before, although the garrison of Navarino numbered 3,000 soldiers and had provisions for about three years. Soon afterwards the Venetians were able to retake Navarino by a stratagem and to destroy the Muslim garrison. 'Alī Pasha now advanced from the land and Kemāl Re'is attacked with his fleet by sea and in 1501 they took finally Navarino, inflicting great losses on the Venetians. Navarino retained its importance under Turkish rule and was often the place of concentration of the imperial fleet. Ḥādīdī Khālifa and Ewliyā Čelebi give some important information about Navarino and the former says that its original name was Anavarin. In the year 1686 the Venetians again took the town which they held till 1715. The Turks then entered upon their last period of occupation.

During the first Russo-Turkish War in the reign of Catherine II (1768—1774) Navarino played an important part. After a stubborn defence for six days by the Turkish garrison and the Muslim civilian population, the Russians on April 10, 1770 forced the fortress of Navarino, no longer strongly enough fortified but still amply provided with munitions and artillery, to capitulate. By the terms of the treaty, the Turks of Navarino went to Chania (Crete) leaving behind them a number of Christian women whom they had had imprisoned in their harems. Soon afterwards the Russians made Navarino, the fortifications of which they renovated, their principal base of operations in the Morea. Fate decided that the Russians had to evacuate Navarino again. On June 1, 1770, the Russian ships sailed from the harbour of Navarino. The Turks next day occupied the well placed fortress, which was in part burned and destroyed.

During the last decades of Turkish rule in the Morea, the Turkish family of Bekir-Agha of Navarino played a prominent part. Soon after the outbreak of the War of Liberation, the Greeks laid siege on March 29, 1821 to Navarino where the Turks of Arcadia (Cyparisia) had also taken refuge. On Aug. 7, 1821 the Turks surrendered to the Greeks who massacred them all without mercy in spite of all agreements. In the spring of 1825, Ibrāhīm Pasha of Egypt occupied Navarino and the neighbouring fortress in spite of a heroic defence by the Greeks.

What gave Navarino its special place in history was the naval battle fought on Oct. 20, 1827 in its harbour between the combined fleets of England, France and Russia on one side and those of Turkey, Egypt and Tunisia on the other, in which the latter were almost completely destroyed. It is calculated that the Turks lost 6,000 killed and the allied losses were only about 1,000. Soon after the battle, Ibrāhīm Pasha concluded a truce with Admiral Codrington.

Navarino remained in Ibrāhīm Pasha's hands until the spring of 1828. The French under General Maison then relieved the Egyptian-Turkish troops. Alfred Reumont gives a fine picture of Navarino under French occupation in 1832.

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NAVAS DE TOLOSA (LAS), a place in the south of Spain in the province of Jaen on the frontier of Andalusia, a short distance from the modern town of Carolina. Its site corresponds to that of a fortress called Ḥiṣn al-ʿIḳāb in the Muslim period. It was in the plain which lies in front of it that there was fought on the 15th Šafar 609 (July 16, 1212) the great battle between the Christians and the Almohads which ended in the rout of the latter.

As a result of the defeat of Alarcos [q. v.], the king of Castille, Alfonso VIII, had concluded a truce with the Muslims. On its expiration at the end of the xiith century, the Christian troops began a series of surprise attacks on the Muslim frontiers. Disturbed at this, the Almohad ruler al-Nāšir [q. v.] prepared a great expeditionary force in Morocco while on his side the king of Castille secured the help of the kings of Aragon,

Navarre and Leon, as well as of the Count of Portugal and the Pope, who preached a crusade against the infidel. The Christian troops gathered in Toledo and set out on June 20, 1212. The encounter was a bloody one. The Muslim volunteers from Morocco and the Andalusian contingents soon lost ground and the Almohad 'abid were in their turn decimated. The victors were able to exploit their success and took Ubeda [q. v.], Baeza [q. v.] and other strongholds. The Christian victory of las Navas de Tolosa was certainly one of the most important steps in the "Reconquista".

Bibliography: The Arab historians given in the bibliography to the article ALMOHADS and Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyari, *al-Rawḍ al-miṣṭār*, article AL-ĪKĀB. — A study on the campaign of 1212 by A. Huici, *Estudio sobre la campaña de las Navas de Tolosa* appeared in *Anales del Instituto General y Técnico de Valencia*, Valencia 1916.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

NAWĀWĪ. [See NURĪ.]

AL-NAWĀWĪ (or AL-NAWĀWĪ), MUḤYĪ AL-DIN ABŪ ZAKARĪYĀ' YAḤYĀ B. ŠHARAF B. MURĪ [following Nawawī's own spelling, Suyūṭī, fol. 53b] B. ḤASAN B. ḤUSAIN B. MUḤAMMAD B. DJUM'Ā B. ḤIZĀM AL-ḤIZĀMĪ AL-DIMASHQĪ, a Šhāfi'ī jurist, born in Muḥarram 631 (Oct. 1233) in Nawā south of Damascus in Djawlān. The ability of the boy very early attracted attention and his father brought him in 649 to the Madrasa al-Rawḥiyya in Damascus. There he first of all studied medicine but very soon went over to Islāmic learning. In 651 he made the pilgrimage with his father. About 655 he began to write and was called to the al-Ašhrafīyya school of tradition in Damascus in succession to Abū Šhāma who had just died. Although his health had suffered severely during his life as a student, he lived very frugally and even declined a salary. His reputation as a scholar and a man soon became so great that he even dared to approach Sultān Baibars to ask him to free the people of Syria from the war-taxes imposed upon them and to protect the teachers in the madrasas from a reduction in their income. This was in vain however, and Baibars expelled al-Nawawī from Damascus when he alone refused to sign a *fatwā* approving the legality of these exactions. (This action of al-Nawawī's is commemorated in the popular romance *Sīrat al-Zāhir Baibars*, Cairo 1326, xli. 38 sqq. in which the Sultān, cursed by al-Nawawī, becomes blind for a time). He died unmarried in his father's house in Nawā on Wednesday 24th Radjab 676 (Dec. 22, 1277). His tomb is still held in honour there.

Al-Nawawī has retained his high reputation to the present day. He had an exceptional knowledge of Tradition and adopted even stricter standards than later Islām; for example he admits only five works on Tradition as canonical, while he expressly puts the *Sunan* of Ibn Māḍja on a level with the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (cf. *Šarḥ Muslim*, i. 5; *Adhkār*, p. 3). In spite of his fondness for Muslim, he gives a higher place to Bukhārī (*Tahdhīb*, p. 550). He wrote the principal commentary on Muslim's *Šaḥīḥ* (pr. in 5 volumes, Cairo 1283); as an introduction to this, he wrote a history of the transmission of this work and a sketch of the science of Tradition. He gives not only observations on the *isnāds* and a grammatical explanation of the traditions but he also comments on them,

mainly from the theological and legal aspect, quoting when necessary not only the founders of the principal schools but also the older jurists like al-Awzā'ī, 'Aṭā, etc. He also inserted headings (*tarḍjama*) in Muslim's work. We may also mention his frequently annotated *Kitāb al-Arba'īn* (pr. Būlāḳ 1294 and often since) and portions of commentaries on al-Bukhārī (*G. A. L.*, i. 158) and Abū Dāwūd (Ibn al-'Aṭṭār, fol. 10v); and an extract from Ibn al-Šalāḥ, *Ulūm al-Ḥadīth* with the title *al-Taḳrīb wa 'l-Taisir*, partly transl. by Marçais, in *J. A.*, ser. 9, xvi.—xviii. and printed at Cairo 1307, with a commentary by al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrib al-Rāwī*.

Al-Nawawī's importance as a jurist is perhaps even greater. In Šhāfi'ī circles he was regarded with his *Minḥādī al-Ṭālibīn* (finished 669; pr. Cairo 1297 and frequently; ed. van den Berg with French transl., Batavia 1882—1884; cf. thereon Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, vi. 3—18) as the highest authority along with al-Rāfi'ī and since the tenth (xvth) century the two commentaries on this work, Ibn Ḥadjar's *Tuhfa* and al-Ramlī's *Nihāya*, have been regarded almost as the law books of the Šhāfi'ī school. The book consists of excerpts from the *Muḥarrar* of Rāfi'ī and, as the author himself says, is intended to be a kind of commentary on it. It certainly owes the estimation in which it is held also to the fact that it goes back via al-Rāfi'ī and al-Ḡhazālī to the Imām al-Haramain. We should also mention the *Rawḍa fī Mukhtaṣar Šarḥ al-Rāfi'ī* (on Ḡhazālī's *Wad'iz*) finished in 669 on which commentaries have often been written and the commentaries on Šhīrāzī's *al-Muḥadḍḥab* and *al-Tanbīh* (*G. A. L.*, i. 387) and al-Ḡhazālī's *al-Wasīf*, which do not seem to have survived, and a collection of *fatwā*'s put together by his pupil Ibn al-'Aṭṭār (Cairo 1352).

His biographical and grammatical studies resulted in the *Tahdhīb al-Asmā' wa 'l-Lughāt* (Part I on the names, Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1842—1847; Part 2 only in Ms. in Leyden; included by Ibn al-'Aṭṭār among the unfinished works and there are certainly gaps in it) and *al-Taḥrīr fī Alfāz al-Tanbīh*. To his mystical tendencies — he had attended lectures on the *Risāla* of al-Ḳuṣhairī and transmitted it — we owe works like the *Kitāb al-Adhkār* on the prayers, finished in 667 (pr. Cairo 1331 and frequently), the *Riyāḍ al-Šāliḥīn* (finished in 670; pr. Mecca 1302, 1312) and the incomplete *Bustān al-'Ārifīn fī 'l-Zuhd wa 'l-Taṣawwuf*. An almost complete list of his some 50 works is given in Wüstenfeld, p. 45 sqq., those that are still in MSS. are given in Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 394 sqq. and index and those that are printed in Sarkis, *Muḍjam*, col. 1876—1879.

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feld, *Über das Leben und die Schriften des Scheich Abu Zakariya Fahja el-Nawawi*, Göttingen 1849; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschriften*, ii. 387 sq. For the reference to the popular romance I am indebted to Herr cand. phil. Wangelin.

(HEFFENING)

AL-NAWAWI MUHAMMAD B. 'OMAR B. 'ARABI AL-DJAWI, an Arabic writer of Malay origin, born in Tanāra (Banten), the son of a village judge (*pangatu*), after concluding his studies made the pilgrimage to Mecca and settled there permanently about 1855, after making a short visit to his native land. After he had studied further and completed his education with the teachers of the holy city, he set up as a teacher himself and gained great influence over his fellow countrymen and their kinsmen. From 1870 he devoted half his time to authorship. He was still alive in 1888.

He wrote a large number of commentaries on popular textbooks, which are listed by Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 501 in addition to Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 362 sqq. Of these the following may be mentioned, with some information additional to what is contained in these two works.

He expounded the *Kur'an* in his *al-Tafsir al-munir li-Ma'alim al-Tanzil al-musfir 'an Wudjuh Mahasin al-Ta'wil*, Cairo 1305. In the field of *Fikih* he annotated the *Fath al-Karib* of Muhammad b. al-Kāsim al-Ghazzī (d. 918 = 1512), a commentary on Abū Shudjā' al-Isfahānī's *al-Takrib*, entitled *al-Tawshih*, Cairo 1305, 1310, and again entitled *Kut al-Habib*, Cairo 1301, 1305, 1310. — He wrote a commentary on al-Ghazzālī's *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* under the title *Marāḥi l-'Ubūdiyya*, Būlak 1293, 1309; Cairo 1298, 1304, 1307, 1308, 1319, 1327. — On the *Manāḥib al-Hādij* of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Shirbīnī al-Khaṭīb (d. 977 = 1569) he wrote *al-Fath al-mudḥib*, Būlak 1276, 1292; Cairo 1297, 1298, 1306; Mecca 1316. — On the *Safinat al-Salāh* of 'Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥaḍramī he wrote the *Sullam al-Munādīāt*, Būlak 1297; Cairo 1301, 1307. — He wrote a commentary on the 601 questions of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zahid (d. 819 = 1416) put into verse by his fellow countryman Muṣṭafā b. 'Oṭhmān al-Djāwī al-Kārūtī as *al-Fath al-mubīn* on ṣalāt, alms, fast and pilgrimage under the title *al-Id al-thamin*, Cairo 1300; the *Safinat al-Nadīā* of Sālim b. Samīr of Shīhr in Ḥaḍramawt, ended in Batavia, was expounded under the title *Kashifat al-Sadā*, Cairo 1292, 1301, 1302, 1303, 1305; Būlak 1309. — On the exposition of the *uṣūl al-dīn* by his colleague Muḥammad b. Sulaimān Ḥasab Allāh entitled *al-Riyād al-badī'a* he wrote the commentary *al-Thimār al-yānī'a*, Cairo 1299, 1308, 1329; Būlak 1302.

In the field of dogmatics he annotated al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn* (d. 892 = 1496) entitled *Dharī'at al-yaḥīn*, Cairo 1304; the *Aḳīdat al-'Awānīm* of Aḥmad al-Marzūḳī (c. 1281 = 1864) entitled *Nūr al-Zalām*, Cairo 1303, 1329; al-Bādjūrī's *Risāla fī 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd* entitled *Tidjān al-Darārī*, Cairo 1301, 1309, Mecca 1329; the *Masā'il* of Abū 'l-Laith entitled *Ḳaṭr al-Ghailh*, Cairo 1301, 1303, Mecca 1311; the anonymous *Fath al-Rahmān* entitled *Ḥilyat al-Ṣibyān* in a *Madjmū'a*, Mecca 1304; the *al-Durr al-farīd* of his teachers Aḥmad al-Naḥrāwī entitled *Fath al-madḥīd*, Cairo 1298.

In the field of mysticism he wrote a commentary on the *Manẓūma Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā*

ilā Ṭarīḳ al-Awliyā' of Zain al-Dīn al-Malibārī (d. 928 = 1522) entitled *Salālim al-Fuḍalā'*, Cairo 1301, Mecca 1315; and on his *Manẓūma fī Shu'ab al-Imān* he wrote the *Kāmi' al-Tiḡhyān*, Cairo 1296. On the *al-Manḥadī al-atamm fī Tabwīb al-Ḥukm* of 'Alī b. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Hindī (d. 975 = 1567) he wrote *Miṣbāḥ al-Ḍulm*, Mecca 1314. — His commentaries on stories of the life of the Prophet may be classed as edifying popular literature; such he wrote on the *Mawlid al-Nabī* under the title *al-'Arūs*, Cairo 1926, which is ascribed by some to Ibn al-Djāwzī, by others to Aḥmad b. al-Kāsim al-Ḥarīrī, entitled *Fath al-Ṣamad al-'ālim 'alā Mawlid al-Shaiḥ Aḥmad b. Kāsim wayusammā al-Bulūḡ al-Fawz li-Bayān Alfāḡ Mawlid Ibn al-Djāwzī*, Būlak 1292, entitled *Bughyat al-'Awāmm fī Sharḥ Mawlid Saiyid al-Anām li-Ibn al-Djāwzī*, Cairo 1927 and *Fath al-Ṣamad al-'ālim 'alā Mawlid al-Shaiḥ Aḥmad b. Kāsim*, Mecca 1306, as well as on the *Mawlid* of Dja'far al-Barzandjī (d. 1179 = 1765) entitled *Tarḡīb al-Muṣṭaḥīn*, Būlak 1292, and again under the title *Madāridj al-Ṣu'ūd*, Būlak 1296, and on his *al-Khaṣā'is al-nabawīya* entitled *al-Durar al-baḥiya*, Būlak 1299. He made an excerpt from al-Kaṣṭallānī's (d. 923 = 1517) *Mawlid* entitled *al-Ibriz al-dānī fī Mawlid Saiyidnā Muḥammad al-Saiyid al-'Adnānī*, Cairo 1299.

In the field of grammar he wrote a commentary on the *Adjurrūmiya* entitled *Kashf al-Murūṭiya 'an Sitār al-Adjurrūmiya*, Cairo 1308 and on a versification *Fath Ghāfir al-Khaṭiya 'ala 'l-Kawākib al-djalya fī Naẓm al-Adjurrūmiya*, Būlak 1298, on 'Abd al-Mun'im Iwāḍ al-Djirdjāwī's (c. 1271 = 1854) *al-Rawḍa al-baḥiya fī 'l-Abwāb al-taṣrifīya* entitled *al-Fusūṣ al-yāḳūtiya*, Cairo 1299. In the field of rhetoric he completed in 1293 (1876) a commentary on the *Risālat al-Isti'ārat* of Ḥusain al-Nawāwī al-Mālikī entitled *Lubāb al-Bayān*, Cairo 1301.

Bibliography: In the article; cf. also J. I. Sarkis, *Mu'djam al-Maṭbū'āt*, col. 1879—1883.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

NAWBA, an art-form in the music of the Islāmic East similar to the European cantata or suite. There are two varieties: 1. the nawba of chamber music, and 2. the nawba of military music [for the latter see **ṬABL KHANA** in the *Supplement*]. The nawba of chamber music varies in construction according to its provenance, and does not always carry this particular name. As early as the viiith century A. D. we appear to see this nawba in its nascent stage. The musicians at the court of the Caliphate under the early 'Abbāsids performed in turn (*dawr*) and succession (*nawba*), and by the time of al-Wāṭḥik (d. 847) we know that a court musician had a particular day for his nawba (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, iii. 177; v. 82, 120; vi. 73; x. 123; xvii. 131; xxi. 150). Some musicians were famous because they specialized in certain genres of music, such as Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī in the *mākhūrī* and Ḥakam al-Wādī in the *ḥasadī* rhythms (*Aghānī*, vi. 12, 66), and a programme made up of these diverse types of music probably led to the term nawba being transferred to the programme itself (Ribera, *Las Cantigas*, p. 48).

Although we read in the *Alf Laila wa-Laila* of a nawba (ii. 54), a *dūridj* (a quick movement; cf. the modern *dardj*) of a nawba (ii. 87), as well as a complete nawba (iv. 173) being played, yet it is not until the xivth century A. D. that we

possess precise information about the nawba and its integral parts. 'Abd al-Kādir b. Ḡhaibī [q. v.] tells us that among the ancient forms of musical composition were the nawba, *nashīd* and *basīf*. The nawba, he says, was made up of four movements (*ḡita*^c) viz., the *ḡawāl*, the *ḡhaṣāl*, the *tarāna*, and the *furū dāshī*. In the year 1379, whilst at the court of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusain the Djalālīrid sultān of al-ʿIrāk, Ibn Ḡhaibī introduced a fifth movement to the nawba, which he called the *mustazād*. During this occasion, he tells us, he composed fifty *nawbāt* for the court, and the words of one of these have been preserved (fol. 96v). These five movements were instrumental as well as vocal, and besides the verse-form being specified (the *tarāna* for instance was in *rubāʿī*), the rhythms (*īkzāʿāt*) for the instrumental accompaniments were also prescribed, one of the *thaḡīl* group being essential. The purely instrumental movements are also mentioned by Ibn Ḡhaibī including the overture called the *pīshraw*, which even to-day is the prelude to the nawba. He calls it *naḡṣh* ("embroideries"), and says that the *pīshraw al-fulānī* has three, five, or seven sections (*buyūt*).

In days of old the nawba was considered the most important art-form in the music of Islāmic peoples. To-day it has fallen into neglect and in some countries will probably soon disappear. Two distinct cultures may be found in the modern nawba, the Eastern and Western. The former is clearly a survival of that nawba described by Ibn Ḡhaibī in the xivth century A. D. The latter is claimed (Yāfil) to have had its origin in al-Andalus in the viith—ixth century, and is known to-day as the *nawba ḡharnaṭī*. It is confined to North Africa, the purest type being found in the West, whilst the nearer the East is approached the more we find the influence of the Eastern nawba.

The Levantine nawba to-day comprises the following movements: 1. The *taḡṣīm*, an instrumental prelude played by the *mūʿallīm* or *chef d'orchestre*; 2. the *bīshraw* or *baṣhrāf*, an instrumental overture; 3. the *kūr*, a vocal movement; 4. the *murabbaʿ*, whose name recalls the form of the xivth century *tarāna*; 5. the *naḡṣh*, also reminiscent of the *naḡṣh* of old, since its function is tonal "embroidery"; 6. the *aghīr samāʿī*, in slow rhythm; 7. the *sharkī*, comprising verses; 8. the *yūrūk samāʿī*; 9. the *bīshraw samāʿī*, an instrumental finale (cf. Thibaut and Lavignac, v. 2861). A shorter nawba is described by Ducoudray (p. 22), whilst the famous British musician Sir Arthur Sullivan has related (*Fortnightly Review*, 1905, p. 86) his experiences as an auditor of the nawba. The various movements, especially the instrumental ones, are also cultivated in the Near East as sole items of performance, the *bīshraw*, *taḡṣīm*, and *sharkī* being special favourites. The *bīshraw* or *baṣhrāf* is still composed in sections as of old, but these are called *ḡhanāt* instead of *buyūt*. Another interesting type of nawba in Egypt includes the dance, and an example is given in complete score by Victor Loret. It comprises seven movements: 1. The *baṣhrāf*, for instruments and voices; 2. the *turkmānī al-awwal*, for the ballet; 3. the *salām*, for the solo dance; 4. the *turkmānī al-ṡhānī*, for the ballet; 5. the *taḡṣīm*, for the solo dance; 6. the *turkmānī al-ṡhālīth*, for the ballet; 7. the *māṣhī*, for the solo dance. The whole is accompanied by choir and instruments.

In Western Turkeṣtān the nawba of to-day

shows that in the Middle East it has developed somewhat differently from that of the Levant. Here, more attention has been paid to the purely instrumental movements, and they have been kept separate. The nawba is here called a *maḡām*, a name which properly stands for "a melodic mode". It is divided into three parts, the first two being the most important. These two are the *mushkilāt* or instrumental pieces, and the *naṣr* comprising vocal-instrumental pieces. The names of most of the sections of the *mushkilāt* and *naṣr* refer to either rhythmic (*uṣūl*) or melodic modes (*maḡāmāt*), although two of them, the *pīshraw* and the *tarāna*, retain names which occur in the xivth century Ibn Ḡhaibī treatise. In Bukhārā, only six *maḡāmāt* (= *nawbāt*) appear to have survived, although the Uzbegs claim that they know others. These six have recently been described by the Uzbeg poet Fitrat, whilst the notation has been published by a Soviet Union official, Colonel V. A. Uspensky. There is also another but shorter type of *maḡām* known in Bukhārā, and six of these have also survived. In Khwārizm, the *mushkilāt* of the *maḡāmāt* (= *nawbāt*) differ from those of Bukhārā, and here an additional one has been spared the ravages of time. The Khwārizmī *mushkilāt* are probably purer than those of Bukhārā because they appear to have been handed down, not *viva voce* as elsewhere, but by means of a notation which was known as early as the time of the Khwārizm Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḡammad (d. 1220) (cf. *Pro-Musica*, New York 1927, v.; *The Sackbut*, London 1924, iv.).

In North Africa, as already stated, a different tradition in the nawba has been followed. Here there are several varieties, but the most highly esteemed is the *nawba ḡharnaṭī*. As the name signifies, al-Andalus is the place of origin, and this is claimed for both the words and music. Although MSS. exist which contain the words of the Granadan *nawbāt*, yet we only know the music itself from modern Moorish practice. We read of the "twenty-four *nawbāt*", which tells us that the *nawbāt* were composed in the twenty-four modes (*ṡubūʿ*). Others say that the Andalusians only possessed twelve or fourteen *nawbāt* (F. Salvador-Daniel, p. 52; Yāfil, Pref.) but it has now been shown (Farmer, *An Old Moorish Lute Tutor*) that there were twenty-four originally, but their names are different from those which some writers have presumed (Delphin et Guin, p. 62; Lavignac, v. 2859). The *nawba ḡharnaṭī* as performed in Algeria to-day comprises the following movements: 1. the *dāʿira*, a short vocal prelude; 2. the *mustakhbir*, an instrumental prelude; 3. the *tūṣhiya* or *tawṣhiya* ("ornamenting"); the overture proper; 4. the *maṣdar* or *muṣaddar*, a vocal movement, preceded by a short instrumental prelude called a *kursī*; 5. the *baṭaiḡ* or *baṭaiḡh*, a vocal movement preceded by a *kursī*; 6. the *dardj*, also a vocal movement preceded by a *kursī*, and whose name is practically identical with the old *dāridj* (cf. above); 7. the *inṣirāf*, a vocal movement which is introduced by a *tūṣhiya*; 8. the *ḡhalāṣ* or *mukhlaṣ*, the finale (British Museum MS., Or. 7007; Yāfil, *Maḡimūʿ*; cf. Lavignac, v. 2941; Delphin and Guin, p. 65). The words of the classical Granadan *nawbāt* have been edited from MS. sources and *viva voce* by Edmond Yāfil in his *Maḡimūʿ al-Aḡḡānī*, whilst with the collaboration of Jules Rouanet he issued his *Répertoire de musique arabe*

et maure which contains the music of a complete *nawba gharnaḥī* and sundry movements from others. In 1863, Christianowitsch published his *Esquisse historique de la Musique arabe*, which also contained the major portions of seven Granadan *nawbat*. Another type of *nawba* practised in Algeria, but of secondary importance, is the *nawbat al-inḳilābāt*. In Morocco the five movements of the *nawba* are the *basīf*, the *ḡā'im wanuṣf*, the *baṭā'ihī*, the *ḡuddām*, and the *dardj*, as well as the overture *tūshiya*.

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Music: North Africa: Yāfil and Rouanet, *Répertoire de Musique arabe et maure*, Algiers 1904 sq.; Ricard et Chottin, *Corpus de musique marocaine*, fasc. i. (1931). — Egypt: Ḳuṣṭandī Mansī, *Takṣīm mansī* (*Hidjāskār*); *Takṣīm mansī* (*Nawāsār*); *al-Bashraf al-'Abbāsī*; do., *Takṣīm lailāt mansī* (*Djarkā*); Mansūr 'Awād, *Bashraf Hidjāskār 'Uthmān Beg*; do., *Bashraf al-Manṣūr*; Maṣṣūd Kīlīdjān, *Sharḥi 'arabi*. — Turkey: See Bibliography in the *R. E. L.*, 1928, by E. Borrel. — Turkeṣtān: Uspensky, *Shash Maḳām*, 1924. (H. G. FARMER)

NAWBAKHT. This Iranian patronymic (*naw* or *nai* + *bakht* "new fortune") was borne in Baghdād during the first two 'Abbāsīd centuries by a family remarkable for its influence on the advancement of learning and on the political legitimism of the Imāmis.

It claimed descent (cf. Buhturī, *Diwān*, p. 115) from the Persian hero Gīw son of Gūdarz celebrated in the *Shāhnāma* (cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 399 and Christensen, *Kayanides*, p. 59, 117). Its first known representative Nawbakht, an astrologer, owed his fortune to the future caliph al-Manṣūr, to whom in prison he is said to have foretold the throne and later the victory over the Zaidī rebel Ibrāhīm in the same year (144 = 762) in which, having drawn up the horoscope of Baghdād, the new capital, he was granted fiefs in it. His son Abū Sahl Timādīh (on this curious phenomenon cf. Ibn Abī Uṣaib'a, ed. Aug. Müller, Leipzig

1884, iii., p. xli. [Vorwort] and H. Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 9) (d. 170 = 786) had seven sons by his wife Zerrin, the founders of the various branches of the Āl Nawbakht in which we find theologians like Ibrāhīm b. Ishāḳ b. Abī Sahl (wrote about 350 = 961 the *Kitāb al-Yākūt*, on which a commentary by 'Allāma Ḥillī has been found by A. Eghbāl; an earlier commentary had been written by Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, according to his *Sharḥ al-Nahāj*, iv. 575; and the *Kitāb al-Itihādī*), Abū Sahl Ismā'īl [cf. NAWBAKHTI], Ḥusain b. Ruḥ, third wakīl of the Imāmis [cf. IBN RŪḤ], and Ḥasan b. Mūsā [cf. NAWBAKHTI]; astronomers like Faḍl b. Abī Sahl (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 275; who has been confused with al-Ma'mūn's minister) and Mūsā b. Ḥasan Ibn Kibriyā; secretaries of state; and finally enlightened students of poetry to whom the editors of the diwāns of Abū Nuwās, Ibn al-Rūmī and Buhturī went to establish the texts.

Bibliography: 'Abbās Eghbāl, *Khāne-dāne Nawbakhtī*, Teheran 1933, 16 + 297 pp. with a genealogical tree, and useful indices, among others that of the Shī'ī sects, p. 249—267; H. Ritter in his edition of the *Firaḳ* of Ḥasan Nawbakhtī. (LOUIS MASSIGNON)

NAWBAKHTI, *nisba* of the Nawbakht family.

1. FAḌL B. (ABĪ SAHL) B. NAWBAKHT (d. 200 = 815) an astronomer like his father (with whom he is confused) and, like his brother Ḥasan, attached to the *Dār al-Ḥikma* to translate from Persian, wrote at least seven books (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 274). All that survives of them is a fragment of the *Kitāb al-Nuhmaṭān* (or "*Yahubaṭān*") on questions relating to horoscopes (*Fihrist*, p. 238—239).

2. ISMĀ'ĪL B. 'ALĪ ... B. NAWBAKHT (235—311 = 849—923), the real political leader of the Imāmī party, who kept in close touch with the famous vizier 'Alī b. al-Furāt (whose father, Muḥammad Mūsā b. Ḥasan, we may note, had been a follower of the Nuṣairī heresy; cf. Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ*, p. 78), and was also a theologian (cf. Massignon, *Passion d'al-Hallaj*, p. 142—159) who disputed with the learned Ṭhābit b. Ḳurra, the Mu'tazilī Djubbā'ī, and the mystic Hallāj; he also refuted, after their deaths, Abū 'l-Atāhiya, Abū 'Isā al-Warrāk and Ibn al-Rāwandī. Of his 32 works (Ibn al-Nadīm, p. 176; Ṭūsī, p. 57) only a fragment of the *Tanbīh* survives (in Ibn Babawaih, *Ghaiba*, p. 53—56) (cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, p. 176) which gives us the first outline of the Shī'a *ghaiba*.

3. ḤASAN B. MŪSĀ ... NAWBAKHTI, d. before 310 (922), classed in this family through his mother, sister of the preceding: an Imāmī theologian, student of Hellenistic philosophy, author of 44 works (Ritter, *l.c.*, p. 17—20; Eghbāl, p. 129—134) of which there survives, besides fragments of the *Radd 'ala 'l-Ghulāt* (in Khaṭīb, vi. 380) and of the *Ārā wa-Diyānāt* (*Murūdī*, ii. 156; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Talbis*, p. 42—43, 47, 49, 69, 74, 81—82, 88, 91), only one complete text, of very great value for our knowledge of the sects of the Shī'a, the *Kitāb Firaḳ al-Shī'a*, ed. H. Ritter (Istanbul 1931, vol. iv. of the *Bibl. Isl.*). In an interesting chapter (*op. cit.*, p. 143—161), A. Eghbāl has collected the passages of the *Firaḳ* found in a contemporary, Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh Ash'arī (d. 299 = 911), which shows either plagiarism or the use by both of an earlier source.

(LOUIS MASSIGNON)

NAW'Ī, MUḤAMMAD RİPĀ of Khabūshān in the vicinity of Mashhad, a Persian poet. The son of a merchant, in his youth he spent some time in Kāshān where he studied under the Mawlānā Muḥtasham. Moving to Marw, he became intimate with the Ḥākim Nūr Muḥammad Khān there. Like the majority of Persian poets of the xvth century, however, he was attracted by the brilliant court of the Moghuls and went to India where at first he found a patron in the person of Mirzā Yūsuf Khān Mashhadī but soon afterwards entered the service of Khānkhānān Mirzā 'Abd al-Raḥīm and remained with him and with prince Dāniyāl till his death, which took place in Burhānpūr in 1019 (1610). Naw'ī's best work is his poem *Sūz u-Gudāz* ("Burning and Melting") which has a touching theme, the devotion of a Hindu princess who accompanies her late husband in death on the funeral pyre. It is written in excessively artificial language and distinguished by the originality of its subject, which had not been taken by any Persian poet before Naw'ī. Naw'ī's works were very highly esteemed in India, and he is said to have received 10,000 rupees, an elephant and a horse with valuable trappings for a *Sāḳi-nāma* dedicated to the Khānkhānān. His *Diwān*, which is entitled *Lubb al-Albāb*, has come down to us but has so far attracted little attention.

Bibliography: G. Ouseley, *Biographical Notices of Persian Poets*, London 1846, p. 161—166; Ethé, *G. I. Ph.*, ii. 254—255; Bada'ūnī, iii. 361; Blochmann, *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, p. 606; Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 674^a; *Sūz u-Gudāz*, pr. Lucknow 1284 (at the end of the first part of the *Akbar-nāma*). It has been translated: *Burning and Melting: being the Sūz u-Gudāz of Muḥ. Rīzā Nau'ī of Khabūshān*. Translated into English by Mirza J. Dawud of Persia and Ananda K. Coomaraswamy of Ceylon, London 1912.

(E. BERTHELS)

NAWRŪZ (p.), New (Year's) Day, frequently represented in Arabic works in the form *Nairūz* (Kālkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, ii. 408). It was the first day of the Persian solar year and is not represented in the Muslim lunar year (Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iii. 416 sq.). In Achaemenid times the official year began with Nawrūz, when the sun entered the Zodiacal Sign of Aries (the vernal equinox). Popular and more ancient usage however would appear to have regarded the midsummer solstice as Nawrūz (Birūnī, *Chronology*, transl. Sachau, p. 185, 201). It was the time of harvest and was celebrated by popular rejoicings, but it also marked the date when the *kharrādī* was collected. The two different dates were retained in Persia proper and also in 'Irāk and Dīlbal under Islām, and Ḥamza al-Isfahānī states (*Ta'rīkh*, Berlin 1340, p. 104) that Nairūz in the first year of the Hīdjra fell on the 18th Ḥazīrān (June), which he erroneously equates with the 1st Dhu 'l-Ka'da. Confusion arose however because the intercalation of one day every four years which allowed the date to correspond with the position of the sun was omitted in Islām (Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, p. 215) and unscrupulous revenue officials found it to their advantage to keep to the false calendar date rather than to the correct traditional one because it permitted them to collect their dues earlier (Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iv. 263 sq.). By the time of the Caliph Mutawakkil the date of collection of *kharrādī* had advanced by almost two

months and in 245 A. H. he fixed the date of Nairūz as the 17th Ḥazīrān, which approximated to the old time (Ṭabarī, iii. 1448; Birūnī, *Chronology*, p. 36 sq.). The reform had no lasting effect and the Caliph Mu'taḍid was compelled again to move the date which was fixed as the 11th Ḥazīrān (Ṭabarī, iii. 2143). Later again, in Sulṭān Malikshāh's reform of the calendar, the Persian astronomers proclaimed the vernal equinox as Nawrūz (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 34; 467 A. H.) and the first day of the new era fell on the 10th Ramaḍān 471 (March 15, 1079).

Nawrūz was adopted in Egypt as elsewhere and has been retained by the Copts as the New Year's Day (Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, iv. 241 sq.), but it now falls on September 10 or 11.

Popular festivities have marked Nawrūz wherever it has been celebrated. In Sāsānian Persia the kings held a great feast and it was customary for presents to be made to them while the people who gathered to make merry in the streets sprinkled each other with water and lit fires. Both in 'Irāk and Egypt these customs persisted in Muslim times (Ṭabarī, iii. 2163; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, vii. 277; Makrīzī, *loc. cit.*; Kālkashandī, ii. 410) and although Mu'taḍid attempted to prevent the customary horseplay in the streets during the midsummer saturnalia he was unsuccessful (Ṭabarī, *loc. cit.*). In the various parts of the Turkish Empire the day was celebrated as a public holiday and in Persia it has throughout its history been marked by great festivities as the chief secular holiday of the year.

Bibliography: In addition to the passages noted in the text see: Birūnī, *Chronology*, p. 199 sq. etc.; 'Umar Khayyām, *Nawrūz-nāma*, ed. Minovi, Ṭīhrān 1933; A. Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, p. 400 sq.; Lane, *Thousand and One Nights*, ii. 496 sq. (he regards it as not improbable that Nawrūz originated from the Jewish Passover); Carra de Vaux, *Notice sur un Calendrier Turc*, in *Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, p. 106 sq.; A. V. W. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 99 sq. (R. LEVY)

NAẒAR (A.) probably did not receive until the ninth century A. D. the meaning of research in the sense of scientific investigation as a translation of the Greek *ἡραφία*. With Aristotle (e.g. *Metaph.*, 1064 b 2) the philosophies were then divided into theoretical (*naẓariyya*) and practical (*'amaliyya*); the latter seek to obtain the useful or the good for man, the former pure truth, in physics, mathematics and metaphysics.

Nazar is primarily an epistemological conception and after the example of Ammonios Hermias, a pupil of Proclus, is dealt with among the Arabs in a work prefixed to the *Isagoge* of Porphyry (Προλεγόμενα τῆς φιλοσοφίας) [cf. the article ΜΑΝΤΙΚ]. Nazar is also discussed as an activity of the human *'aql* in psychology but in this case as a rule under synonyms like *fīkr*, *tafakkur* etc. [cf. NAḤS].

The history of this terminology has still to be written. In the oldest, still incomplete, logic (edited by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Muḳaffā' or his son Muḥammad) *'ilm* and *'amal* are already distinguished as branches of philosophy (*ḥikma*), but *'ilm* is defined as a *tabaṣṣur* and *tafakkur* of the *kalb* (i.e. of the mind) (cf. G. Furlani, *Di una presunta versione araba di alcuni scritti di Porfirio e di Aristotele*, in *R. R. A. L.*, ser. vi., vol. vi. [1926], p. 207).

The old speculative theologians of Islām were

perhaps more familiar with the distinction 'ilm ^{'aqlī} > ^{shar'ī} than with ^{naẓarī} > ^{'amālī}. The 'aql is generally recognised as a "root" of the Mu'tazilī system. The Zaidī al-Ḳāsim mentioned it (beginning of the third century A. H.) among his ^{uṣūl}: 'aql, Ḳur'ān and ^{sunna} (R. Strothmann, *Die Literatur der Zaiditen*, in *Isl.*, ii. [1911], p. 54). ^{Naẓar} was felt to be an innovation like ^{ra'y} and ^{ḳiyās} in ^{fiḳh}. The Hanbali school objected to the adoption of ^{naẓar} but its greatest representative Ibn Ḥazm admitted 'aql without hesitation — of course the 'aql created and equipped by God — as a source of knowledge. Not blind belief (^{taḳlīd}) nor deduction from the unknown (^{ḳiyās}) were to lead it to the acceptance of the Ḳur'ān, ^{sunna} and ^{idjīmā'}, but quite certain knowledge. There is nothing which Ibn Ḥazm insists upon so often and so emphatically as this; there is no other way to certainty than that of tracing to sensual perception (^{ḥiss}) and intuition of the intelligence ('aql). Indeed sensual perception is so much preferred by him that comprehension by the reason is called a sixth ^{idrāk} (*Kitāb al-Faṣl*, i. 4—7). The philosophical position of Ibn Ḥazm, which requires closer investigation, recalls Hellenistic eclecticism according to which all human cognition arises either from sensual perception or intuition or is derived from these sources through the intermediary of proof. Many however emphasise the direct evidence of sensual perception and reason, and regard the method of proof as a difficult and uncertain one. Hence we have from the Stoics onwards the emphasis laid on general agreement (Ar. ^{idjīmā'} and ^{idjtimā'}) as a criterion of truth. Only where there is no agreement is investigation necessary.

The dualistic epistemology of the eclectics (senses × reason) was very greatly modified in Islām by the penetration of the intellectual monism in the Neo-Platonic mysticism and Aristotelian logic. While different stages in human knowledge were distinguished, true knowledge was only to be attained by rational intuition and the intermediary activity of the mind. The main thing for the Neo-Platonist was intuition (^{naẓar}, ^{baṣar}) It is remarkable how in the Neo-Platonic *Theology of Aristotle* the latter is made to say (Arabic, ed. Dieterici, p. 163): "Plato recognised all things ^{bi-naẓar al-'aql} (intuition), ^{lā bi-mantīḳ wa-ḳiyās}", i. e. Plato as the divine perceives everything at once like God himself and pure 'aql. ^{Naẓar} in this sense of direct perception is constructed with ^{ilā}, in other cases however with ^{fī}. For ^{naẓar fī}, transmitted reflection of the human intelligence, the *Theology* generally uses ^{fīḳr} and ^{rawīya} and the world of the senses, with which our soul is associated, is called 'ālam ^{al-fīḳra wa 'l-rawīya}. Following the *Theology*, the Muslim mystics generally used ^{naẓar} for spiritual perception (cf. L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, index).

In ^{Kalām} however, in the disputes of the theological sects, ^{naẓar} receives the dialectic meaning. Logical proof seems to have first been admitted into the ^{uṣūl al-dīn} by the Shī'ā. In his ^{maḳālāt} (ed. Ritter, i. 51 sq.) al-Ash'arī gives a survey of the different views of the eight parties of the ^{Rawāfiḍ fī 'l-naẓar wa 'l-ḳiyās}. According to him, groups 1—3 consider all cognitions (^{ma'ārīf}) as necessary (^{idjtirār}) (i. e. given with the mind itself or not given) so that ^{naẓar} and ^{ḳiyās} can add nothing to them; these as well as group 8,

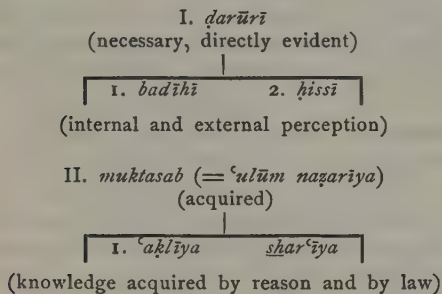
which traces all knowledge to the Prophet of God and the Imām, differ from the rest on this point. The other four recognise some kind of acquired knowledge (in both cases the reference is to the apprehension of God) as follows: 4 (the Ash'ab Hishām b. al-Ḥakam) by ^{naẓar wa 'l-istidlāl}; 5 (al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā) possibly by a kind of ^{ḳashb} which cannot be more exactly defined (cf. this ^{ḳashb} with the ^{ḳashb al-af'al} of the later Ash'arī school); 6 and 7 (anonymous) by ^{naẓar wa 'l-ḳiyās}, with appeal to the testimony (^{ḥudūdja}) of the 'aql. We are also told (p. 144) of a section of the Murdji'is that a belief (^{īmān}) without ^{naẓar} is in their opinion not a perfect belief.

Ash'arī himself is probably the best evidence of the fact that the speculation of the human 'aql was not regarded as a source (or method) of knowledge of God for the first time in his school but before him by several sects. ^{Naẓar} (like ^{ra'y} in ^{fiḳh}) was most probably applied to the activity of the mind of the reflecting theologian (besides ^{naẓar} we find synonyms like ^{baḥṭh}, ^{ḥads}, ^{ra'y}, ^{fahṣ}, ^{fīḳr}, ^{fīḳra}, ^{tafakkur}, ^{ta'ammul}, ^{ṭalab}; perhaps also others). The logical methods here used are called (perhaps here still synonyms) ^{ḳiyās} (deduction by analogy) and ^{istidlāl} (proof by circumstantial evidence). From what we know of ^{ḳiyās} in ^{fiḳh} (cf. the article ^{UṢŪL AL-FIḲH} by J. Schacht, and Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Gesch.*, ii. 140 sq.) and of ^{ḳiyās} in medicine (see Mas'ūdi, Paris 1861—1877, iv. 40; vii. 172 sqq.), we have probably to think of a process which is a mixture of induction and deduction, often used very arbitrarily. Analogous cases, often superficially regarded as similar (cf. ^{Maḳāṭīḥ al-'Ulūm}, ed. v. Vloten, p. 8 sq.), were sought for, the ^{illa}, i. e. not the actual cause (^{causa}) but the reason (^{ratio}) in a higher conception of method or species, under which the further cases could be grouped. For Aristotle and his followers in Islām (Fārābī etc.) deduction had one meaning; they believed in causality or even in the creative activity of abstract thought. The great majority of Muslim theologians, jurists and physicians did not rise so far. It was not till the school of Ash'arī that the method of ^{naẓar} superficially grasped penetrated into ^{kalām} and ^{kalām} was defined as 'ilm ^{al-naẓar wa 'l-istidlāl}. Rejected at first by the majority, gradually tolerated and used as an instrument against heretics and sophists, ^{naẓar} in the orthodox school was finally recognised as a religious obligation.

Let us now turn back to the general conception of the 'ulūm ^{naẓariya}. Al-Fārābī (d. 950) distributed them from the philosophical point of view in a special treatise (^{Ḥāṣṣat al-'Ulūm}, Cairo n. d.) in a way which became the model for later times. It was he who first worked on the logic of Aristotle wherefore his school was often called that of the ^{Mantīḳiyyūn}. He assumed with Aristotle that the 'aql contained in itself the fundamental principles of all knowledge, the evidence of which had simply to be acknowledged. But the way of reflection and proof leads to the non-evident, the culmination of which, apodeictic proof (^{burhān}), is described in the "Second Analytic". From this eminence the branches of knowledge can be surveyed. After some observations on philology (cf. the Stoics) first and most fully logic — whether as instrument of philosophy or as a part of it is a matter of indifference. Logic itself is of course a ^{naẓar} with an object

of its own. Next come the science of physics, mathematics and metaphysics with main and subsidiary branches. Each is a *nazar*. But it is noted that for example among the physical sciences medicine is a mixture of theoretical and practical and similarly music and mathematical subjects. Metaphysics is however like logic purely theoretical. Finally the three practical sciences of Aristotle, ethics, economics and politics, are united under the head of political science, with the addition of *fiḥh* and *kalām*; al-Fārābī remarks that the science of *fiḥh* and the art (*ṣinā'a*) of *kalām* have to do partly with opinions (*ārā'*), partly with actions (*af'āl*).

In conclusion let us compare with this philosophical division that of the Aṣḥ'arī theologian 'Abd al-Kāhīr b. Tāhīr al-Baghdādī (d. 1037—1038) in his *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, Constantinople 1928, p. 8—14. After the distinction between divine knowledge and the knowledge possessed by other living creatures is laid down, the latter is classified as follows:



The 'ulūm *naẓariya* are further divided into four according to the way in which they are acquired:

1. *Istidlāl bi 'l-ʿaql min dīhat al-ḥiyās wa 'l-naẓar* (speculative theology);
2. *Ma'lūm min dīhat al-tadārib wa 'l-ādāt* (e.g. medicine);
3. *Ma'lūm min dīhat al-sharʿ* (legal science);
4. *Ma'lūm min dīhat al-ilhām* (prophetology).

Compared with the 'aql monism of Fārābī this division still looks rather eclectic. But from the xith to the xliith century A.D. philosophy and theology, without becoming one, were approaching one another more closely. Ibn Sīnā, who builds upon Fārābī, was the intermediary. Ghāzālī sought to combine the *naẓar ilā* of the Neo-Platonic mysticism with the *naẓar fī* of the rationalist thinkers, and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī appropriated the methods of proof of Aristotelian logic to a much greater extent than his theological predecessors.

Bibliography: On Baghdādī see A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, p. 250—264; Ibn Sīnā, *Aḫṣām al-'Ulūm al-ʿaqliya*, in *Maḍmūʿat al-Rasā'il*, Cairo 1328, p. 229 sq. (also in *Tiṣ Rasā'il*, Constantinople 1298, p. 71 sq.); Ghāzālī, *Ihyā'*, iii. (Cairo 1322), p. 13 sqq.; *Mīyār al-'Ilm fī 'l-Manṭiq*, Cairo 1329; *Ma'aridī al-Kuds fī Madāridī Ma'rifat al-Nafs*, Cairo 1927; on Rāzī cf. M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Ansichten von Rāzī und Tusi*, Bonn 1910. (TJ. DE BOER)

NAZARETH. [See AL-NĀSIRA.]

AL-NĀZĪ'ĀT, title of sūra lxxix., taken from the opening word.

NĀZİM, properly MUṢṬAFĀ B. ISMĀ'IL, a notable Ottoman religious poet. The son of a Janissary, the inspector Yeni Baghçeli Ördök İsmā'il Agha, he was born in Constantinople and succeeded his father in his office, after rising through all the grades in the Janissary office: he became *shāgird*, *khalīfe*, *bash khalīfe* and finally in 1108 (1696) *yemīteri kâtibi*. He died in this year on the campaign against Belgrade.

Nāzīm wrote an extensive *Dīwān*, the poetical value of which is not very great but which contains much that is religious and mystical in its 550 *ghazels* and about 50 *ta'rīkh* of the end of the reign of Meḥmed IV.

Bibliography: Thureiyā, *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 534; Hammer, *G.O.D.*, iii. 572—576; Basmaḍjian, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature ottomane*, Constantinople 1910, p. 127; Flügel, *Wiener Handschriften-Katalog*, i. 664—665.

(MENZEL)

NĀZİM, YAḤYĀ, the most important Ottoman religious poet of his period, as is apparent from his epithet *Na't-gū*, the singer of hymns. Born in 1059 (1649) in Kāsim Pasha in Constantinople, he entered the Serai as a boy where he received the education of the Enderūn and had the opportunity to acquire special proficiency in Arabic and Persian. He showed a talent for poetry and considerable musical ability. His beautiful voice and his work as a poet and composer gained him the favour of Sulṭān Murād IV. He was given important offices at the court as a result: the office of a *ḫoghush aghasī* to the *ki-tār-i ḫāṣṣe*; he next became *newbetdji bashī* and *kuru jemishdji bashī* and attained considerable influence. He then retired of his own accord and became *basar bashī*. Later he made the pilgrimage to Mecca. He remained in Medina as *mudjāwir* where he died at the age of 80 in 1139 (1726). According to another statement (Brusali Meḥmed Tāhīr), he died in Adrianople.

He flourished under Meḥmed IV and down to the reign of Aḥmed III. He was a member of the Mewlewī order. *Shāikh* Neshātī-i Mewlewī was his teacher in poetry and probably also in music. Nāzīm is the most religious poet of his period. He devoted the whole of his poetical talent to the *na't*, the hymn. His *Dīwān* therefore resembles a warrant of pardon (*berāt-i ghufrān*). He also gave special attention to the devotional forms of the *tewhīd*, *tahmīd* and *munādjāt*.

His *Dīwān*, printed in Constantinople in 1257 (1841), forms a thick volume of 500 pages, of which one third is devoted to the *na't* in the form of 60 *kaṣīda*'s, hundreds of *ghazels*'s, *kiṣ'a*'s, *terdji*'s and *terkīb*, *müsedde*'s and *mukhamme*'s, *rubā'ī* and a *methnewī* for the Prophet. The *Dīwān* is divided into five parts, each of which is in turn a kind of *Dīwān* in itself. He also wrote *medḥīye*'s for Meḥmed IV and Muṣṭafā II, Aḥmad III, Selīm Girai Khān, Muṣāhib Muṣṭafā Pasha and the vizier Aḥmad Pasha; also *ta'rīkh*'s in imitation of Ne'fī and Nābī and *sharkḥ*'s in imitation of Nedim.

Nāzīm is a clever technician who gives expression to his effort for variety and change, not in the matter but in the form. In all his works however, a deep religious belief, even fanaticism is marked. His poems are a true reflection of the inclination of the period for religion and Şūfism.

Bibliography: Feṭin, *Teskere*, Constan-

tinople 1271, p. 415—416; Tayyār-zāde Aḥmad 'Aṭā, *Tārīkh*, Constantinople 1293, iv. 151—196; *Khazine-i Funūn*, Istanbul 1312, ii. 245—247 (*Esṭāf*, No. 72); Brusālī Mehmed Tāhīr, *Oṭhmānīl Müellifleri*, ii. 452; Köprülü-zāde Mehmed Fu'ād and Shihāb al-Dīn Sulaimān, *Yeni oṭhmānīl Tārīkh-i Edebiyātī*, Istanbul 1332, p. 371—374; I. Nedjmi, *Tārīkh-i Edebiyāt Dersleri*, Istanbul 1338, i. 170—171; Abū Ishāq Ismā'il Efendi-zāde Es'ad Mehmed Efendi, *Aṭrāb al-Āthār fī Taḍkirat 'Urafā' Adwār* (*Tezkere of the singers*). (MENZEL)

NÂZİM FARRUKH HUSAIN, a Persian poet. Mullā Nāzīm, son of Shāh Riḍā Sabzawārī, was born in Herāt about 1016 (1607) and spent the greater part of his life there. Little is known of his career, except that he made a journey to India and, after spending several years in Djāhāngīrnagar, returned to his native town where he died in 1081 (1670—1671). He was court poet of the Beglerbegis of Herāt and his greatest work, the *Yūsuf u-Zulaikḥā* begun in 1058 (1648) and finished in 1072 (1661—1662), was dedicated to one of these governors, 'Abbas Kūlī Khān Shāmlū. This, a poem of considerable length, is an imitation of Firdawsī's work of the same name and follows the original quite closely but endeavours to surpass it by using the most elegant language. Ethé calls the language of Nāzīm's images distorted and thinks that some of the details put in by him can only have a humorous effect on the reader. But it must be agreed that Nāzīm judged the taste of his period very well for his work became extremely popular, especially in Central Asia. While Firdawsī's poem is now known to only a few enthusiasts, manuscripts of Nāzīm's *Yūsuf u-Zulaikḥā* are still quite common in the bazaars of the larger cities of Central Asia as are those of the even more celebrated version of the same subject by Djāmī. His lyrical *Dīwān* is less well known, but it contains many excellent poems (especially ghazels) some of which are even at the present day sung by the classically trained singers of Bukhārā and Samarkand.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *G. I. Ph.*, ii. 231—232; Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 692b and 370a; *Yūsuf u-Zulaikḥā*, lith. Lucknow 1870.

(E. BERTHELS)

NÂZİR AL-MAZĀLİM (A.), "reviewer of wrongs". His office "combined the justice of the kādī with the power of the sovereign" and was instituted by the later Umayyads, who sat in person to receive petitions complaining of *ẓulm*. The early 'Abbāsids, from Mahdī to Muḥtadī, followed their example (Māwardī, p. 129; Baihaqī, *Kitāb al-Maḥāsīn wa'l-Masāwī*, ed. Schwally, p. 577; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii. 21; Ṭabarī, iii. 1736), but after them the duty was undertaken by the vizier, whose failure to carry it out was regarded as a serious fault ('Arib, ed. de Goeje, p. 25). At Baghdād the Caliph Muḥtadīr ordered the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* to nominate faḳīhs who were to hear pleas in each of the maḥallas. The court of the Nāzīr concerned itself with: *a. ẓulm* committed by the Caliph's officers; *b. injustice* in the levying of taxes and *c. wrongful acts of kūtibs* in public offices. Other matters proper for the cognizance of the court were complaints by officials of non-payment of their salary or of excessive reduction of salary, the interests of *awḳāf* and the enforcement of decisions made by kādīs not strong enough to

have their judgments put into execution. The Nāzīr had much wider powers than the kādī. He could postpone decision on a case in order to consider and investigate evidence, a proceeding not open to the kādī, who is compelled to give judgment out of hand; he could use *irḥāb* (intimidation) to overawe a defendant into admission and could refer litigants to persons of responsibility who could act as arbitrators. The officer presiding, if he was the vizier or other highly placed official deputizing as Nāzīr for the sovereign, set aside a special day or days for the review of *maẓālīm*. The Nizām al-Mulk (*Siyāsat-nāma*, p. 10) regarded it as essential for the king to sit two days a week for the purpose, and in Egypt during the Fāṭimid rule, the vizier or the *ṣāḥib al-bāb* sat on two days of the week at the Golden Gate of the palace at Cairo. Complaints were there made orally if the petitioner lived at Fuṣṭāṭ or Miṣr and each plaint received was sent for necessary investigation to the *nā'ib* of the police or the kādī of the quarter concerned. If the person against whom complaint was made lived outside the two cities the petition was presented in writing.

Bibliography: Māwardī, ed. Enger, p. 129 sq.; Amedroz, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1911; Makrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, i. 402 sq.; Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*, Cairo 1300, ii. 42, with commentary of al-Sharīshī on *wālī 'l-djārā'im* and *al-ḥākim fī 'l-maẓālīm*.

(R. LEVY)

NAZMÎ, SHAIKH MEHMET B. RAMAZÂN, Ottoman poet and *Khālwetī Shaikh*. The son of a merchant named Ramazân b. Rustem, he was born in Constantinople in the *Ḳodja Muṣṭafā Pasha* quarter in 1032 (1622—1623). He became a disciple of 'Abd al-Aḥad al-Nūrī. In 1065 (1654—1655) he became *shaikh* (*pōst-nishīn*) in the *Khālwetī* monastery of Yawashdjē Mehmed Agha near *Shehr Emini*, later (1105 = 1693) also preacher (*wā'iz*) at the *Sultān Walīde* mosque. He died in 1112 (1700) and was buried in a special *türbe*. His son was 'Abd al-Raḥmān Rafī'a. Nazmī was considered a high authority on *Ḥadīth*. He wrote a number of works, none of which have been printed, namely: *Hadiyat al-Iḥkūwān* ("Present of the Brethren"): biographies of the seven greatest *Khālwetī* personalities (Yūsuf Maḥḥdūm; Muḥammad Raḳīye; Shāh-Kobād-i Shīrwānī; 'Abd al-Madḥid-i Shīrwānī; Shāms al-Dīn-i Sīwāsī; 'Abd al-Madḥid-i Sīwāsī; 'Abd al-Aḥad al-Nūrī) and some accounts of their successors.

His poetical works consist of the rhymed Turkish translation of the first book of the *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, a *Dīwān* of the usual type (with many hymns and sacred songs); also the *Mi'yār al-Tarīqat* ("Touchstone of the Order").

Bibliography: Thureiyā, *Sidḡill-i 'oṭhmānī*, iv. 560; Hilmi, *Ziyāret-i Ewliyā*, Istanbul 1325, p. 120—121; Sāmī, *Ḳamūs al-A'lām*, vi. 4589—4590; Brusālī Mehmed Tāhīr, *Oṭhmānīl Müellifleri*, i. 175; Hammer, *G.O.D.*, iii. 596—597; Basmadjian, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature ottomane*, Constantinople 1910, p. 127.

(MENZEL)

NAZMÎ, MEHMET (according to the *Sidḡill-i 'oṭhmānī*: Nazmī Nizāmī), Ottoman poet of Adrianople in the period of Sulaimān al-Kānūnī. He was the son of a janissary, later himself became a janissary, then siliḥdār and sipāhī. He died in 996 (1588) in Adrianople, where he is buried in the *türbe* of *Shaikh Shudjā'*.

Nazmī possessed great poetic gifts and ability, which he displayed particularly in the clever and accurate imitation of other poets, in so-called *naẓīre's* (pl. *naẓā'ir*). He also himself wrote *ghazels*. He rendered a great service to Ottoman literary history by collecting an enormous anthology of the best Ottoman poems, arranged under the eight principal metres. This anthology contains 4,000 *ghazels* by 125 Turkish poets and *naẓīres* by himself in addition: *Madjma' al-Naẓā'ir*. He presented this work, which he brought down to the year 930 (1524), to the Sultān. Hammer deals fully with it, as it deserves.

He also wrote a *ghazel* with the rhyme *elif* on each *baḥr* of the *Risāle-i 'arūziye* of Waḥid-i Tabrizī.

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(MENZEL)

AL-NAZZĀM, IBRĀHĪM B. SAIYĀR B. ḤĀNĪ' B. ISHĀQ, a Mu'tazilī theologian of the Baṣra school. Brought up in Baṣra, he spent the latter part of his life in Baghdād, where he died between 220 and 230 (835—845) while still, it seems, at the height of his powers. A brilliant poet, a philologist of note, and above all an extremely perspicacious and subtle dialectician, he is one of the most interesting figures in the culture of the 'Abbāsid period. He occupies a most important place in the development of Muslim ideas. He studied speculative theology in the *madjilis* of Abu 'l-Hudhail al-'Allāf, from which he soon separated to found an independent school. In Baṣra he vigorously continued the struggle waged by his teacher against Manichaeism but devoted his abilities mainly to the refutation of the Dahri philosophy, with which he was thoroughly acquainted. So far as we can judge, it was al-Nazzām who began the struggle, which was continued by Islām for centuries, against the philosophy of Asiatic Hellenism, the classic document in which is the *Tahāfut* of al-Ghazālī. In Baghdād he engaged in lively disputations with Murdjī and Djabri theologians, the traditionists and the *fuḳahā'*, submitting their views to a searching criticism which had considerable repercussions in the history of Sunni theology. On the other hand, his ideas seem to have had a considerable influence on the Mu'tazilī school of Baghdād in spite of the resistance which it offered to him. Al-Nazzām was above all a theologian. Two tendencies dominate his thought: zeal for *tawḥīd*, for the strictest monotheism, and zeal for the Qur'ān, which compelled him to set aside any other source of theology and ethics. His interest in religion was purely intellectual and emotion seems to have played a very limited part in it. His opponents described him as a Dahri; this is to misconceive completely the fundamental idea of his theological work; nevertheless it is quite true that it was the dispute with the Dahriya which imposed upon him the first principles of his dogmatics and which determined their structure, so much so that Islām in his hands assumed a rather strange form. His dogmatic extravagances brought down upon him the condemnation of almost the whole of the Muslim community and even of the Mu'tazila; it was however he who was the first to state several of the principal

problems of Sunni theology. His writings are lost but considerable fragments have been preserved, mainly in the works of his pupil al-Djāhiz. Many of the teachings which are attributed to him in books of writers on heresies were handed down by his pupils, not always correctly, as al-Khaiyāt tells us. The exposition of his theology given by al-Baghdādī in his *Kitāb al-Farq* probably goes back to Ibn al-Rāwandī; it is a typical example of misrepresentation and deliberately false interpretation. — On the main features of his theology and of his school, cf. the article AL-MU'TAZILA. Here we give a few observations on the problems of his theology.

1. *Aṣl al-tawḥīd*. Al-Nazzām's main interest here is to defend the Qur'ānic doctrine of the creation against the Dahriya which teaches the perpetual circulation of the elements and therefore the eternity of the material world. It is with this object that he develops the doctrine of the *zuhūr* and the *kumūn*, a strictly anti-Dahri thesis and one already adopted by Abu 'l-Hudhail al-'Allāf. His ideas regarding the body and its relations are the logical result of this teaching. The structure of these ideas is however strongly influenced by the polemic against Manichaeism, the fundamental problems of which al-Nazzām had studied deeply. In his positive demonstration of the dogma of the creation one occasionally thinks there are traces of Aristotelianism: the creation was a setting in motion and the created world is in a continual state of movement (even rest is defined as a form of movement). God is then himself immobile but at the same time the primordial moving power. The *tanzīh*, the distinction between the creator and creation, is carried a considerable distance. The divine attributes are represented to us by negations. The divine word is a body (therefore created) but that of man is an accident. The Qur'ān is miraculous because of the information it gives about the past and on account of the secrets which it reveals but not on account of its style, which men could have imitated if God had not prevented them (in reality there is no *mu'ārāfa* in al-Nazzām). Al-Nazzām fundamentally rejects the arbitrary interpretations of the Qur'ān given by the great authorities on Tradition, an 'Ikrima, a Kalbī, a Suddī or a Muḳātil b. Sulaimān; he demands a strictly literal exegesis. Prophethood has always been universal, i. e. all the prophets and not Muḥammad alone have been sent to the whole of humanity (against the traditionists; al-Nazzām thus did not deny the prophethood of Muḥammad).

2. *Aṣl al-'adl*. The freedom of the human will is restricted, according to al-Nazzām in a way that anticipates the Ash'ari theology. All the actions of a man are movements, therefore accidents and movements which relate only to the man himself; the effects which are realised outside of the man are not due to him but to the natural forces which God has placed in his body (denial of *tawallud*). Man is the *rūḥ*, which penetrates the body; the body in its turn represents an infirmity (*āfa*) of the *rūḥ*. Now it is the body, different from man in the strict sense, which sets in motion the action of which man (i. e. the *rūḥ*) is capable. It follows that man (the *rūḥ*) is capable of the action before it is realised (*al-istiṭā'a kalba 'l-f'i'*), but at the moment when it is realised, the man is not capable of it.

3. *Aṣl al-wa'd wa 'l-wa'id*. Al-Nazzām is very

keenly interested in practical problems of *fiqh*; we know his views and those of his school on the *ṣalāt*, on fraud and on ritual purity (in which connection he gives some very curious psychological explanations). But he is particularly concerned with the *uṣūl*. He waged a passionate campaign against the *aṣḥāb al-ra'y wa 'l-ḥiyās*, therefore against the Ḥanafis who were the representatives of the Murdjs. He flatly refused to admit *ra'y* and *ḥiyās* and did not shrink even from attacking the great men among the *ṣaḥāba* who in his opinion had been guilty of using them. He was in this way led to criticise violently the institution of the *idmā'* which however he admitted to a certain extent. Through all this he prepared the way for Dāwūd al-Zāhiri and the Zāhiriya school.

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(H. S. NYBERG.)

NEBUCHADNEZZAR. [See BUKHṬ NAṢAR.]

NEDJD, the highlands of Arabia in contrast to the low-lying ground along the coast (*Tihāma*) or the depression (*Ḡhōr*). In the dialect of the Hudhail Nadjd is pronounced *Nudjd*. The exact application of this originally topographical conception is very differently understood and sometimes it means more generally the elevated country above the coastal plain or the extensive country, the upper part of which is formed by the *Tihāma* and the *Yaman* and the lower by *Syria* and the *ʿIrāk*, or the part of Arabia which stretches from the frontiers of al-Yamāma to al-Madīna and thence across the desert from al-Baṣra to Baḥrain on the Persian Gulf (Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Ḥawḳal) or the territory between the *ʿIrāk* (al-ʿUdhayb) and Dhāt ʿIrḳ (Ibn Khurdādhbih) or from the *ʿIrāk* to al-Tihāma (Ḳudāma) or the land which lies behind the so-called Ditch of Chosroes (Kisrā) as far as the Ḥarra (al-Bāhili), or lastly, the territory between the depression of the Wādī 'l-Rumma and the slopes of Dhāt ʿIrḳ (al-Aṣmāʿī). That originally the name was applied to the plateau only is evident not only from the definitions of the separate authors but also from the fact that Nadjd appears in combination with various place-names; thus al-Aṣmāʿī (Yāḳūt, iv. 745) knows of Nadjd Barḳ (in al-Yamāma), Nadjd ʿUfr, Nadjd Kabkab (near ʿArafāt), Nadjd Marīʿ (in the *Yaman*), al-Bakrī (ii. 574) besides the three last named mentions Nadjd al-Yaman, Yāḳūt (iv. 750 *sq.*) further mentions Nadjd al-Ḥidjāz, Nadjd Alwadḥ in the country of the Hudhail, Nadjd al-

Sharā, al-Hamdānī (p. 55) Nadjd Ḥimyar and Nadjd Madhīdj along with a number of places not otherwise known which are combined with Nadjd. Hamdānī (p. 177) further makes a distinction between upper Nadjd (*Nadjd al-Ulyā'*) which is regarded as Nadjd proper (*al-Nadjd*) and in which he includes the district (*kiṣra*) of Djurash and the town of Yabambam, and lower Nadjd (*Nadjd al-Sufā'*) which is described as *Arḍ Nadjd* and with the *Ḥidjāz* and al-ʿArūd forms Central Arabia (p. 1, 5 *sq.*, 36, 18 *sq.*), the territory in which pure Arabic is spoken (p. 136, 8 *sq.*). The original meaning is also seen in the dual Nadjdān, which, it is interesting to note, is used for two mountains in the Adja' range, as well as in the place-name Nadjdā Marīʿ and in the spring pasture ground Nadjdān in the land of the Khath'am mentioned by the poet Ḥumaid b. Thawr (Yāḳūt, iv. 745).

That the wide interpretation of the name Nadjd above given is not unjustified is shown by the foundation in the second half of the fifth century A.D. by Ḥārith, chief of the Kinda, of a short lived kingdom which extended from the Syrian *limes* and al-medina to al-Yamāma or from the hill of Ṭomiya in the N.E. on the Wādī 'l-Rumma to Dhāt ʿIrḳ. At a later date, the whole of al-Nadjd belonged to the administrative district of al-Yamāma (Yāḳūt, iv. 746).

The widest area to which the name Nadjd has ever been applied is probably that of the present kingdom of the same name which owes its origin to the Wahhābī chief ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān Āl Saʿūd, who, as Amir of Nadjd conquered Riyāḍ in 1903, was chosen sultān of Nadjd and the adjoining lands in the summer of 1921, on Jan. 10, 1926 conquered the *Ḥidjāz* and on Jan. 19, 1927 was proclaimed king of Nadjd and its dependencies at Riyāḍ. The frontiers of his kingdom are: in the east, the Persian Gulf from Djafūra and Ḳaṭar to Rās al-Mish'ab, then the neutral zone between Nadjd and Kuwait from this promontory to Rās al-Ḳilliya; in the west the kingdom of the *Ḥidjāz*; in the south the line which runs from the port of Ḳunfudḥa on the Red Sea south of Abḥā in ʿAsīr and south of the Wādī 'l-Dawāsīr and includes Nadjran. The war at present going on between the king of Nadjd and the Imām of al-Yaman may perhaps alter this frontier, especially as Djawf in the *Yaman* has previously been a bone of contention. The northern frontier which was delineated by treaties between the ruler of Nadjd with the ʿIrāk and England on the one side (signed at ʿUḳair on Dec. 2, 1922) and Nadjd, Great Britain and Transjordan on the other (signed on Nov. 2, 1925 at Ḥadda in the *Ḥidjāz*) runs along the neutral zone between Nadjd and the ʿIrāk (29—30° N. Lat. and 45—46° East Long.) and is then continued in a line running N. and N.W. to the intersection of 39° E. Long. and 32° N. Lat. and leaves the Djabal ʿAnēze on its north, then S.W. to the Wādī Raḍīl and passing through in the S.E. the point where 38° East Long. and 30° N. Lat. intersect. The Wādī Sirḥān is thus still in Nadjd. This line continues towards the south from 25° to 38° East Long. and crosses the *Ḥidjāz* railway towards ʿAḳaba. The extent of the territory is estimated at 900,000 square miles and its population at 3,000,000. The capital is al-Riyāḍ; the more important towns are Buraida (Berēde), ʿAneiza (ʿAnēze), Ḥaʿel (Ḥayil), Tharmala,

Shakrā, Madjma'a, Huraimala (Harēmle), al-Hufhūf and al-Ḳaṭīf. The population, which with the exception of al-Ḥasā with 30,000 Shī'īs and a few Sunnīs has almost entirely adopted Wahhābism, belongs to the tribes of Muṭair (Meṭēr), Ḥarb, 'Utaiba ('Atēbe), Subai', Dawāsir, al-'Uḍjīmān, al-'Awāzim, al-Suhūl, Benī Murra and Ḳaṭṭān.

The North-Arabian Nadjd forms a part of the great desert plateau which is formed of primary rock with overlying sandstone and volcanic outbursts and has two great mountain ranges running through it; that in the north is about 40 miles long and at its northeast end some 4,500 feet high, known in ancient times as Djabal Taiy or Djabalā Taiy, i.e. Adja' and Salmā (Hamdānī, p. 125, 15 sq.), is now called Djabal Shammar or Djabal Idjā (Adja').

'Ammāriya or Djidd, which towers some 500 feet above the ridge usually 2,000—3,500 feet high. The long southern part of the Ṭuwaik is intersected by numerous wādīs which lead the water that falls in the rainy season to the Rub' al-Ḳhalī. Its most important part is the Aflādj, 40 miles long, with the oasis of Laila.

Nadjd is in the main steppe and desert. Nafūd and Dahna occupy the greater part of northern Nadjd while the Rub' al-Ḳhalī joins them on the S. E. There are no perennial streams in Nadjd so that the country has to rely upon subterranean channels of supply which are at various depths and have to be reached by wells. In the oasis of al-Ḳhardj the wells are from 20 to 40 feet deep, in Aflādj 50—60 feet, in Ḥa'il and al-Riyāḍ about 80 feet. Sometimes these springs form ponds, for



Map of Arabia with the new frontiers of Nadjd according to Amin Rihani

Both ranges, which rise out of a tableland levelled by weathering, are of granite. The Djabal Adja' stretches from N. N. E. to S. S. W., about 35 miles S. E. of it in approximately the same direction the Djabal Salmā, in front of which in the S. W. lies the Djabal Ramān, while S. E. of the Djabal Salmā lies the Ḥarra of Faïd, of volcanic origin.

S. E. of this rises the sandstone plateau, overlaid with limestone, of Djabal Ṭuwaik (Ṭuēk) running N. W. to S. E., which forms the western declivity of a plateau which has come into existence through weathering and slopes towards the Persian Gulf on the one side and the sands of the desert of Rub' al-Ḳhalī on the other. It begins S. E. of the district of al-Ḳaṣīm (S. E. of the Ḥarra) and stretches E. from al-Waṣm to al-'Arid with the town of al-Riyāḍ and then turns, west of the Ḳhardj oasis, S. S. W. towards the Wādī 'l-Dawāsir. The most important peak on this edge of the plateau is the Djabal

example in al-Ḳhardj the springs of which form three pools, the largest of which is 150 paces long and 80 broad (cf. the picture in Philby, ii., p. 34) while the springs of Aflādj feed a lake nearly a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad (Philby, ii., pl. at p. 86). These supplies sometimes dry up suddenly, probably because they have found a subterranean exit as has happened in the case of two water-holes in Aflādj and the two larger ponds in al-Ḳhardj. The hydrographic conditions of the country are therefore exceedingly dependent on the rainfall from the summer and winter rains. The former (*wasnī* or *maṭar al-ṣaif*) fall in August and September and particularly refresh the pastures which the summer sun has dried up, while the latter produce a springlike effect in the land on which they fall. The classic phrase *saḳā 'llāḥu Nadjidan min rabī'in wa-ṣaifin* (Bakrī, ii. 627) eloquently sums up this state of affairs. Heavy rain-falls were also observed in April 1871 in the central

Wādī 'l-Rumma and in May in 'Anēze between Djabal Salmā and 'Anēze (1884 Ch. Huber), and Philby (ii. 10) noticed thundershowers in May as well as drizzle, while Doughty met with hail at Khabra (near 'Anēze) in April. That the climate here cannot have changed very much is evident from Ibn Djubair who records very heavy showers in this district in April 1184 A.D. Huber met with rain in June 1884 between 'Anēze and Mecca, Sadlier at the end of July 1819 between al-Ḥasā and Dar'īya heavy thunderstorm and rain, which however was described by the natives as unprecedented. Philby (i. 141, 147) records thunder and rain in December. The rainwater collects in the hollows below the thick layer of sand and enables palms to grow and also, on chemically decomposed fertile soil, wheat and barley, vegetables and fruit-trees. The hot summer of course everywhere makes it necessary to water the crops from wells. On the other hand, the frequently very sudden flooding of the water-courses led in quite early times to the building of dams to hold back and store the water; such were built in the Wādī 'l-Rumma at 'Aneiza (Bakrī, i. 207; Yāqūt, iii. 738), Dar'īya (Bakrī, ii. 637) and on the road from al-Yamāma to 'Aneiza (al-Hamadḥānī, p. 174, 192). Doughty found remains of such dams in the Djabal Adja'.

The district of al-Sharaf is the richest part of al-Nadjd, and the valleys of the Wādī 'l-Djarir and Wādī 'l-Miāh are celebrated for their pastures. Here the early caliphs had vast grazing grounds (*himā*) e.g. in Dar'īya, al-Rabadha, Fa'id, al-Nir, Dhu 'l-Sharā' and Naḳī'. The most famous was that of Dar'īya, where the caliph 'Omar I secured an area six Arab miles in diameter as pasture for 300 horses and 30,000 camels for the army. 'Othmān extended this area until the diameter was ten miles. The 'Abbāsīd al-Mahdī abandoned it, as the policy of this dynasty was to neglect Arabia deliberately in contrast to the Umayyads who, for example, intensively colonised western Nadjd. In the sixth century A.D. Nadjd was still well wooded, and al-Sheruba, south of the Wādī 'l-Rumma, and Waḍjra were particularly celebrated in this respect, while at the present day they only possess scanty remnants of these forests. Many areas seem to have been ruined by drought or disastrous inundations (Philby, i., p. 115; ii., p. 9); the decline of al-Yamāma is probably due to the latter cause. Crops are sometimes damaged by sharp frosts — in winter (January) the temperature sometimes sinks from a maximum of 53° F. by day to below 23° and ice and snow have been occasionally seen at the higher levels — while the summer drought with a maximum temperature of 113° destroys the crops. The two most important wādīs are the Wādī 'l-Rumma about 650 miles long, which runs right across the plateau of North Arabia, rising in the Ḥarra of Khaibar and entering the Euphrates plain at Basra, and the Wādī 'l-Dawāsir. These have formed since ancient times the two main routes of traffic in Central Arabia.

It is with the object of improving agriculture that the king of Nadjd is endeavouring to keep the Bedū to the soil. Every tribe or clan has therefore been allotted a definite area of ground near a well where huts are being erected and the ground planted. These new settlements are called *hidra*. In the last ten years, since the revival of Wahhābism, about 70 of these colonies with

2,000—10,000 inhabitants have been established; the most important is Irtawiya built in 1912; Rihani (p. 198) gives a list of others. In this way not only is the cultivation of the land secured but the revenues of the state are increased; these consist of the *zakāt* (10% on movable property), the customs, a fifth in case of war and (formerly) £60,000 subsidy from England. The coins in circulation, in addition to the Maria Theresia dollar, are the English and Turkish sovereign, the Indian rupee and copper coins of 'Omān of the last century, 60 of which go to the dollar. The once famous gold mines of the Banū Sulaim at al-'Aḳīḳ, al-Mudjaira and Bisha (Hamdānī, p. 154, 4 sq.) are now no longer of importance and unlike al-Yaman, the country possesses no industries.

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NEDROMA (Ar. NADRŪMA), pron. *Nedrūma*, and sometimes *Medrūma*, 40 miles S.W. of Tlemcen, has since the dawn of the modern period been the most important town in the hilly country between the sea on the north, the lower course of the Tāfnā on the east, the plain of Lālla Moḡhniya (Marnia) on the south and the Algero-Moroccan frontier on the west. It is the country known since the xvth century A.D. as the land of the Trāra, Berbers converted to Islām and Arab culture in the period of the Idrisids who were known in the middle ages as Kūmya. This little Berber bloc, speaking Arabic, forms with Nadrūma, which is as it were the heart of it, a whole so homogeneous that they cannot be dealt with separately.

I. Past History. We may reject the childish etymology *Ned-Roma* "resembling Rome" given by Leo Africanus (ed. Schefer, iii. 13). Nadrūma was first of all the name of a tribe, a section of the Kūmya family of the Berber stock of the Banū Fāten (Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbers*, transl. de Slane, i. 251). The name is mentioned by al-Baidhāḡ (ed. Lévi-Provençal, *Doc. inéd. d'Hist. Almoh.*, Paris 1928, p. 44; transl., p. 66) where we must understand by *al-kārya Nadrūma* "the people of the citadel (i.e.) the Nadrūma". This passage, written in the xiith century, would tend to show how the name of the tribe of the Nadrūma became attached to the little town which was then their principal centre.

Before this period however, Nadrūma was the name of the town, for al-Bakrī (xith century) gives it this name and gives us a brief description of it; he qualifies it as *madīna* "town" and not as simply *kārya*. In the time of al-Idrisi (cf. the *Bibl.*) in the xiith century, the town was a prosperous one surrounded by walls and had an important market. There is no doubt also — although these two geographers do not mention the fact — that Nadrūma had a mosque.

In the ixth century A.D., the Muslim geographer al-Ya'qubī (*Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 18 and transl., *Descr. al-Maghribi*, Leyden 1860, p. 117) mentions a considerable town inhabited by Berbers at the extreme boundary of the lands ruled by the descendants of the Idrisid Muḡammad b. Sulaimān. The name of this town, written in the Arabic texts فالوسين, might be Fālaūsen or Fāllaūsen, but with difficulty "Fellousen" (cf. R. Basset, *Nidromah et les Traras*, p. 7, N^o. 2) on account of the present day pronunciation of the word by the natives of the country. René Basset (*ibid.*) thinks this town could be identified with Nadrūma, built on the N.W. flank of mount Fāllaūsen (modern local pronunciation) — the Fillausen of the maps.

The Almoravids of the xith—xiith centuries gave Nadrūma an important mosque and a pulpit, in-

spired, G. Marçais says, by that of the Great Mosque of the Umayyads of Cordova as that of the Almohad Kutubiya of Marrākush was later to be. This fact alone would suffice to show the importance in the Almoravid period of this Muslim centre which must have been the greatest in the land of the Kūmya at this period.

Nadrūma had access to the sea by several small ports, the most important of which, Honain, which also served Tlemcen (cf. Marçais, *Honain*, in *R.A.*, 1928, p. 333—350) was however somewhat difficult of access from Nadrūma by the very steep N.W. flank of mount Tādjra. This town had therefore rather to use the port of Māsīn (al-Bakrī) which was only 10—12 miles away, easy of access at the end of a valley (Wādī Māsīn) north of Nadrūma.

In the Almohad period Nadrūma as well as all the land of the Kūmya, where 'Abd al-Mu'min, the first caliph of the dynasty, was born, must have been the object of special solicitude by these rulers, who were lords of Africa and Spain. Moreover it was on the Kūmya, the tribe in which they originated, that the Almohad caliphs relied for support — like all Muslim rulers —: these Berbers were the best auxiliaries in the conquests and the most reliable supports of the throne of Marrākush. Although the name of the Kūmya has now disappeared and has been replaced by that of Trāra, it would be too much, as we shall see, to think that the Kūmya tribes disappeared in the wars of the Almohads.

The name Trāra is quite recent; it appears, it seems, for the first time in a treaty of union — of which the Arabic text is given by R. Basset (*loc. cit.*, *App.*, p. 212—218) — between the Arab and Berber tribes of the N.W. of Oran and eastern Morocco, prepared in 955 (1548—1549) in anticipation of the struggle with the Spaniards, then lords of Tlemcen. In the text the Trāra are described as made up of many sections, the names of which are unfortunately not given. At later dates we again find this name of Trāra in various authors without being able to say to which it refers. As in the xith—xiith centuries, Nadrūma is still the capital and the principal town for these tribes.

Most of the Trāra tribes of to-day have preserved the names which the same Kūmya tribes bore in the time of the caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min.

This little Berber capital was undoubtedly never very large if we may judge by the traces still visible of its walls, which have hardly changed since the time of al-Bakrī. It appears in the history of the middle ages, as in modern times as one of the chief towns of the province of which Tlemcen was the capital, whose political and religious influence dominated it and whose destinies it followed.

When in the xiith—xvth centuries, Tlemcen being the capital of the 'Abdalwādid kingdom, Nadrūma, a peaceful town with a temperate climate, in a charming position, overlooking the blue sea a few miles away, became the country resort of the rulers and princes of the royal house. They had a fortified palace there (the *ḡaḡba*) of which considerable remains of the surrounding wall still stand as well as the walls of the buildings. It commanded the town, standing quite near it on the south, and its ruins are still called *ḡṣar eṣ-ṣolṭān*. It was to this place that Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, renouncing the royal throne of Tlemcen to the advantage of his two younger brothers Abū Sa'īd

and Abū Thābit, retired in 749 (1348) to live far from the court and politics in meditation and prayer (Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, transl., iii. 422 sqq.; Yaḥyā b. Khaldūn, *Hist. des Rois de Tlemcen*, ed. and transl. A. Bel, Algiers 1903-1910-1913, ii. 14, 18).

It was here that his son Abū Hammū II (reigned at Tlemcen 1359-1389) lived with him and the latter's son was born, Abū Tāshfin II who dethroned his father and reigned after him (1389-1393).

This pious withdrawal of Abū Ya'qūb to Nadrūma was only to last about four years until the conquest of Tlemcen and Nadrūma by the Marinids of Fās in 1352.

No king and apparently no prince was ever buried at Nadrūma. There is however the mausoleum of a saint in the midst of the ruins of the palace. The individual whose tomb it is believed to mark is called "Sidi Sulṭān". Neither the name, nor history, which does not mention him, nor legend, which simply makes him come from Egypt at a remote period, tells us anything of value about him. Nevertheless, in view of the numerous similar examples of the creation of holy places sacred to saints by the Berbers, who are of a deeply religious nature, and in particular by the Berbers of Nadrūma and the Trāra, it is easy to reconstruct the process of the foundation of the mausoleum in question. The sojourn in the palace of Nadrūma of a great prince who had abandoned his rank for a life of devotion must have impressed the people of the time and long afterwards the spiritual merits of this "sulṭān" must have been related, as one who had certainly been touched by the grace of Allāh. When many years later the name and story of this devout king had been forgotten, the place where he had lived, this *ḡṣar eṣ-ḡolṭān*, this *ḡaṣba* as it is still called, although in ruins, impregnated with his sanctity — his *baraka* — remained a holy place. It was only a very short step from this to localise the centre of radiation of this *baraka* in a little sanctuary in which prayers could be addressed to the unknown saint who is alleged to be buried there. At the present day the little white dome covering the so-called tomb of Sidi Sulṭān under a very old wild olive tree is the goal of the pilgrimage of numerous women; they come there particularly to seek the cure of a sick child; they expect to obtain this by the fumigation of the invalid with leaves from the olive-tree. Men also visit it. Every year the negroes of Nadrūma (who say that Sidi Sulṭān was a descendant of Bilāl, the Prophet's *mu'adhḡin*) go there on a mass pilgrimage and sacrifice a bull calf; they hope thereby to obtain the regular rainfall needed by the district.

If we have dealt rather fully with this feature of the religious mentality of the people of Nadrūma, it is because it is a sign, among many others, of one of the most characteristic aspects of the religion of the Berbers and of those of Trāra. Maraboutism is so developed among them that René Basset in his study of Nadrūma and the Trāra has collected the names and sanctuaries of 296 holy men and 9 holy women, which is a large number for so small an area. This however does not prevent the people from observing as well as they can the ritual duties of Sunnī Islām and of zealously attending the many mosques in Nadrūma and in all the villages of the Trāra.

It has been been mainly since the xvth century,

during the great popular mystical movement which spread through all North Africa, that the people of Nadrūma and the Trāra have developed this cult of saints and placed all their trust in men of religion and Ṣūfism. Particular evidence of this was seen in the assembly on the banks of the Wardafu, on the borders of the land of the Trāra, of the tribes of the region of Nadrūma and the adjoining country when in 1548 the holy man al-Ya'qūbī, whose venerated *zāwiya* [q.v.] is a little to the west of Nadrūma, led them against the Spaniards who then held Tlemcen.

As a matter of fact the Spaniards who were established in Oran and Tlemcen were never able to occupy Nadrūma and the land of the Trāra. The Turks who finally occupied Tlemcen and the province were not always warmly welcomed there. On several occasions the sulṭān *sharifs* of Morocco were able to advance their frontiers to the lower Tāfnā. However the Turks ended by establishing their authority which lasted until the conquest of Algeria by the French. Nadrūma and the Trāra did not at once accept the rule of 'Abd al-Ḳādir; they preferred to be under the sulṭāns of Morocco. Later they took the side of the emir against the French and it was in these mountains that 'Abd al-Ḳādir often found a safe asylum when he was defeated, even after 1842 when the French occupied Nadrūma, and notably in 1845 at the time of the famous affair of Sidi Brāhīm (cf. P. Azan, *L'Emir Abd el Kadir*, Paris 1923, p. 207-214) a few miles west of Nadrūma.

II. The Present. Nadrūma, surrounded by gardens full of olive and other fruit-trees of various kinds, rises in terraces which lie on a well-marked hog's back sloping from N. to S. running from the Ḳaṣba; it is enclosed in a quadrilateral of about 15 to 20 hectares, which is still marked by the traces here and there of its old walls.

This town has preserved the appearance of a city of Western Islām with the Great Mosque dominating the houses with its high square minaret. A small square (*tarbi'a*) off which open the *sūks* gives a little open space for this building and the central quarter which also bears the name of *tarbi'a*. Other smaller mosques are in the different quarters but they are hardly to be distinguished from the surrounding houses because they do not have minarets or only a very low one hardly rising above the roof. The chief of these mosques is the *Djāmi' al-Ḳaddārin*, the "mosque of the potters", which is said to be the oldest of all. It and the Great Mosque are the only two in which the Friday *ḡhuṣba* is held. It is in the Banī Zid quarter in the S. W. of the town. In the Rās Ezzmā'a quarter in the S. W. are the chapels of Sidi Bū 'Alī and Lālla 'Ālya; those of the *Djāmi' Haddādin*, Dj. Arraiya, Dj. Sidi Syādī are in the quarter of Darb al-Sūḡ, to the north of the great mosque and town. At the hours of prayer all these mosques are filled with pious Muslims, many of whom possess a certain amount of Arab culture and religious knowledge; most of them are anxious to have a Muslim education and to give it to their children in addition to French education in the French elementary schools.

Petty traders of experience and agriculturists tilling their fields, the people of Nadrūma also include a considerable number of capable artisans. We shall here confine ourselves to mentioning two of the oldest and most important local industries

of Nadrūma: that of the weavers (*darrāzīn*) and that of the potters (*ḡaddārīn*).

The weavers of Nadrūma have retained their ancient loom with low warp without any modern improvement not even the picker, and all the old equipment of their ancestors, notably the warper (*na'ūra*) and spinning wheel (*roddāna*.) On the loom, material and method of working, one may compare what is done in Tlemcen in identical fashion (cf. A. Bel and P. Picard, *Le travail de la laine à Tlemcen*, Algiers 1913, p. 63 sq.). The weavers of Nadrūma now make only woollen blankets (*būrābaḡ*), white or decorated with stripes of colour, hooded cloaks with very short sleeves (*djallāba*), the white *ḡā'īḡ* for men (particularly old men here) which is a long piece of wool without seams, which is wrapped round the body in a certain way. Nadrūma makes several kinds of *ḡā'īḡ* (cf. *L'industrie de la laine*, loc. cit., p. 109).

The potters have for centuries from father to son had their ateliers in the upper part of the town in the S.E. beside the *Ḳaṣba*. They make pots and other articles on wheels (*ma'ūn*) of the usual type driven by the foot: cooking pots of rounded shape without handles called *ḡadra* (whence the name *ḡaddārīn* given to the potters), cooking dishes for ragouts (*ṭādjīn*) and for barley or wheat girdle cakes or different kinds of cakes (*maḡla*), portable ovens (*maḡjimar*), *ṡḡerrāda* which is in the form of an oven with an earthenware dome above it shaped like the bottom of an inverted pot on which is poured the liquid paste of these pancakes, as thin as paper, which on account of their thinness are called by the Beduins in Orania *rgāḡ* "slices" and in Nadrūma as in the towns are called by the old Arabic name of *ṡḡrīd*. When required the potters of Nadrūma also make other earthenware articles such as flower-pots (*mḡabḡḡa*) and the musical instrument called *agwal*, used by women, consisting of a large earthenware tube, one of the ends of which is closed by a skin stretched over it which is beaten.

The total population of the town of Nadrūma is 7,051 of whom 6,124 are Muslims, 850 Jews and about 200 Europeans (chiefly French). The Jews do not actually have a special quarter but they live almost entirely in the two streets of the Darb al-Sūḡ and in another in the Banī Zīd quarter; they are petty traders, labourers and artisans (it is they who make the saddles for the mules and asses). The majority are of Berber origin; they are usually poor. Although they only marry with one another and live apart from the Muḡammadans, the Jews live in houses quite like those of the Muḡammadans, lead the same kind of life and use an Arabic dialect among themselves.

The negroes (*'abīd*) who are not very numerous are called *gnawa* (Guineans) and live in a separate quarter in the west centre of the town. They are in very humble circumstances, stokers of the bakers' ovens or the furnaces of the baths, labourers and workmen. Although regarded as Muslims, their religious life is not at all regular and they are regarded, as elsewhere, as more or less of sorcerers.

The French element is very small; it consists almost entirely of officials and their families. They live by themselves in the public buildings (schools, gendarmerie etc.) and in European houses roofed with red tiles, which form an entirely distinct quarter outside the native town (to the N. and N.E.).

Nadrūma is the capital of a mixed commune. The civil administrator who lives there has under his authority the town and the Trāra tribes of the neighbourhood: *Djāla*, *Zāwīyat al-Mīra*, *Suwāḡliya*, in the West and N.N.W., *Banī Mnīr*, *B. Miṡḡal*, *B. Ḳhallād*, *B. 'Abēd*, in the N.E., E. or S.E. the population of which numbers 47,224 native Muslims and 83 Europeans.

The other Trāra tribes are not under Nadrūma: these are the *Msīrda*, in the extreme N.W. who belong to the mixed commune of Marnia; the *B. Warṡūṡ* and the *Ulḡaṡa ḡḡrāba*, to that of Remchi-Montagnac.

On Thursday which is the market-day there come into Nadrūma large numbers of people from all the country round; they bring in their stock, especially sheep, goats, cattle and mules and, according to the season, the produce of their fields and gardens (wheat and barley, almonds, carobs, figs, grapes, etc.) and of their flocks (wool and goat-skins, butter, curds etc.) as well as chickens, eggs and honey. The country artisans (men and women) bring in the articles they have manufactured (articles of woven grass, walking-sticks and little articles of wood carved with the knife with Berber designs), wool, articles of terracotta, notably Berber pottery decorated with geometrical designs, made by the women of *Msīrda* (and similar to the other Berber pottery made by the women of Kabylia, the *Tsūl* and elsewhere).

It is on market-day that one realises that Nadrūma is the economic centre of the whole district of the Trāra and sees the variety of products of the soil and industry of these Berbers.

The abundance and variety of these products are not due only to the activity of the inhabitants; the climate and the soil also help. The climate is fairly equable: tempered by the proximity of the sea it is never extreme as in the case of continental districts. For the rest, the height of the hills, while sufficient to encourage rainfall, is not very great: it does not exceed 3,500 feet at Fallausen and 1,200 at Nadrūma. It is therefore only in the very hardest winters that snow for brief periods whitens the summits of the range. As to the soils of this coast range, which, between the depression of the *Tāfnā* in the east and the neighbouring plains of the Moroccan frontier in the west, runs from the *Wād Muīlaḡ* (2 miles N. of Marnia) to the sea, they offer a certain variety in their nature and origin. Around the primary massif, which includes the highest peaks, Fallausen and *Tādjra*, are several eruptive islets (granite) and hills of secondary formation (Jurassic). The lower areas, especially the plains of the N.W., as far as the coast (where there are several old eruptive mamelons) and the depressions of the S.E. and E. along the *Tāfnā*, are middle Miocene formations.

The mountains also possess numerous perennial springs which feed little streams which irrigate the gardens; there are also various minerals, several of which have been recently or are still being exploited by Europeans.

It is due to the quality of the clay around Nadrūma and the granitic sand used for moulds that the pottery industry is one of the oldest and most prosperous in the town. The native vegetation is abundant and varied; in addition to the many varieties of trees of the highlands (notably sumach [*ṡiḡḡa*], the wood of which is exported

to Europe through the port of Nemours), we may mention many kinds of plants used for medicinal purposes or dyeing. It is for example thanks to the madder abundant in these regions and used by the natives for dyeing the dwarf palm leaf that the people of Ulhāsaghra are able to make a fine and famous straw work (men's hats with high crowns and broad brims called *māll* — baskets of various shapes all of dwarf palm leaves). All these articles are prettily decorated in red on the yellowish white foundation of the palm leaf; they are known and purchased by the natives of the whole of Orania and eastern Morocco.

It is also owing to the abundance of pasture in these hills that the rural dwellers, none of whom however are nomads, can raise so many flocks especially sheep. The wool from their flocks is almost entirely used in the country by the weavers of Nadrūma and by the country women who by their weaving, using the loom with a high rail like all the women in North Africa, make a considerable part of the family's woollen garments. All these women are excellent spinners; they have a great reputation for the fineness of their work.

Even from chickens — to feed which the country women in the autumn collect the red fruit of the mastic which is very abundant in this country — the people, who are greedy of gain, make a profit; thousands of eggs also are exported every month from Nadrūma via Nemours, to France and particularly to England.

Bibliography: Besides the works quoted cf. especially: al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Arabic text, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1857 (republ. in 1911), p. 80; French transl. in *J. A.*, 1839, series v., xiii. 142–143; al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, transl. Dozy and de Goeje, Leyden 1866, text, p. 172; Fr. transl., p. 209; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1898, iii. 12 sqq.; Marmol, *L'Afrique*, transl. Paris 1667, ii. 324–325; Canal, *Monographie de l'Arrond. de Tlemcen* (in *Bull. soc. d'arch. et de géolog. d'Oran*, 1888, viii. 62–65); René Basset, *Nédromah et les Traras*, Paris 1901; A. Bel, *Tlemcen et ses environs; Guide illustré du touriste*², Toulouse n.d., p. 92–94. — For the history cf. the *Bibl.* in the article 'ABDALWĀDIDS, completed by that under ZAYĀNIDS, adding the reference to al-Baidhāk, quoted above. For the rest and especially for the ancient period as well as for the modern, there is a very full bibliography in the notes and references in *Nédromah et les Traras* by R. Basset. (ALFRED BEL)

NEF'İ, the greatest satirist of the Ottomans. 'Omar Efendi whose nom de plume (*makhlas*) was Nef'î came from the village of Hasan Kāl'a near Erzerūm (Eastern Anatolia). Not much is known of his early life. He spent his early years in Erzerūm where the historian 'Alī [q. v.], who was a *defterdār* there, became acquainted with him. During the reign of Aḥmad I fate brought him to the capital Stambul where he worked for a time as a book-keeper. He failed in an attempt to gain the sultān's favour or that of his son, the unfortunate 'Othmān II, with some brilliant *kaşidas*. It was not till the reign of Murād IV that he gained the imperial favour but his malicious, sarcastic and indecent poems soon brought him into disgrace. He was appointed

to the poll-tax office and later again became a member of the sultān's circle. His irresistible impulse to make all the notables of the empire the butt of his mockery made him a host of enemies. A satire on Bairām Pasha, the sultān's brother-in-law and vizier, who had succeeded in being recalled from banishment and again attaining influence, cost him his life. The mufti gave his sanction to the execution of the great poet. With the sultān's consent he was shut up in the wood-cellar of the serāy, then strangled and his body thrown into the sea. The year of his death is 1044 (beg. June 27, 1634), not 1045 as Ḥādjī Khalifa, *Fedhleke*, ii. 183 wrongly says (cf. on the other hand his *Kashf al-Zunūn*, iii. 318 and 631 where the correct date is given).

Nef'î wrote Turkish and Persian with equal ease. His mastery of technique and natural poetical talent make him one of the greatest Ottoman poets; he is also undoubtedly one of the greatest, although hitherto little known satirists. The reason why he is so little known is that a scholarly edition with full annotations of his Turkish *Dīwān* entitled "Arrows of Fate", *Sihām-i Kaḍā*, has so far never been undertaken, so that at the present day hardly any one is able to understand the countless allusions to particular circumstances and the veiled attacks on the individuals dealt with. The publication of his poems demands a knowledge of the conditions of his period and particularly of life at court which it is hardly possible to attain and which it would be very difficult to gather from the existing sources. Many of his flashes of wit and allusions are very difficult to understand. Many of his poems are distinguished by an obscenity which can hardly be surpassed and however great may be their importance for the social history of his time, they are of little value as evidence of his poetic gifts. The "Arrows of Fate" are directed against almost every one prominent in politics and society in his time. In *G. O. D.*, iii. 241, J. v. Hammer has compiled a list of them. Some of his poems which pillory existing institutions, like the popular saints, the Kalendar-dervishes [q. v.] etc. are of value for social history. Hardly one important contemporary was able to escape his scorn and ridicule. They were all made targets for his "Arrows of Fate" without mercy. He attacked the jurists ('ulamā') particularly unsparingly. Nef'î's Turkish *Dīwān* has been several times printed: two parts at Būlak in 1253 and in 1269 at Stambul. Selections (with ample evidence of 'Abd al-Ḥamid's censorship!) were published by Abu 'l-Diyā' Tewfik in 1311 at Stambul. There are MSS. in European collections in London, Leyden and Vienna. Mr. Walther von der Porten now (1933) in Zurich owns two particularly beautiful and old MSS. A short *Sāḫi-nāme* by Nef'î is mentioned in the catalogue of MSS. of the Leipzig council library by H. L. Fleischer (p. 547^b). On his death, cf. Farā'idizāda, *Tārīkh-i gūshen-i Ma'ārif*, i., Stambul 1252, p. 668, and Na'imā, *Tārīkh*, ii. 489.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned cf. also Gibb, *Ottoman Poems*, p. 208 and *H. O. P.*, iii. 252 sqq.; the history of Na'imā (i. 586) and Brūsālī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *'Othmānī Mü'ellifler*², ii. 441 sq. (according to which parts of his Persian *Dīwān* were published in the *Khasane-i Fünūn*).

(FRANZ BABINGER)

NEFTA, a town in the south of Tunisia, lies 15 miles W. of Tozeur on the isthmus which separates the depressions of the *Shoṭṭ al-Djarid* and the *Shoṭṭ Gharsa*. In the middle ages it was considered one of the principal centres of the land of *Qaṣṭiliya* [q. v.] along with al-Hamma, Taḳiyus and Tozeur, which was the capital. It was regarded as a very old town. Nefta as a matter of fact replaced the town of Nepte or Aggarsel-Nepte. The Roman town must now be buried in the sands close to the present town. We may presume that there still existed in the early centuries of the Muslim period visible traces of the old town. Al-Bakrī tells us that the town was built of large blocks of stone (*ṣakhr*). The author of the *Istibṣār* regards the wall which surrounds it as having been built by the ancients. The dam on the Wed Nefta is made of Roman blocks if it is not actually of Roman work (Tissot).

Memories of the pre-Islāmic past were also found among the people of Nefta. Its large population was regarded as consisting for the larger part of descendants of Christians (*Ya'qūbi*, *Istibṣār*) who must have retained their faith for a considerable period. Ibn Khaldūn (*Berbères*, i. 146, transl. i. 231) remarks on the presence of Christians in the province of *Qaṣṭiliya* at the end of the xivth century. The outlying position of this province perhaps explains the survival of a Christian colony, which was exceptional in Barbary. It is moreover worth noting that the attitude of the people of Nefta in religious matters has often been non-conformist. In the tenth century, according to Ibn Hawkal, *Khāridjism* still survived there; in the eleventh century, according to al-Bakrī, the people of Nefta still professed the *Shī'a* "so that this town is called Little Kūfa". We shall see that at the present day it is an important centre of maraboutism.

The remoteness of the capital assured Nefta, like other towns of the Djarid, a fairly regular political independence. Like al-Hamma and Tozeur, it was long (probably from the period of anarchy which followed the Hilālī invasion) governed by a council of notables, the president of which held the position of a feudal lord, indeed prince. In the xivth century this office was held by the family of the Banū Khālaf, who claimed to be of Ghassānid Arab origin. The Banū Khālaf and the people of the oasis whom they ruled maintained regular relations with the Sulaimid Arabs of the great tribe of *Qo'ub* who periodically frequented the country around. A tradition of reciprocal service united these immigrant nomads and settled natives, the nomads defending at need against the attempts of the central power the settled population who in turn assured them their subsistence and the provision of their supplies. The central power when it felt sufficiently strong naturally endeavoured to bring the Djarid under its authority again. Nefta thus underwent alternately periods of subjection and independence. In 744 (1343) the Hafsīd caliph Abū Bakr sent his son Abū 'l-Abbās who secured the submission of the people of Nefta by cutting down a part of their palm-trees and putting to death nearly the whole of the Banū Khālaf. A century later (845 = 1441) the caliph Abū 'Omar 'Othmān, having taken Nefta, sacked it, executed the chiefs of the Banū Khālaf and placed the town under a *kā'id* of his own choice.

If the partial destruction of the palm-trees — a classical procedure — had brought the people

of Nefta to terms, it was because these trees supplied the greater part of their income. Very abundant springs (the largest of which rising north of the town forms the Wed Nefta) assured and still assure the life of this splendid oasis. There is at the present day a forest of 273,000 palm-trees there. Nefta was however also a commercial town, a wealthy emporium and a centre of the exchange of goods. Before the establishment of the Protectorate, trade was mainly carried on at two periods of the year: at the beginning of spring, when the expeditionary force which had come from Tunis to collect taxes could guarantee the security of the routes and at the end of summer when the marauding Arabs had left the country to buy corn in the north.

Consisting of merchants and farmers with the important aristocracy of the *Shorfā* [q. v.], the population of Nefta (estimated at the present day at over 13,000) is distributed over eight quarters separated from one another by palm-groves. Each of the quarters has its mosque. Al-Bakrī tells us that Nefta in his day had already a great mosque, several smaller places of worship and many baths. The places of worship belonging to the *zāwiya* of the various brotherhoods are still characterized by their hemispherical or ovoid domes. The most important *zāwiya* is that of the *Qādiriya*, an influential centre of worship. The architecture of the houses, the decoration of their façades with relieves of brick, contribute to give to Nefta an imposing appearance which is also characteristic of Tozeur.

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NEHĀWAND. [See NIHĀWAND.]

NERGISÎ, properly NERGIS-ZĀDE MEHMET EFENDI, an important and distinctive stylist of the old school, poet and calligrapher. Born about 1000 (1592) in Serajevo (Bosna Serai) the son of the *nā'ib* Nergis Aḥmad Efendi, he received his education in Constantinople where he attached himself as a pupil to Kāf-zāde Faizī 'Abd al-Ḥaiy. On the completion of his studies he served as *müderris* and *nā'ib* in Gabela, Mostar, Yeni Pazar (Novibazar), Elbasan, Banyaluka and Monastir. He was on intimate terms with the *Shaiḫh* al-Islām Yahyā Efendi. He travelled a great deal. Nergisî was appointed imperial historiographer (*wak'ā nūwīs*) when Murād IV set out for Baghdad on the campaign against Eriwan. He died on the march at Gebize (Gebze) on the Gulf of Izmid as the result of a fall from his horse and was buried there (1044 = 1634). The other statement (Ḥabīb and Riyāzī) that he was buried in Aiyūb is not at all probable.

Nergisi is celebrated less as a poet than as a stylist. His stilted and unnaturally affected style (*Nergisi lisāni*) and his bombastic, overladen language were regarded as unsurpassed models for the whole of the period fascinated by this stylistic foolishness. Even in the older stylists far more importance had been attached to the word than to the sense. But Nergisi completely sacrificed sense to sound and let it all disappear in bombast. He is the most perfect master of this style with a language even more florid than that of Waisi, whose *Siyer-i Nebi* he tries to outdo; his style is even more extravagant and artificial, more laden with rare words, *sedîc* expressions and obsolete similes than any other.

The most celebrated of his works is his *Khamsa* (Quintet). Originally this consisted only of the *Khamsa* of the *Nihālistān* (the quintet of "offshoots") which was composed in imitation of Sa'di's *Gulistan* and *Būstān* in Monastir. It consists of five parts (*nihāl* = offshoots), viz. stories of liberality and magnanimity; of love; legends; stories showing how every one gets the reward he deserves; lastly, legends glorifying virtue and penitence. The contemporary allusions in the very realistic tales, little influenced by superstition, are important.

This original *Khamsa* was later expanded into the great *Khamsa-i Nergisi* by the addition of four other pieces: 1. *Iksir-i Se'adet* (also called *Iksir-i Dewlet*: Elixir of Happiness), the translation of a portion of the *Kimīyā al-Sa'āda* of the Imām Ghazālī, which had already been translated by the poet Sīhābī. Only Nergisi's translation however has become celebrated. The obligations of social life are dealt with in stories. This work, which also appeared separately, is of value for its ethical teaching; 2. *Mashāḥḥ al-'Ushshāḥ* (the sorrows of lovers): love-stories, which Nergisi collected when Kādī of Elbasan. As several of the stories in it were later included in the *Nihālistān* this part looks very small in print; 3. *Ḳānūn al-Reshād* (canon of the straight path), a translation of the book written for the Gīngizid Sultān Muḥammad Khubābanda: *Akhḫlāk al-Saltāna*: the duties of a ruler, a kind of mirror for princes. It is prefaced by a panegyric (*medīḥa*) of Sultān Murād IV, the Shaikh al-Islām Es'ad Efendi and the two Ṣadrs of Rūm and Anatolia: Ghānī-zāde and 'Azmi-zāde; 4. *Ghazawāt-i Maslama*: the wars of religion waged by the Omaiyyad Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik against the Greeks and Byzantium. Maslama on his different campaigns had advanced as far as Constantinople, which he besieged; on this occasion he built the 'Arab Mosque in Galata. The book is taken from a work of Muḥyi al-Dīn. The *Khamsa* was twice printed (Bulāk 1255 and Constantinople 1285).

Nergisi also left a collection of 50 letters: *Inshā'* or *Münshā'āt*, which were collected by Shaikh Mehmed b. Mehmed Shaikhī, the continuator of the *Shakā'ik al-Nu'māniye*.

Nergisi also wrote a historical work: *Waṣl al-kāmil fī Aḥwāl al-Waṣir al-'ādil*, five *waṣf* on the history of the governorship of the warlike Bosniak Murteza Paṣha, Paṣha of Ofen, who died in 1636; this was written in Banyaluka in 1038 (1628). The holograph of his work is in the Enderūn-i Humāyūn Library in the Rewān Kōshki. No work exists from his brief tenure of the office of imperial historiographer.

Nergisi was also a great calligrapher particularly celebrated for his speed in writing. There are works written by him in several libraries.

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NESH'ET KHÖDJA SULAIMĀN, an Ottoman poet. He was born in Adrianople in 1148 (1735), the son of the poet Aḥmad Rafi' Efendi, then in exile; the latter is known as *Muṣāhib-i Shahryārī*. With his father, who had regained the sultān's favour by writing a *sharkh*, which met with general approval, he came to Constantinople. He also accompanied his father on a journey to the Hūdjāz and the young Hādjdjī, on his way back, joined the Mewlewī order in Ḳonya. After his father's death, he devoted himself to study, especially Persian, in order to understand the *Methnewī*. In Persian, which he came to love passionately, he attained a high degree of perfection with the result that he had more pupils than an ordinary school in his house in Mollā Gūrānī, where he taught Persian and expounded the *Methnewī* (*Methnewī-Khānīk*). He enjoyed great prestige among the people. Later he attached himself to the Naḫshbandī Shaikh Brusewī Emin Efendi. He held a fief and therefore took part in 1182 (1768) in the Russian campaign. He could use the sword as well as the pen. Nesh'et died in 1222 (1807) and was buried outside the Top Kapu.

He received the nom de plume of Nesh'et from Djūdī. Nesh'et was a moderate poet but an admirable teacher. No one would say an unkind word about him and they winked at his smoking the *čibuk* which was otherwise forbidden. He wrote poetry in Turkish and in Persian. Many of his pupils far surpassed him, such as Ghālib Dede. He left a *Dirwān* which was printed in two parts in Bulāk (1252 = 1836). His *Makhlāṣ-nāme's* (about 20 in the *Dirwān*) are distinctive in character; these are poems in which he bestowed epithets upon gifted pupils. In addition he left writings on the Naḫshiye: *Tūfān-i Ma'rifet*; *Tarḡamat al-Ishk*; *Maslak al-Anwār wa-Manba' al-Asrār*. His *Terdjeme-i Sharḥ-i dū Bait-i Mollā Djāmī* was printed at Constantinople in 1263. A biography of him by his pupil Pertew Efendi which was continued by Emin Efendi is said to exist.

Bibliography: Brusall Mehmed Tahir, '*Othmānlī Müellifleri*, ii. 461; Mu'allim Nādji, *Medjmu'a*, No. 8, p. 74—76; do., '*Othmānlī Shā'irleri*, p. 64—70; *Khazine-i Funūn*, Istanbul 1312, ii. 230 (*Eslāf*); Thureiyā, *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 552; Sāmī, *Ḳāmus al-A'lām*, vi. 4576; Mehmed Djelāl, '*Othmānlī Edebiyāt Nümūneleri*, Istanbul 1312, p. 263; Flügel, *Die arabischen... Hss... zu Wien*, i. 686.

(MENZEL)

NESHRI. MEHEMMED, an Ottoman historian, with the nom de plume (*makhlas*) of Neshri; his origin is not definitely known. According to Ewliyā Celebi (*Siyāhetnāma*, i. 247), he belonged to German-eli [q.v.]. 'Alī, *Kunh al-Akhbār*, v. 225 sketches the career of a certain Mewlānā Mehemmed b. Neshri among the 'ulamā' of Murād II. According to him, the latter came at an early age to Brussa, studied there at the Sultān Medrese, was appointed *müderres* there and died in Brussa. In view of the rarity of the name — indeed it is not otherwise known —, it is probable that this Mehemmed b. Neshri was the grandfather of the historian. As to the latter we know only that he was a teacher in Brussa and it may be assumed that he died there in 926 (1520).

Neshri wrote under the title *Djihān-numā* a history of the world in six parts, of which only the sixth, dealing with Ottoman history, seems to have survived. This, usually called *Ta'rikh al-i 'Othmān*, is obviously a compilation but the question is still unsettled whether Neshri was the compiler or whether he copied a compilation already in existence in order to add it as a sixth part (*hism*) to his own compilation on the history of the world (cf. P. Wittek, in *M. O. G.*, i. 130, who decides for the second hypothesis). There are suspicious echoes of the work of 'Ashīk Pasha-Zāde and of Bihishti's Chronicle (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 43 sq.) and it should perhaps be investigated whether the *meddāh* Neshri made a popular version of Bihishti's *Ta'rikh* which was written in an elevated style, or the stylist Bihishti rewrote the work of Neshri in elegant language. The sixth part of the *Djihān-numā* is divided into three sections (*ṭabaqāt*): *Ewlad-i Oghuz*, *Saldjuks of Rūm* and the *House of 'Othmān*. The history of the Ottomans is narrated down to the time of Bāyazid II; the work comes down only to the year 1485, that is, as far as his sources go, of which one went up to 1485. He concludes with a *qaṣida* in praise of the ruling sultān in the middle of the reign of Bāyazid II. Neshri had considerable influence on contemporary and later historiography and is frequently cited as a source, e.g. by 'Alī, Sa'd al-Dīn, *Ṣolāk-zāde* and *Münedjdīm-bāshī*. A full survey of the contents of the *Ta'rikh* of Neshri is given by Wittek, in *M. O. G.*, i. 77–150. It has so far not been published. There are a number of good manuscripts in existence, e.g. in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (*Suppl. Turc.* No. 153, a very handsome MS.) and No. 1183 of the Charles Schefer collection, and in Vienna, *Nat. Bibl.*, No. 986 (cf. Flügel, *Kat.*, ii. 209). Specimens of his text have often been published; see a list of them in F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 39.

Bibliography: Cf. the sources collected by F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 39, notably J. H. Mordtmann, in *Isl.*, x. (1920), p. 159 sqq.; xii. (1923), p. 168 sqq.; also J. v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, i. 310. (FRANZ BABINGER)

NESİMİ, SAIYID 'IMĀD AL-DĪN, known as Nesīmī, an early Ottoman poet and mystic, believed to have come from Nesīm near Baghdad, whence his name Nesīmī. As a place of this name no longer exists, it is not certain whether the *laqab* should not be derived simply from *nasīm* "zephyr, breath of wind". That Nesīmī was of Turkoman origin seems to be fairly certain

although the "Saiyid" before his name also points to Arab blood. Turkish was as familiar to him as Persian; for he wrote in both languages. Arabic poems are also ascribed to him. Little is known of his life; it fell in the reign of Murād I (1359–1390) as his biographers tell us. He was at first a member of the school of *Shaiikh Shibli* (247–334 = 861–945) but about 804 (1401) he became an enthusiastic follower of Faḍl Allāh Ḥurūfī [q.v.] with whom he was undoubtedly personally acquainted. He championed the views of his master with ardour and at the risk of his life. The poet Ref'i, author (811 = 1408) of the *Beshāret-nāme* [copies in London, cf. Rieu, *Cat.*, p. 164 sq. and Vienna, cf. Flügel, *Katal.*, p. 461 and 462 (two MSS., the second more complete)], and presumably a *Gendj-nāme* (in Vienna, cf. Flügel, *Kat.*, i. 720) was his pupil. A certain *Shāh Khāndān* who was a dervish mystic is mentioned as his full brother. Nesīmī met a cruel death in 820 (1417–1418) in Aleppo where he was flayed for his heretical poems on a *fetwā* of the extremely fanatical muftī. He is considered the greatest poet and preacher of the Ḥurūfī sect. His work consists of two collections of poems, one of which, the rarer, is in Persian and the other in Turkish. The Turkish *Diwān* consists of 250–300 ghazels and about 150 quatrains, but the existing MSS. differ considerably from the printed edition (Stambul 1298 = 1881). No scholarly edition has so far been undertaken. The Persian *Diwān* has not been examined at all. Nesīmī's spiritual influence on the dervish system of the earlier Ottoman empire was considerable. The pro-'Alid guilds in particular honour Nesīmī as one of their masters, testimony to whose far-reaching influence is found even in the earlier European travellers like Giov. Antonio Menavino (c. 1540; cf. F. Babinger, in *Isl.*, xi. 19, note 1, from which it is evident that Nicolas de Nicolay copied him and therefore cannot be regarded as an independent source, as Gibb, *H. O. P.*, i. 356 sq. thought) and Sir Paul Ricaut (xviith century; cf. Gibb, *H. O. P.*, i. 357 sqq.). Nesīmī's importance as a poet and mystic can only be estimated and realised in connection with a thorough study of the older Ḥurūfī texts, among which a most important one is that mentioned but not recognised by W. Pertsch, *Pers. Handschr. Berlin*, p. 264 sq. No. 221 by Saiyid 'Alī al-'Alā (d. 822 = 1419) because it might show the connection of the Ḥurūfiya with the Bektāshīya. Nesīmī's poems were made popular in earlier times, especially by the wandering *Kāendar* dervishes [q.v.] and were known to every one.

Bibliography: Gibb, *H. O. P.*, i. 343 sqq.; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, i. 124 sq.; also the Ottoman biographers of poets who however contribute practically nothing to the life history of Nesīmī. (FRANZ BABINGER)

NESTORIANS. The Christian community (*millet*) which we know as Nestorians is at the present day better known under the name of *'ashīrat* or *djilu*. Down to the war of 1914 they lived in the central part of Kurdistan which lies between Mawsil [see MÖŞUL], Wān and Urmiya [see URMİYA]. Their main nucleus was represented by the highland Nestorians, in practice independent, living in the inaccessible regions of the highlands on the middle course of the Great Zāb, Tiyārī, Tkūma, Tkhub, Djilū, Dizz, Uri, Salabekan, Bāz, etc. Outside of this national centre the Nestorians are

found scattered in enclaves among the Muḥammadan population, Kurd and Persian, of the adjoining districts: Gawar, Tergawar, Mergawar, Shamdinān [q. v.]; on the plateau of Urmiya (some sixty villages), in this town itself; finally in the north at Salamas, Bashkal'a Khoshāb and in the south in Mawṣil and around it (Alkosh etc.).

Geography. It may be useful here to touch on some of the salient features of the Nestorian country in the strict sense, which is but very little known. We mean by this the area on both sides of the middle course of the Great Zāb, in the part where it describes an arc towards the east, between 37° and 37° 30' N., 43° 30' and 44° E. In Layard (*Nineveh*, i.) we have a description of the Nestorian districts on the right bank: the upper Tiya'ri with Čumbi and the greater part of the Lower Tiya'ri with Ashita and Lizan. We shall give here a general account of those on the left bank, namely, going from N. to S. and from W. to E.: Dizz, Kiu, the eastern part of the Lower Tiya'ri, Tal, Walto, Tkūma (with Tkhub); further to the east, Djilū, Bāz and lastly Ištazīn. All these districts lie in the folds of the massif which the Turks know by the general name of Djilū Dāgh, but which for the natives has a number of summits. This massif of Djilū Dāgh to some degree forms a curve in the inverse direction of the arc of the Great Zāb.

History. The teaching of the Nestorians, who were very active missionaries, was at one time very widely disseminated in Asia. An inscription in Chinese and Syriac was discovered at Singanfu. At Travancore, in South India, there is still a Nestorian community in existence. It was under the Sāsānians that the Nestorians played an important part. It is true that under Shāpūr II (309-379), Yazdegird I (399-420) and Bahrām V (420-438) severe persecutions took place for various reasons, of which the extraordinary spread of the sect was not the least. On the other hand, purely political reasons, fear of Byzantine influence, made the Persian government distrustful of them. We know for example, that the Byzantine emperor demanded from Bahrām V and Khusrāw I the free exercise of the Christian religion. Permanent good relations between the Nestorian Church and the state therefore date only from the declaration of independence of the Eastern Syrian church under a Catholicos of Seleucia with a dyophysite confession of faith. The most flourishing period of Nestorianism was therefore in the reign of Hormizd IV and at the beginning of the reign of Khusrāw II, i. e. from 578 to 605 A. D. Under the influence of Gabriel of Siggār, who had gone over to the monophysites, Khusrāw II began to persecute the Nestorians; one result was that from 609 to 628, the year of Khusrāw's death, the position of Catholicos remained vacant. Two events in this period are of special importance to us. The first was the establishment of Christianity in Central Kurdistān, where we still find direct and indirect traces of it at every step: churches, monasteries, traditions, place-names. In the fifth century the faith gained ground daily among the people of the high plateaus of Irān proper and among the Kurds. Pethion (d. 447) conducted a very successful missionary campaign in these mountains, which was crowned by his martyrdom. Emulating him, Saba, the "teacher of the heathen", went among the Kurds, who were sun-worshippers.

His eloquence supported by numerous miracles gained many converts (J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse sous la Dynastie Sassanide*, Paris 1904). Let us not forget this first Nestorian advance into Kurdistān. The oldest Nestorian churches in Central Kurdistān date from the fourth and fifth centuries. These are Mār Zaya at Djilū; Mār Bīshu at Īl; Mār Saba (ruins) at Kočānis; Mārī Memo at Oramar. The monastery and church of Mār Saba at Ashita in Tiya'ri were also held in great veneration but we do not know their date. Secondly we must note here how relations were established between the Nestorians and Islām (Tor Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*, Upsala 1926). The part played by the Nestorians at a certain period under the Sāsānians explains the conversion of the Yaman to Nestorianism at its conquest by the Persian general Wahriz in 597. It was in the Nestorian form that Christianity penetrated into Arabia in the zone of Persian influence, i. e. from Ḥaḍramawt to Palmyra. We know the names of six Nestorian bishoprics on the eastern shore of Arabia. The first to be founded was that of 'Omān (acts of Councils 424, 544, 576, 676). A Christian community on the island of Soḳoṭrā used to receive its priests from the Catholics of Persia. Relations with Persia were established by sea. By the time of Muḥammad the South Arabian church was already Nestorian. We have definite evidence of this in the fact that Saiyid, prince of Nedjran, came with the bishop Ishō'yāb to Muḥammad to seek favours. Bar Hebraeus who records the incident adds that the Prophet gave them a document ordering the Arabs to see that no injury was done to the Christians and to help them to rebuild their churches. The priests and monks were to be exempt from the poll-tax, which besides was not in general to exceed 4 *zuzē* for the poor and 12 for the state. According to another source, the bishop only wrote to Muḥammad. A passage in a letter of Ishō'yāb III (647-648) shows that the relations between Arabs and Nestorians were very good. This may be attributed to the fact that the Christology of the Nestorians was much more acceptable to the Muslims than that of the monophysites. Every Nestorian church in the east possessed its own version of the letter of protection alleged to have been given by the Prophet (cf. for example that given by George Dav. Malech in his *History of the Syrian Nation and the old Evangelical-Apostolic Church of the East*). In any case this letter did not prevent (see below) the proclamation of the *djihad* from which the Nestorians later suffered so much.

The life of the Nestorian Church during the period from the Muḥammadan conquest to the establishment of the Mongols need not detain us here, as it is part of the religious history of the Christian sects. We need only mention as particularly concerning Āḍharbāidjān that the Jacobite and Nestorian rites were rivals there. Thus from 630 to 1265 we have a line of Jacobite bishops. We know also (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, III/i. 707) of Nestorian bishoprics both to the east of Lake Urmiya and also in the country of Lake Wān and Central Kurdistān. It is not always easy to identify the names found there. We have good evidence of the antiquity of Nestorianism in Salamas where there is in the burial ground of Khosrāwā an epitaph of the viith century recording the name of Khosro Eskolāyā "the student Khusrāw" (cf.

Duval, *Dialecte néo-araméen*, 1883). Under the Mongols we find at first that the Nestorian priests (*arkaun*) were treated with consideration at the taking of Baghdād (Hammer, *Ichan*, ii. 152). We know also that Hülāgū's wife was a Christian: at the taking of Arbīl, the see of an important Nestorian metropolitan (Ādharbāidjān was also under it), the lances of the Mongol horsemen bore little crosses. Later, in proportion as the Mongols became converted to Islām, the Nestorians became subjected to persecution, and particularly after the invasion of Timūr they sought refuge in the mountains of Kurdistān from which they did not begin to emerge till the beginning of the xvth century when they spread eastwards towards the region of Urmiya and S. E. towards Mawṣil; Duval (*op. cit.*, p. 9, note 4) gives notes on the different residences of the Nestorian patriarchs after the taking of Baghdād in 1258. It was under the Patriarch Simeon IV in 1450, that an innovation was introduced, making the episcopate hereditary; this produced a schism in the Nestorian community in 1551 when Sulakha was elected in opposition to Simeon Bar Mama. From this dates the term "Chaldaeans" henceforth applied to these Nestorians who recognised the supremacy of Rome, while English and American writers speak constantly of the "Assyrians", and lastly the Nestorians themselves like to be called *Sūriāi*. In Russian the name used is *aisori*. In the second half of the xviii century, the bishop Mār Yūsif recognised the authority of Rome and received the title of Catholic Patriarch of Babylon and Chaldaea, while one of his near relatives, elected patriarch of the Nestorians and remaining faithful to this rite, was enthroned under the name, henceforth hereditary, of Mār Shim'un and at once set out for the mountains of Central Kurdistān, where his residence was sometimes at Kučanis and sometimes at Djulāmerk. Thus originated this quasi-autonomous community of Nestorian highlanders in which an ecclesiastical authority exists alongside of a purely tribal organisation. Indeed while the supreme power is in the hands of a hereditary Mār Shim'un (passing from uncle to nephew) having the title of *patriarka d-madenkha*, who was consecrated patriarch by the Metropolitan Mār Hnan'ishu, living in Dera Resh at Shamdinān, each tribe (*shahṭa*) had alongside of a bishop (*abūna*), the ecclesiastical chief, a *mālik* or lay chief, distinguished by peacock feathers fixed on his conical felt hat, a characteristic feature of dress. The custom of the men arranging their hair in little pigtails may also be mentioned. The *mālik* had power to declare war on another tribe and to conclude peace.

The tribal organisation and mode of life of these highlanders have caused some writers to give them the name of "Christian Kurds" (Garzoni, Lerch).

A. Wigram in the introduction to his *History of the Assyrian Church* thinks that some at least of the Christians of Hakkāri [cf. KURDS] are of Kurd origin although they deny it vigorously. On the other hand, there are Kurd tribes who remember that they were once Christians. Other writers (Grant), led astray perhaps by the theocratic aspect of Nestorian society, the names and certain Biblical traditions, see in them evidence in support of the hypothesis that the Nestorians are the descendants of the ten tribes of Israel. We know however which actually are the Jewish communities in Kurdistān, quite distinct from the Christian groups

in dress and customs. Only their language is also a Neo-Aramaic dialect. — The Highland Nestorians annually pay Mār Shim'un a contribution called *rish d-shita*. The arrears due to the Turkish treasury were simply left to mount up. Cuinet (p. 749—751), speaking of the autonomous tribes, gives the total of arrears as already 160,000 £T in his time. There was besides somewhere in the Nestorian country (cf. Lalayan, who gives a photograph) a "rock of the collector of taxes" marking the limit beyond which this official never risked going. — The relations of the Nestorian hillmen with their Kurdish neighbours were no worse than those of the highlanders with one another usually are. The interest of the tribe came before every consideration of religion, so that *ad hoc* alliances could be concluded between the Kurds and the Nestorians for joint action against their co-religionists.

"The grass grows quickly over the blood spilt in a just battle". A kind of fair play is therefore the ruling principle of the inter-tribal code. There are, it is true, exceptional cases. The pan-Islāmism of 'Abd al-Hamid had its unpleasant repercussions in Kurdistān; the Turkish officials appointed there after the revolution of 1907 only complicated the position still further. Since the affairs of the Nestorians and Kurds were conducted on a tribal basis, we find the door of the patriarch's residence open to Kurds and Nestorians indifferently, who come to settle their disputes and hospitality is offered to all alike. On the other hand, we find the Nestorians seeking the good offices of Shaikh Salim of Barzan known as the "Christian Shaikh", who was executed by the Turks in Mawṣil at the beginning of the War.

The Nestorians and the Djihād. Even before the official outbreak of hostilities between Russia and Turkey, in August 1914, the patriarch Mār Shim'un was invited by Djewdet Bey, the *wālī* of Wān, to come to see him. Presents were lavished upon him and assurances given that all the grievances of the Nestorians would be redressed. As a result of the proclamation of the *djihād* however, the atmosphere became heavy in Kurdistān. In November, Turkey entered the war and the persecution of the Nestorians of Albāk (Bashkal'a) began at once. In Persia fighting broke out between the Christians of the Urmiya region and the Bekzāde Kurds. At the end of 1914, the Russians evacuated Urmiya and Salamas. Those Christians who did not save themselves in time by going to Djulfā perished in large numbers. As to the Nestorians of the highlands, although the massacres and deportations of Armenians were at their height, the Turks endeavoured to attach the Patriarch to their side and to secure the loyalty of the Nestorians. Complete educational freedom, good rifles, subsidies and grants to the Patriarch and to the bishops and māliks, all these things were promised in vain. Mār Shim'un retired to the particularly inaccessible district of Dizz from which the Patriarch's personal bodyguard had always been recruited. About this time an "accidental" shot killed Mār Shim'un's uncle Nestorus, who was, it was said, urging a more conciliatory policy towards the Turks. After an interview, which decided matters, with the Russian commander at Muhāndjik, near Salamas, the Patriarch on May 10, 1915, issued the order for mobilisation. The fortune of war resulted in the Nestorians, at first encouraged by the Russian successes in Wān and Urmiya at the beginning

of the summer, being left to their own resources. To be brief, with the help of the Barzāni Kurds, the Turks sacked Tkhūma, Tiya'ri, Djilū and Bāz. We may note especially the destruction of the irrigation canals exactly as was done in Sargon's campaign in the same region. The famous church of Mār Zaia at Djilū, of the fourth century, was desecrated for the first time in its long history. Interesting *ex voto*, Chinese vases, brought there in early days by missionaries, disappeared. The inviolability enjoyed by Mār Zaia is said to have been due to a letter guaranteeing it written on a piece of cloth, attributed to the Prophet (cf. above). After this disaster the Nestorians withdrew to their summer pastures, at a height of 10,000 feet. This final trial was a painful one. Harassed by the Kurds, with insufficient food and no salt, the Nestorians nevertheless held out. The Patriarch, taking refuge on the plateau of Shina, endured privations which were even harder for him who could not eat meat (even the mother of the patriarch apparent must not eat meat). The Nestorian *ra'iat* of Gawar were massacred at this time under the orders of Nūri Bey. Finally in October 1915 a skilful retreat was carried through. The Kurds were actually holding the approaches to the Persian frontier. A detour was effected towards Albāk in the north via Kotranis (Berwar) and the bridges were burned after crossing the Great Zāb. The Kurds succeeded however in threatening the retreat by using the natural bridge of Hezekian, but were driven back by Mālik Khoshāba of Tiya'ri whose bravery is destined to become legendary. In the month of November the exodus of the Nestorians was completed and they were safe within the Russian lines at Salamas. The Russian authorities organised assistance for the refugees, who to the number of 40,000 were settled in the Persian districts of Khōi Salamas and Urmiya where they remained till 1918. After the departure of the Russians as a result of the revolution, the Nestorians formed detachments with the help of Russian munitions and instructors and opposed the advance into Ādharbāidjān of the Turks led by 'Alī Ihsān Pāshā. Towards the end of the summer of 1918, however, their munitions being exhausted, the Nestorians left the region of Urmiya via Suldūz-Sain Kafā-Bidjār for Hamadhān where the English forces then were. From there the refugees were sent to the concentration camp of Baḳuba near Baghdad. The Patriarch was no longer alive. Led into an ambush by the Shikāk Kurd chief Ismā'il Āghā Simkō, Mār Shim'ūn was treacherously assassinated at Kohne Shahr on March 4, 1918.

The Nestorian community is now living in scattered groups in the 'Irāk, Persia, Syria etc. The post-war history of the Nestorians is closely bound up with the problem of the wilāyet of Mawṣil, finally attached to the 'Irāk. The line adopted for the northern boundary of the wilāyet in question, however, leaves the Nestorian districts to Turkey and it is very unlikely that they can return there. The martial qualities of the Nestorians were used by the British authorities who raised four battalions from them, which were very useful especially at the beginning of their establishment in the 'Irāk.

In conclusion a few words should be said about the Nestorians of the region of Lake Urmiya. Those of Salamas believe (Duval, *op. cit.*) that they are aborigines converted in the early

centuries of our era. In 1883 there were however only fifteen Nestorian families, the remaining 3,000 having become Roman Catholics under the bishop Mār Ishō'yāb (d. 1789). As to the Nestorians of the plateau of Urmiya, they preserve a tradition according to which their immediate ancestors came down from the mountains five or six centuries ago, which corresponds very closely to historic fact. The Nestorians of Urmiya have been the object of lively competition among the missions, of which the Presbyterian was first established (1832). The Roman Catholic Lazarists followed in 1863 and finally an Orthodox mission, the brotherhood of Cyril and Methodius, began work in 1905. At one time shortly before the War, there were also Anglican and Catherian missions. The work of the missions has made quite appreciable modifications not only in the beliefs of this ancient Christian community but also in its life and customs. Although little information has been preserved on the subject, there is reason to believe that the Nestorians of Urmiya also lived under the authority of *māliks*, who were recognised by the Shāhs as the official representatives of the community. We have seen a number of *firmāns* preserved in the family of Dr. Johanna Malik. They were administered according to the old collection of canon law called *Sunhados* of which Shamaṣha Yūsif Kaleta published a new edition in 1916 at the American Mission Press.

This is probably only one of the versions of the Synodicon, which we know in the Abbé Chabot's edition with its wealth of learning. In the eyes of the Muslim authorities the Nestorians were *zimmi* (*dhimmi*; cf. *dhimma*) and their position was regulated by Muḥammadan law. With the coming of the missionaries, the position gradually changed. The *māliks* were replaced by *millet bāshi*, each dependent on his respective mission. The Persian governor had to appoint a *serperest*, an official whose special duty was to deal with foreigners and those under their protection. During the War a national council called *moṭwa* was organised, which dealt not only with the defence of Christian interests before the local authorities but, especially after the addition to their numbers of the Nestorians from Turkey, acquired a certain political character but later disappeared in the general débâcle. — In conclusion it should be mentioned that in the present article we have confined ourselves mainly to the Nestorian highlanders of Central Kurdistan. The historical phenomenon that we have been led to study in this connection is far from being so limited and simple, for it demands not only consideration of linguistic problems, the ramifications of which go back to a remote past through Aramaic, but also of facts of ethnology even less known which are implied in the idea of Nestorianism. Finally the geographical area is also enormous if we remember for example the epigraphic material from Russian Central Asia.

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NEW'Ī, YAḤYĀ B. PIR 'ALĪ B. NAṢŪḤ, an Ottoman theologian and poet, with the nom de plume (*makhlas*) of New'ī, was born in Malghara (Rumelia), the son of *Shaiikh* Pir 'Alī in 940 (1533). Up to his tenth year he was taught by his learned father and then became a pupil of Karamānī-zāde Meḥammed Efendi. His fellow pupils were Bākī, the poet [q. v.] and Sa'd al-Din, the famous historian [q. v.]. He was an intimate friend

of the former. He joined the 'Ulemā', became müderris of Gallipoli in 973 (1565) and after filling several other offices became a teacher in the Medrese of Mihr u-Māh Sultān. In 998 (1598) he was appointed Kādī of Baghdad but before he could take up office Sultān Murād III appointed him tutor to his son Muṣṭafā and to the princes Bāyazid, 'Oṭmān and 'Abd Allāh. When after Murād III's death (1003 = 1595) the usual slaughter of the princes deprived him of all the charges, he retired completely from public life and lived on a pension granted him by the new sultān. He died at Stambul in Dhu 'l-Kā'da 1007 (June 1599) and was buried in the court of the *Shaiikh* Wefā' mosque. His son was New'ī-zāde 'Aṭā'ī [q. v.].

New'ī was a man of great learning and his encyclopædic knowledge was most clearly revealed in the best known of his works, the *Nat'īdj al-Funūn wa-Maḥāsin al-Mutūn*, in which he surveyed the twelve most important branches of learning; on it cf. [J. v. Hammer] *Encyklopädische Übersicht der Wissenschaften des Orients*, part i. (Leipzig 1804), p. 22 sqq. and the German translation of the story of Shādān and Beshir, *ibid.*, p. 24 sqq. which forms the concluding section of this work. Brūsālī Meḥammed Ṭāhir gives a list of other prose works in his '*Oṭmānī Mü'ellifler*', iii. 437 sq. with references to the libraries in which they are. In poetry New'ī imitated the style of his contemporary Bākī without however reaching his level. His poems which were collected in a scarce *Diwān* (MS. in Stambul, Ḥamīdiye library), lack ease and betray too readily the learned author who frequently makes his work difficult to understand with unusual words and obscure allusions. He tries his skill in different forms of verse, the kaṣīda, ghazal, and methnewī, without however attaining popularity in any one of them. His fame as a poet is completely overshadowed by that of his contemporary and friend Bākī. New'ī's high position as an author he owes to his learned work, particularly the already mentioned encyclopædia, which was very popular, as is evident from the numerous MSS. still in existence in European collections (e.g. Berlin, Bologna, Dresden, Leyden, London [3 copies], Upsala, Vienna). A *Sulaimān-nāme* by him (Paris, *Bib. Nat.*, cod. reg. 44, Cat. N^o. 308 und F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 76) does not seem to be mentioned by his biographers. His son New'ī-zāde 'Aṭā'ī wrote a very full life of him (p. 418—27 of the *dhail* to Ṭashköprü-zāde's work).

Bibliography: J. v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, iii. 108; Gibb, *H. O. P.*, iii. 171 sqq.; Ḥājjdī Khālifa, *Fedh-leke*, i. 120 sqq., also the biographies of poets by Kīnall-zāde and 'Ahdī.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

NEW'Ī-ZĀDE 'AṬĀ'Ī, ('AṬĀ' ALLĀH, an Ottoman author and poet, better known as 'Aṭā'ī with the nom de plume New'ī-zāde, i.e. son of New'ī, was born in 991 (1583) in Stambul, as the son of the celebrated New'ī [q. v.]. After the death of his father from whom he received his early education, he placed himself under Kaḏzāde Faīḏ Allāh Efendi, the compiler of an anthology, and later under Akhi-zāde 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Efendi. He then joined the 'Ulemā' but did not attain any of the higher offices. After becoming a *mulāzim*, he was appointed a judge and served in this capacity in a number of Rumelian towns like Lofça, Silistria, Ruṣṣuk, Tirnovo, Monastir (Bitolj),

Trikkala and Üsküb (Skoplje). Soon after his retirement from this sphere of activity he died in 1041 (1634) in his native city of Stambul; here he was buried beside his father.

'Atā'ī is best known for his continuation (*dhail*) in Turkish of Tashköprüzade's *Shakā'ik al-Nu'māniya*. This work, entitled *Hadā'ik al-Hakā'ik fī Takmilat al-Shakā'ik* contains, in addition to a supplement to the *Shakā'ik* in which a place is given to many scholars of the time of Sulaimān and Selim II, overlooked by Tashköprüzade, the biographies of Ottoman 'Ulemā' and dervish *shaiḫs* down to the reign of Murād IV (on the contents see F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 172). Death prevented the author from continuing his work, which was taken up by others. 'Atā'ī's book contains 999 biographies. It is written in a very artificial style permeated with Persian, which was popular at the time. 'Atā'ī also enjoyed a great reputation as a poet. He wrote a quintet (*Khamsa*) on the contents of which see Gibb, *H.O.P.*, iii. 234 sqq. The *Hadā'ik al-Hakā'ik*, manuscripts of which are also common (cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 172 to which may now be added Stambul, Lālā Ismā'īl, N^o. 339), was printed at Stambul (15 + 771 pp. 2°) in 1268. The poetry still awaits a printer. 'Atā'ī's significance as a prose writer is much greater than as a poet.

Bibliography: Cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 171 sq. and the works there given, especially J. v. Hammer, *G.O.D.*, iii. 475; Gibb, *H.O.P.*, iii. 232 sqq.; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 427 (where he is wrongly, according to F. Wüstenfeld, *G.A.W.*, called Muhammad); Hādjīdjī Khalifa, *Fedhlike*, ii. 168; Riḍā, *Tedhkire*, p. 70 sq.; Muhibbī, *Khulāṣa*, Cairo 1284, iv. 263.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

NEWRES, the name of two Ottoman poets.

1. 'ABD AL-RAZZĀK known as Newres, or more accurately Newres-i Qadim, "Newres the Elder", to distinguish him from 'Othmān Newres [q. v.], came from Kirkük (near Baghdād) and was probably of Kurdish origin. He seems however to have come to Stambul at an early age to prosecute his studies. Here he became a *müderris* but in the year 1159 (1746) entered upon a legal career. According to the *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, he held the office of *kādī* in Sarajevo and Kutahya. His sharp tongue which found particular expression in daring and malicious chronograms (*tawāriḫ*) earned him banishment to Rethymno (Crete) along with the poet Hashmet and then to Brussa; he was later, according to Wāṣif (*Ta'riḫ*, p. 211), sent back to Kutahya. In any case he died in Brussa in Shawwāl 1175 (May 1762) of a broken heart and was buried in the cemetery opposite the entrance to the mosque of Pir Üftade Muhammad the founder of the order of the *Djalwatiya*. 'Abd al-Razzāk Newres composed a *Diwān* in Persian and Turkish (pr. Stambul 1290 and we believe 1304), and also a history of the war with Nādir Shāh in 1143 (1730) in which he took part on the staff of Hekim-Oghlu 'Alī Pasha. The little book called *Tebriṭiye-i Hekim-Oghlu 'Alī Pasha* is written in ornate language and is of no historical value. The fair copy in the author's hand is preserved in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (Cod. Or. 8° 2186). Newres also enjoyed the reputation of being a distinguished *munshi*. Excerpts from his *Inshā'* are given by J. v. Hammer in his *G.O.R.*, ix. 643 sq. His *Diwān* is called *Mabāligḥ*

al-Hikām which gives the year 1172 (1758) for its completion (cf. however a similarly titled work in Vienna: Flügel, *Cat.*, iii. 486, N^o. 1991!).

Bibliography: Cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 294 sq. with further references. The promised very full bio-bibliography of Newres Efendi by Ibn al-Amin Maḥmūd Kemāl Bey has not yet appeared (1933).

2. 'OTHMĀN, called Newres or, to distinguish him from his older namesake, Newres-i Djedid, came from Chios. He held several military posts in the capital and died there in 1293 (1876) in retirement. He is buried in the Qarāja Ahmed cemetery in Skutari. His collected poems have been twice printed, Stambul 1257 and Stambul 1290 (by Yūsuf Kāmil Pasha) (*Diwān-i 'Othmān Newres*). In 1302 there was published at the suggestion of 'Abd al-Karīm Nādir Pasha in Stambul under the title *Ether-i Nādir* specimens of his prose and verse. A Turkish translation of the *Gulistan* by him exists in MS. 'Othmān Newres had a very thorough command of the three languages of Islām and wrote poetry in all three. His work however is hardly of permanent value.

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(FRANZ BABINGER)

NICEA. [See IZNİK.]

NIEBLA (AR. LABLA), a little town in the S. W. of Spain, 45 miles W. of Seville on the right bank of the Rio Tinto. Now much decayed, it has less than 2,000 inhabitants and is in the judicial district of Moguer, in the province of Huelva. It is the ancient Ilipla. In the Visigothic period it was the see of a bishop. In the Muslim period it enjoyed considerable prosperity. It formed part of the district of al-Sharaf (*Ajarafe*) and was also called al-Hamrā', "the red", no doubt from the colour of its ramparts and of the water of its river. It was particularly an olive-growing centre. The gentian was also cultivated there and deposits of alum and of sulphate of iron were worked.

Niebla was taken in 94 (713) by 'Abd al-'Aziz, son of Mūsā b. Nuṣair [q. v.]. In 149 (766) it was the starting point of the rising of Sa'īd al-Maṭarī al-Yahṣubī who seized Seville but was soon defeated and slain by the troops of 'Abd al-Rahmān I. The town in 230 (844) suffered from a visit of the Normans (*Madjūs*; q. v.). In 284 (897) it rebelled against the Umayyads: it was however retaken by force of arms in 304 (917) by order of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nāṣir by his general Badr b. Aḥmad. At the time of the fall of the Caliphate, it became the capital of a little kingdom formed in 414 (1024) by Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Yahyā al-Yahṣubī, who took the *laḡab* of Tādj al-Dawla, which also comprised the lands of Huelva and of Djabal al-'Uyūn (Gibraleon). This prince died in 433 (1041) and was succeeded by his brother Muhammad 'Izz al-Dawla. The 'Abbāsid sovereign of Seville al-Mu'taḍid [q. v.] soon displayed his desire to annex the principality of Niebla and made several raids into it. 'Izz al-Dawla had to abandon his capital and take refuge with the lord of Cordova Abu 'l-Walid Muhammad b. Djahwar in 443 (1051) leaving the power to his nephew Abū Naṣr Faṭḥ b. Khalaf b. Yahyā al-Yahṣubī Nāṣir al-Dawla, who at first bought peace from al-Mu'taḍid by paying him tribute but was forced two years later in 445 (1053) to abandon his

principality to the ruler of Seville and join his uncle in Cordova. Niebla passed a little later to the Almoravids [q.v.]. When the power of this dynasty was beginning to collapse in Spain, it became the headquarters of another rebel, Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Biṭrawshī (or al-Baṭrūdī), who in 540 (1146) finally submitted to the Almohad general Barrāz al-Masūfī and went five years later to Salā on the summons of 'Abd al-Mu'min. A few years later Yūsuf al-Biṭrawshī, maintained as governor of Niebla by the Almohads, rebelled and the town was retaken in 549 (1154) by the governor of Seville and of Cordova, Yahyā b. Yaghmur, who executed 8,000 of the inhabitants. This massacre was condemned by 'Abd al-Mu'min who had Yahyā brought in chains to Morocco and then exiled to Tlemcen.

Niebla remained under Muslim rule until 1257, when it was taken after six months siege by Alfonso X and became finally Christian.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

NIFFAR (NUFFAR), a ruined site in southern 'Irāk, in 32° 7' N. Lat. and 45° 10' East Long. (Greenw.), now in the qaḍā of 'Afek in the liwā al-Diwāniye. Niffar corresponds, as J. Oppert was the first to point out, to the town of Nippur well known from cuneiform inscriptions, one of the oldest and most important places in Babylonia. Its great importance was not political but religious, as the temple of the chief deity of the town formed a kind of central sanctuary or place of pilgrimage for the whole of Babylonia, to which almost all the important sovereigns of the period before Hammurapi, and Hammurapi himself, as well as the Kassite kings and many later rulers like Assurbanipal, dedicated gifts.

Nippur's period of greatest prosperity lay in the millenia before Hammurapi; but it remained an important city down to the last Babylonian and Achaemenid rulers and an important commercial centre with a very mixed population which gave it a somewhat cosmopolitan character. In the fifth century B.C., under Artaxerxes I and Darius II, we find in it an important business and banking house, the firm of Murashshū & Sons to whose activities many documents still bear eloquent testimony. Nippur still continued to flourish under the Seleucids and Arsacids as buildings of this period show, quite apart from the numismatic evidence. It is not directly mentioned by Greek or Roman writers, but the name of the district of Nippur may be concealed in *nipparene*, the name of a stone which Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxxvii.

10, 175) says is of Persian (i. e. presumably Parthian?) origin.

In the Babylonian Talmud Nippur appears as Niphar (נִיפָר) and Nuphar (נִיפָר); the latter form corresponds to that which is now most usual: Nuffar. In the passage in question in the Babylonian Talmud (*Yōmā*, 10a) we read: *Kalneḥ* (כַּלְנֶה) is Naphur (Nuphar) Nīnpī (? (נִינְפִי); the qualification Nīnpī (?) is obscure; Daiches' explanation in *O.L.Z.*, xi. 539 as Ninib falls to the ground as the name of this deity is now known to read Ninurta. The basis of the equation *Kalneḥ* (Gen. x. 10) = Nippur is not yet satisfactory. A Babylonian place-name Kalnū has so far not been found in cuneiform inscriptions.

Nippur was also an inhabited place in Muslim times; for example we find it mentioned in 38 (659) on the occasion of a rising against the caliph 'Alī (Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 3423, 3424) as well as during the Khāridjī troubles (*op. cit.*, ii. 929, 7); cf. also Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 275, 798 and Ibn al-Faḳīh, in *B.G.A.*, v. 210. In the later middle ages we find Niffar mentioned as a Nestorian bishopric in the chronicles of the Patriarchs (*Akhbār Faṭārika ḥursī al-Mashriq*, ed. Gismondi, Rome 1897 and 1899) of 'Amr b. Mattā (p. 83, 9, 95, 8) and of Mārī b. Sulaimān, in the period 900—1058 A.D. (cf. also Sachau, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1909, No. 1, p. 31). When the town was abandoned by its inhabitants and became completely desolate we do not know. It probably was the result of one of the Mongol invasions, that under Hülāgū or that under Timūr, which dealt their death-blow to so many flourishing places in Mesopotamia.

The ruins of Niffar are next to those of Babylon and al-Warkā' [q.v.] the most extensive in the whole of the Babylonian plain; they cover an area of almost 180 acres. The first European to visit them was W. K. Loftus who spent some time here in 1850 and came back again in 1854 (see the *Bibl.* for his report). A year later than Loftus, in Jan. 1851, Layard was in Niffar and spent two weeks digging but with little success because Layard, paying too little attention to the difference between Assyrian and Babylonian mounds, did not dig deep enough and only turned over the cemetery of a people who had settled here only in the last centuries of antiquity, under the Arsacids.

The University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia) was the first to undertake a methodical investigation of the ruins and in four expeditions from 1888 to 1900 (1888—1889, 1889—1890, 1893—1896 and 1898—1900) under the leadership of Peters, Haynes and Hilprecht carried out excavations on a large scale. On the results of this intensive work see Hilprecht's full report in *Explorations* etc. (see *Bibl.*), p. 289 sq.

On the topography of Niffar see, in addition to the descriptions by Loftus and Layard, especially Peters, *op. cit.*, ii. 104 sq.; Hilprecht, *op. cit.*, p. 540 sq. and notably Fisher, *op. cit.*; cf. also King, *op. cit.*, p. 85—86. The American expedition also found an ancient Babylonian plan of Nippur which Hilprecht, *op. cit.*, p. 518 (reproduced in Zehnfund, *op. cit.*, p. 66) published; more distinct in Fisher, *op. cit.*, pl. i. This plan has been since 1926 in the possession of the University of Jena with the rest of Hilprecht's private Assyriological collection; see Zimmern, in *Z.A.*, xxxvii. 224.

The sight of the ruins is very impressive; they rise like a range of hills in close formation from 30—60 feet above the plain, culminating in the cone of Bint al-Amīr 95 feet high, the *ziggurat* of the chief temple.

The most imposing part of the whole eastern quarter is the *ziggurat* of Im-Kharsag, still 95 feet high, which the inhabitants for some reason now forgotten call Bint al-Amīr, the "prince's daughter". The triangular mound south of the sanctuary proper marks the site of the great temple library, about a twelfth of which, yielding some 23,000 cuneiform tablets and fragments, has been excavated. The western half of the inner city contains the residential quarters with the bazaars, business houses and private dwellings. Its history is still obscure as in the course of centuries it was repeatedly resettled. In the Parthian period a large cemetery extended over a considerable part of the clay buildings which had fallen to pieces there.

On Parthian buildings in Nippur, cf. Hilprecht, *op. cit.*, p. 554 sq. and do., *Der Bēl-Tempel in Nippur*, p. 31 sq.

In addition to the great Enlil temple E-kur there were a number of other highly venerated temples in Nippur.

According to the cuneiform inscriptions, Nippur must have in ancient times lain on the Euphrates itself or at least in its immediate vicinity (cf. e.g. *O. L. Z.*, XX, 142, note 1); this fact forces us to the assumption that this river in the Babylonian period must have taken a much more easterly course below Babylon than in the middle ages and present day. The inner city is divided into two parts by a canal now dry but once navigable, which the natives call *Shatt al-Nil*. This was an important watercourse which, according to Hilprecht, was in many places at one time 20—25 feet deep and 150—190 feet broad and which the modern inhabitants rightly describe not as a mere *nahr* (stream, canal) but as *shatt* (river).

According to the mediaeval Arab geographers *Nahr al-Nil* was the name of one of the canals led off from the Euphrates to the Tigris. It still survives in its entirety; as in the middle ages, it starts from Babylon and flows a little above 32° 30' N. Lat. in an almost straight line eastwards. The geographer Suhrāb (who used to be called Ibn Serapion; cf. iv., p. 1130a) writing in the fourth (tenth) century observes that this canal bears the name *Nahr al-Nil* only after passing the town of al-Nil (the modern ruins Niliye). At the present day it is called only *Shatt al-Nil* throughout its course. Somewhat east of Niliye a side-canal, now dry, branches off to the south for which, not only in its lower part where it flows by the ruins of Niffar but along its whole extent, the name *Shatt al-Nil*, the same as that of the main canal, was and is usual. Yākūt however says (iv. 77, 798) that Niffar lay not on the *Nahr al-Nil* but on the bank of the *Nahr al-Nars*, a canal dug, it is said, by the Sāsānian king Narsē b. Bahram (293—303 A.D.) which leaves the Euphrates at al-Hilla a little below the *Nahr al-Nil* and turns southeastward. It was presumably connected by a branch with the southern small canal of the same name which branches off from the *Nahr al-Nil*, so that the occurrence of the two names *Nahr al-Nil* and *Nahr al-Nars* for the river in Niffar is explained. It

should be noted also that the nomenclature of the Babylonian canals changed several times already in the middle ages. On the *Nahr al-Nil* or *Shatt al-Nil* and *Nahr al-Nars* see Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 238; G. Le Strange, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, S. 256, 260—261 and do., in *The Lands of the East. Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 72—74; Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographien*, i. (Leyden 1900), p. 30 sq.; Herzfeld, in *Sarre-Herzfeld, Archäolog. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, i. (Berlin 1911), p. 234 sq.; Hāshim al-Sa'dī, *Djughrāfiyat al-ʿIrāk al-ḥaditha*², Baghdād 1927, p. 34, 35.

Below Niffar the *Shatt al-Nil* loses itself in the swamps of Hōr al-ʿAfeq. The *Shatt al-Kār* very probably forms its southern continuation.

If the "Euphrates of Nippur", as it is called in the cuneiform inscriptions, really represents the old course of this river, and not simply a branch of it, the modern *Shatt al-Nil* with its continuation, the *Shatt al-Kār*, probably corresponds to the bed of the Euphrates of Babylonian times. On the great changes in their courses which the rivers of Mesopotamia have undergone, cf. especially Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 2 sq. Hilprecht, who is followed by others like Zehnpufund, Unger etc., thinks that the name of the canal, *Kabaru* (= the large) found in later texts from Nippur, corresponds to the "Euphrates of Nippur" of the older texts. He further compares it with the *Kebar* (כְּבַר) of Ezekiel (i. 1 etc.); see Hilprecht, *Explorations*, p. 412 and also in *Der Bēl-Tempel in Nippur*, p. 10. The identification of the *Kabaru* with the old bed of the Euphrates, i.e. the modern *Shatt al-Nil*, I do not consider proved; the *Kabaru* may also be a canal in the neighbourhood of Nippur.

West and Southwest of Niffar lies the very extensive Hōr al-ʿAfeq (on the meaning of Hōr see iii., p. 147^b).

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1929, p. 335–336; L. Legrain, *Terra-cottas from Nippur*, Philadelphia 1930. — The inscriptions found by the American expedition in Nippur have been published since 1893 in *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, series A: *Cuneiform Texts* and in *University of Pennsylvania, The Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section*. (M. STRECK)

AL-NIFFARĪ MUḤAMMAD IBN ʿABD AL-DJABBĀR. This mystic, whom the principal Ṣūfī biographers fail to mention, flourished in the ivth (xth) century, and, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, died in the year 354 (965). His *nisba* refers to the town of Niffar [q. v.] in Mesopotamia, and one MS. of his works asserts that it was during his residence at Niffar and Nīl that he committed his thoughts to writing. Niffarī's literary reliquia consist of two books, the *Mawākif* and the *Mukhāṭabāt*, together with a number of fragments. It is improbable that Niffarī himself was responsible for the editing of his writings; according to his principal commentator, ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī (d. 690 = 1291), either his son or his grandson collected his scattered writings and published them according to his own ordering. The *Mawākif* consists of 77 sections of varying length, made up for the most part of brief apothegms touching on the main aspects of Ṣūfī teaching, and purporting to be inspired and dictated by God; the *Mukhāṭabāt* is similar in content, and is divided into 56 sections. Niffarī's most characteristic contribution to mysticism is his doctrine of *wākfa*. This term, which would appear to be used by him in a peculiarly technical sense, implies a condition in the mystic which is accompanied by direct divine audition, and perhaps even automatic script. *Mawākif* is the name given to the state of the mystic in which *wākfa* is classed higher than *maʿrifa*, and *maʿrifa* is above ʿilm. The *wākif* is nearer to God than any other thing, and almost transcends the condition of *bashāriya*, being alone separated from all limitation. Niffarī definitely maintains the possibility of seeing God in this world; for he says that vision (*ruʾya*) in this world is a preparation for vision in the world to come. In several places Niffarī distinctly touches on the theory of the Mahdī, and indeed appears to identify himself with the Mahdī, if these passages are genuine; and this claim is seemingly in the mind of Zabīdī, when he describes Niffarī as *ṣāhib al-daʿawā wa ʿl-dalāl*. Tilimsānī however interprets these passages in an esoteric and highly mystical sense; and it does not accord with the general character of the author, that he should make for himself such extravagant claims. Niffarī shows himself in his writings to be a fearless and original thinker. While undoubtedly influenced by his great predecessor al-Ḥallādj, he acknowledges no obligations, and has a thorough conviction of the reality of his own mission.

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(A. J. ARBERRY)

NİĞDE, a town in the Turkish sandjak (now wilāyet) of the same name in a fertile trough on the east edge of the Central Anatolian steppe. The town is first mentioned in the Turkish period; previously the chief town of the district was Tyana (Arab. Ṭawāna) but it is probable that the striking hill which commands the important road from Cilicia across the Taurus to Kaisariye

at its entrance to a pass over the mountains had a fortified settlement upon it in the pre-Turkish period. The old place-name may be the origin of the modern one, an older form of which was Nekide (Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 811: Nakidā; Ibn Bibī and others, also in inscriptions down to the xvth century: Nakida; the modern form

نیکد [in the new Turkish script: Niğde] is already

found in Ḥamd Allāh Muṣṭawfī, *Nuzhat*, in *G.M.S.*, xxiii./1, 99). In this particular district some villages have retained their ancient names (Andaval-Andabalis, Melegop-Malakopaia) and considerable numbers of descendants of the original Christian inhabitants survived until quite recently (R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 1916, p. 16 sqq.).

Nigde is first mentioned in connection with the partition of Saldjūk territory among the sons of Kılıdj Arslān II (685 = 1189) when it was allotted as an independent lordship to Arslān Shāh (Ibn Bibī, ed. Houtsma, *Rec.*, iv. 11). Nigde had perhaps previously belonged to the Daniṣmandids but Ewliyā, iii. 189, cannot be taken as evidence of this. Kaikaʿus I granted Nigde to the Emīr-i Ākhōr Zain al-Dīn Bashāra (Ibn Bibī, p. 44) who shortly before his death built the important mosque of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn here (620 = 1223). In the xiiith century Nigde was the headquarters (*ser-i leshkeri*) of one of the great military districts of the Saldjūks. Under Kılıdj Arslān IV, Ibn al-Khatīr Masʿūd held this office. At first an ally of the all powerful Muʿīn al-Dīn Perwāne, with whom he killed the sultān in 1264, he endeavoured to remove the young Kai-Khusraw III out of Perwāne's influence and brought him to Nigde (1276). But the help for which he had appealed to Egypt came too late and he succumbed to Perwāne who was supported by the Mongols (Ibn Bibī; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iv. 80 sq.). He built a well in Nigde opposite the ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn mosque (666 = 1268). Under the Ilkhāns there ruled in their name, or in the name of their Anatolian governor Eretna, Sunkur Agha who is known only from inscriptions and is, it is remarkable to note, not mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who visited Nigde about 1333 (ed. Defrémery-Sanguinetti, ii. 286); he made himself independent after the death of Abū Saʿīd. He gave the town a large mosque on the wall of which facing the Bezistān is a Persian inscription, in which he grants Christian foreigners exemption from *djizya* and *kharāj* (736 = 1335). The Saldjūk princess Khudāwand Khātūn buried in 732 (1332) in her splendid türbe built in 712 (1312) on the other hand probably did not rule in Nigde although she resided there. She was, if the lady buried beside her in 1344 was her daughter, the wife of the emir Shudjāʿ al-Dīn who is mentioned as the father of the lady on her sarcophagus; he ruled according to al-ʿUmārī (ed. Taeschner, p. 31) in the Bulghardagh, where a wilāyet Shudjāʿ al-Dīn is still mentioned in Saʿd al-Dīn (i. 517 following Idris) and where lies Ulukīshla which, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalifa (*Djihānnūma*, p. 617), was also called Shudjāʿ al-Dīn. After the period of Sunkur's rule, Nigde probably passed directly to the Karamanoglu, who held it against the attacks of the Eretnid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī (c. 1379) (ʿAziz b. Ardashir, *Bezm u-Rezm*, p. 141 sqq.). In 1390 Nigde surrendered with other Karamanian towns to the Ottomans but was restored to the Kara-

manids who defended it successfully against Kaḏī Burhān al-Dīn, lord of Kaisāriye and Siwās (*Bezm u-Rezm*, p. 424, 523). After Timūr's invasion the power of the Karamanids extended northwards as far as Deweli Qaraḥiṣār which previously belonged to Kaisāriye and for a time even to Kaisāriye itself. Niġde then ceased to be a frontier town. Apart from a temporary occupation by Egyptian troops in 1419 (Weil, v. 146 sqq.) it enjoyed peace and prosperity and the special care of the Karamanids who had one of the bulwarks of their power here till the end of the dynasty. A series of buildings, the first of which not only in time but also in size and quality is the Ak-Medrese of the year 1409, is evidence of their interest in the town. Niġde surrendered in 875 (1470) to the Ottoman general Iṣḥāk Paṣha who had the defences of the town restored. In 878 (1473) the Ottoman Sandjak-bey of Niġde, Koçi Bey, forced Deweli Qaraḥiṣār which still belonged to the Karamanoghlū to surrender to prince Muṣṭafā. The latter died on the way back at Niġde (Sa'd al-Dīn, i. 517, 550).

The sandjak of Niġde belonging to the beylerbeylik of Karaman, contained the kazās of Ürgüb, Bor, Deweli, Deweli Qaraḥiṣār and Ulukṣhla. When about 1720 the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Paṣha transformed his birthplace of Mushkara in the kazā of Ürgüb into the imposing town of Newshehir, the fiefs for the garrisons of the decayed fortresses of Niġde and Deweli Qaraḥiṣār were transferred to the new foundation (v. Hammer, *G.O.R.* 2, iv. 250 sq.). At the end of the Ottoman period the sandjak of Niġde, to which the kazā of Ak-serai also belonged, contained 148,700 Muslims and 49,551 Christians the latter mainly natives and mostly speaking Turkish. Niġde was the residence of the metropolitan of Konia. The town numbered at this time 11,526 inhabitants, in 1927 (after the exchange with Greece) only 9,463.

Niġde (now on the Kayseri-Ulukṣhla railway) consists of an upper town running north and south, now largely uninhabited (Tepe Wirāne) at the highest point of which in the north stands the imposing citadel, and the lower town (Shehr altı) which was also once surrounded by a wall. In the upper town is the 'Alā' al-Dīn mosque, one of the oldest mosques in Anatolia, with an architect's inscription in Persian. Before the gate of the upper town at its south end is the Gothic mosque of Sunkur (c. 1330) showing influences from Little Armenia and Cyprus, and the bazaar. West of and below it is the Karamanian Ak-Medrese of 1409. A little apart to the west of the town, separated by a broad road, running north and south is the modern quarter Qayabashī with a few remains of the old cemetery and a group of türbes among which that of Khudāwand Khātūn of the year 1312 is prominent.

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NİHĀL ČAND LĀHAWRĪ, Indian man of letters, Hindū by religion, was born in Dīhli, but left it in early life and went to Lahore where he lived for a considerable time. Owing to this circumstance he called himself Lāhawri. Search for a livelihood led him to Calcutta. Here he was introduced to Dr. J. B. Gilchrist who asked him to translate into "Hindi rekhta" the story of Tādj al-Mulūk and Bakāwālī. He consented and thus became one of the famous band of Fort William translators. He made the translation from *Gul-i Bakāwālī*, a Persian rendering by Shaikh 'Izzat Ullāh, 1772, of an old Hindi story, which has been reproduced in Urdu verse by Dayā Shankar Kawl Nasīm [q. v.], in his wellknown mathnawī *Gulzār-i Nasīm*.

Nihāl Čand called his work *Madhhab-i 'Ishk*. It is in very good prose mixed with verse. The name gives the date 1217 (1802). Apart from the above mentioned facts nothing is known about the writer.

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(T. GRAHAME BAILEY)

NİHĀWAND, a town in the old province of Hamadhān, with, at the present day, 5,000—6,000 inhabitants (de Morgan), at a height of 5,860 feet on the branch of the Gāmāsāb which comes from the S. E. from the vicinity of Burūdġird; the Gāmāsāb then runs W. to Bisūtūn. Nihāwand lies on the southern road which, coming from Kirmānshāh (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 198), leads into Central Persia (Iṣfahān) avoiding the massif of Alwand (Ὀπώνης) which rises W. of Hamadhān. Hence the importance of the town in the wars of Persia with her western neighbours.

The French excavations of 1931 (Dr. Contenau) have shown that the site of Nihāwand was inhabited from pre-historic times. The ceramics ("I-bis style") which have been found there, seem to be older than those of style I and II of Susa. Ptolemy VI, 2 knows of Νιφωάνδα and according to Ibn Faḳīh, p. 258 the town already existed before the Deluge. In the Sāsānian period the district of Nihāwand seems to have formed the fief of the Kārin family (Dināwari, p. 99). There was a fire-temple there. According to Ibn Faḳīh, p. 259 there could be seen on the mountains near Nihāwand two figures of snow in the form of a bull and a fish (similar talismans are said to have existed at Bitlis also cf. also the steles of *wishap* ["dragons", protectors of waters] in Armenia west of Lake Sewan which combine these symbols, *Zap.*, xxiii./3, 1916, p. 409). The same legend is reflected in the name of the river Gāmāsāb (*Gāwmāsī-āb* = "water of the bull and fish"; *māsī* is the Kurdish form of the Persian *māhī*).

Among the products of Nihāwand the Arab authors mention willow-wood which was used for polo-sticks (*ṣawālīdġa*), aromatic reeds (*ḥaṣabat al-dharīra* or *al-kumḥat al-'irākīya*) which were used like *ḥanūt* (a perfume put in coffins) and black clay used as wax for sealing letters. The district of Rūdāwar was under Nihāwand (cf. de Morgan, *Mission*, ii. 136: *Rūdīlāwar*) and was famous for its abundance of saffron (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 199). For a list of the places more or less dependent on Nihāwand, cf. Schwarz, *Iran* etc., p. 505—509.

In the Mongol period, the *Nushat al-Kulūb* mentions three districts of Nihāwand: Malāyir (now Dawlatābād), Isfīdhān (= Isbīdhahān, see below) and Dījahūk. (Nihāwand no longer forms part of the province of Hamadān; cf. Rabino, *Hamadan*, in *R. M. M.*, xliii., 1921, p. 221—227).

Near Nihāwand was fought the famous battle which decided the fate of the Iranian plateau and in which the Kūfī Nu'mān b. Muḳarrin defeated the Sāsānian generals. The commander-in-chief is given different names: Dhu 'l-Ḥadjībain Mardān-shāh (cf. Balādhuri, p. 303*; Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 113 identifies him with the *darikpet* Khurrazād) or Fērōzān (cf. Ṭabari, i. 2608; the latter also gives the names of his generals: Zarduḳ, Bahman Dīādōya and the commander of the cavalry Anūshak). The Arab camp was at Isbīdhahān and that of the Persians at Wāykhurd (?). The sources do not agree about the date: Saif b. 'Omar (Ṭabari, i. 2615—2619) gives the end at the year 18 (639) or the beginning of 19 (640); cf. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi., 1899, p. 97, while Ibn Ishāq, Abū Ma'shar and Wāḳidī, followed by Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iv., 1911, p. 474—504 put the battle in 21.

The district of Nihāwand (formerly called Māh-Bahrādhān or Māh-Dīnār) was finally incorporated in the possessions of the Baṣrians and called Māh-Baṣra ("the Media of Baṣra": Balādhuri, p. 306).

Nihāwand is often mentioned in the period of the wars between the Ṣafawids and the Ottomans. In 998 (1589) at the beginning of the reign of 'Abbās I, Cīghāla-Zāde built a fortress at Nihāwand ('*Ālam-ārā*, p. 273). After the death of Murād IV a rebellion took place among the garrison of Nihāwand; the Ottomans were driven out by the Shī'ī inhabitants. As a result in 1012 (1603) war again broke out with Turkey (*ibid.*, p. 440). In the spring of 1142 (1730) Nādir [q. v.] took Nihāwand again from the Turks.

Bibliography: de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, ii., *Etudes géographiques*, 1895, p. 152 and *passim*, pl. lxvi. (view of Nihāwand); Marquart, *Erānsāhr*, index; Barthold, *Istoriko-geogr. očer. Irana*, 1903, index; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 196—197; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, i. 498—509, index; Conteneau and Ghirshman, *Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles de Tépé-Giyān, près Néhavand*, 1931, in *Syria*, 1933, p. 1—11.

(V. MINORSKY)

NIKĀH (A.), marriage (properly: sexual intercourse, but already in the Qur'ān used exclusively of the contract). Here we deal with marriage as a legal institution; for marriage customs see 'URS.

1. The essential features of the Muslim law of marriage go back to the customary law of the Arabs which previously existed. In this, although there were differences according to districts and the conditions of the individual cases, the regulations governing marriage were based upon the patriarchal system, which permitted the man very great freedom and still bore traces of an old matriarchal system. It is true that before the coming of Islām a higher conception of the marriage state had already begun to exist but the position of the woman was still a very unfavourable one. The marriage contract was made between the suitor and the "guardian" i.e. the father or the nearest male relative of the bride, the latter's consent

not being regarded as necessary. But even before Islām it had already become generally usual for the dowry to be given to the woman herself and not to the guardian. In marriage the woman was under the unrestricted authority of her husband, the only bounds to which were consideration for her family. Dissolution of the marriage rested entirely on the man's opinion; and even after his death his relatives could enforce claims upon his widow.

2. Islām reformed these old marriage laws in far-reaching fashion, while retaining their essential features; here as in other fields of social legislation Muḥammad's chief aim was the improvement of the woman's position. The regulations regarding marriage which are the most important in principle are laid down in the Qur'ān in Sūra iv. (of the period shortly after the battle of Uḥud): "3. If ye fear that ye cannot act justly to the orphans marr the women whom ye think good (to marry), by twos, threes or fours; but if ye fear (even then) not to be just then marry one only or (the slaves) whom you possess; this will be easier that ye be not unjust. Give the women their dowry freely; but if they voluntarily remit you a part of it, enjoy it and may it prosper you. — 26. Marry not the woman whom your fathers have married (except what is already past); for this is shameful and abominable and an evil way. 27. Forbidden to you are your mothers, your daughters, your sisters, your aunts paternal and maternal, the daughters of your brother and sister, your foster-mothers and foster-sisters, the mothers of your wives and the step-daughters who are in your care, born of your wives, with whom ye have had intercourse — but if ye have not had intercourse with them, it is not a sin for you — and the wives of the sons, who are your offspring, also that ye marry two sisters at the same time except what is already past; Allāh is gracious and merciful. 28. Further married women except (slaves) that you possess. This is ordained by Allāh for you. But he has permitted you to procure (wives) outside of these cases with your money in decency and not in fornication. To those of them that ye have enjoyed give their reward as their due, but it is no sin to make an agreement between you beyond the legal due. Allāh is allknowing and wise. 29. If however any one of you has not means sufficient to marry free believing women (let him marry) among your believing slaves, whom you possess; Allāh best knows (to distinguish) your faith. Marry them with the permission of their masters, and give them their dowry in kindness; they should be modest and not unchaste and take no lovers". Also Sūra ii. 220 (uncertain date), the prohibition of marriage with infidels, male or female (cf. Sūra lx. 10), Sūra xxviii. 49 (probably of the year 5), an exception in favour of the Prophet, and Sūra v. 7 (of the farewell pilgrimage in the year 10), permission of marriage with the women of the possessors of a scripture. Other passages of the Qur'ān which emphasise the moral side of marriage are Sūra xxiv. 3, 26, 32 and Sūra xxx. 20. In tradition various attitudes to marriage find expression; at the same time the positive enactments regulating it are supplemented in essential points. The most important is the limitation of the number of wives permitted at one time to four; although Sūra iv. 3 contains no such precise regulation, this interpretation of it must have predominated

very early, as in the traditions it is assumed rather than expressly demanded. The co-operation of the "guardian", the dowry and the consent of the woman is regarded as essential and competition with a rival the result of whose suit is still in doubt is forbidden.

3. The most important provisions of Muslim law (according to the *Shāfi* school) are the following. The marriage contract is concluded between the bridegroom and the bride's *walī* (guardian), who must be a free Muslim of age and of good character. The *walī* is in his turn bound to assist in carrying out the contract of marriage demanded by the woman, if the bridegroom fulfils certain legal conditions. The *walī* should be one of the following in this order: 1. the nearest male ascendant in the male line; 2. the nearest male relative in the male line among the descendants of the father; 3. do. among the descendants of the grandfather etc.; 4. in the case of a freed woman the *marḥūm* (manumitter) and if the case arises his male relatives in the order of heirs in intestacy [cf. *MIRĀTH*, 6, b]; 5. the representative of the public authority (*ḥākim*) appointed for the purpose; in many countries it is the *ḥādī* or his deputy. In place of the *ḥākim* the future husband and wife may agree to choose a *walī* and must do so if there is no authorised *ḥākim* in the place. The *walī* can only give the bride in marriage with her consent but in the case of a virgin silent consent is sufficient. The father or grandfather, however, has the right to marry his daughter or grand-daughter against her will, so long as she is a virgin (he is therefore called *walī muḍḍib*, *walī* with power of coercion); the exercise of this power is however very strictly regulated in the interest of the bride. As minors are not in a position to make a declaration of their wishes which is valid in law, they can only be married at all by a *walī muḍḍib*. According to the *Ḥanafis* on the other hand, every blood relative acting as *walī* is entitled to give a virgin under age in marriage without her consent; but a woman married in this way by another than her ascendant is entitled on coming of age to demand that her marriage be declared void (*faskh*) by the *ḥādī*. A bridegroom who is a minor may also be married by his *walī muḍḍib*. As a kind of equivalent for the rights which the husband acquires over the wife, he is bound to give her a bridal gift (*mahr*, *ṣadāq*) which is regarded as an essential part of the contract. The contracting parties are free to fix the *mahr*; it may consist of anything that has value in the eyes of the law; if it is not fixed at the conclusion of the contract and if the parties cannot agree upon it, we have a case for the *mahr al-mithl*, a bridal gift fixed by the *ḥādī* according to the circumstances of the bridegroom. It is not necessary to pay the *mahr* at once; frequently a portion is paid before the consummation of the marriage and the remainder only at the dissolution of the marriage by divorce or death. The wife's claim to the full *mahr* or the full *mahr al-mithl* arises only when the marriage has been consummated; if the marriage is previously dissolved by the man the wife can only claim half the *mahr* or a present (*mutʿa*) fixed arbitrarily by the man; these regulations go back to *Sūra ii. 237 sq.* (cf. xxxiii. 48). In form the marriage contract, which is usually prefaced by a solicitation (*khutba*), follows the usual scheme in Muslim contracts

with offer and acceptance; the *walī* of the bride is further recommended to deliver a pious address (*khutba*) on the occasion. The marriage must be concluded in the presence of at least two witnesses (*shāhid*), who possess the legal qualifications for a witness; their presence is here not simply, as in other contracts, evidence of the marriage but an essential element in its validity. On the other hand, no collaboration by the authorities is prescribed. But since great importance is usually attached to fulfilling the formalities of the marriage contract, upon which the validity of the marriage depends, it is usual not to carry through this important legal matter without the assistance of an experienced lawyer. We therefore everywhere find men whose profession this is and who usually act under the supervision of the *ḥādī*. The part they take is to pronounce the necessary formulae to the parties or even to act as authorised agents of one of them, usually the *walī* of the bride. The most important impediments to marriage are the following: 1. blood relationship, namely between the man and his female ascendants and descendants, his sisters, the female descendants of his brothers and sisters as well as his aunts and great-aunts; 2. foster-relationship which by extension of the *Kurʿānic* law by tradition is regarded as an impediment to marriage in the same degrees as blood relationship; 3. relationship by marriage, namely between a man and his mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, step-daughter etc. in the direct line; marriage with two sisters or with an aunt and niece at the same time is also forbidden; 4. the existence of a previous marriage, in the case of a woman without limitation (inclusive of the period of waiting after the dissolution of the marriage, *ʿidda*, q. v.) and in the case of a free man with the provision that he cannot be married to more than four women at once; 5. the existence of a threefold *ṭalāq* [q. v.] or of a *liʿān* [q. v.]; 6. social inequality; the man must not be by birth, profession etc. below the woman (unless both the woman and *walī* agree); a free Muslim can only marry another's slave girl if he cannot provide the bridal gift for a free woman, and the marriage between a master (or mistress) and his slave (or her slave) is quite impossible (a master is however permitted concubinage with his slave); 7. difference of religion; there is no exception to the prohibition of marriage between a Muslim woman and an infidel while the permission given in theory for marriage between Muslim men and the women of the possessors of a scripture is at least by the *Shāfi*is so restricted by conditions as to be prohibited in practice; 8. temporary obstacles such as the state of *iḥrām* [q. v.]. On the other hand, the law knows no minimum age for a legal marriage. If a marriage contract does not fulfil the legal requirements, it is invalid; the *Ḥanafis* and especially the *Mālikis* but not the *Shāfi*is distinguish in this case between invalid (*bāṭil*) and incorrect (*fāsīd*) according as the error affects an essential or unessential element in the contract; in the former case there is no marriage at all, in the second its validity may be attacked but (according to the *Mālikis*) consummation removes any defect. Marriage does not produce any community of property between husband and wife and the woman retains her complete freedom of dealing; but certain laws regarding inheritance come into operation [cf. *MIRĀTH*, 6, c]. The man alone has to bear the

expense of maintaining the household and is obliged to support his wife in a style befitting her station (*nafaqa*); if he should not be in a position to do so his wife may demand the dissolution of the marriage by *faskh* [q. v.]. The man can demand from his wife readiness for marital intercourse and obedience generally; if she is regularly disobedient, she loses her claim to support and may be chastised by the man. The latter however is expressly forbidden to take upon himself vows of continence (*ʾilāʾ* and *ḡihār*). Children are only regarded as legitimate if they are born at least six months after consummation of the marriage and not more than 4 years (the predominant *Shāfiʿi* view) after its dissolution; it is presumed that such children are begotten by the husband himself; the latter has the right to dispute his paternity by *ḥʾān* [q. v.]. Parentage can also be established by the husband's *ikrār* [q. v.], while both recognition and adoption of illegitimate children are impossible.

4. The laws regarding the rights and duties of husband and wife cannot be modified by the parties at the drawing-up of the contract. This can however be effected by the man pronouncing a conditional *talāk* [cf. TALĀK, vii.] immediately after the conclusion of the marriage contract; this shift to secure the position of the woman is particularly common among Indian Muslims. For the rest the couple are left to private agreements which need not be mentioned in the marriage contract. The actual position of the married woman is in all Muslim countries entirely dependent on local conditions and on many special circumstances. It is not a contradiction of this to say that the legal prescriptions regarding marriage are most carefully observed as a rule. In spite of certain ascetic tendencies Islām as a whole has been decidedly in favour of marriage. — In modern Islām the problem of the woman's position in marriage and polygamy is especially discussed between conservatives and adherents of modern social ideas. For the different views resulting from these conditions see the *Bibliography* cited below.

5. Alongside of the usual form of the old Arabian marriage which in spite of its laxity aimed at the foundation of a household and the procreation of children, there existed the temporary marriage in which the pair lived together temporarily for a period previously fixed. Such temporary marriages were entered upon mainly by men who found themselves staying for a time abroad. It is by no means certain that these are referred to in Sūra iv. 28, although the Muslim name of this arrangement (*muʿa* [q. v.], "marriage of pleasure") is based on the literal meaning of the verse; it is however certain from Tradition that Muḥammad really permitted *muʿa* to his followers especially on the longer campaigns. But the caliph ʿOmar strictly prohibited *muʿa* and regarded it as fornication (*zināʾ*) (a group of traditions already ascribes this prohibition to the Prophet). As a result, *muʿa* is permitted only among the *Shiʿis* but prohibited by the Sunnis. The latter have however practically the same arrangement; those who wish to live contrary to the law as husband and wife for a certain period simply agree to do so without stipulating it in the marriage contract.

Bibliography: (only the most important works are cited). For the pre-Muḥammadian Arabs: G. A. Wilken, *Het matriarchaat bij de oude Arabieren* (German transl.: *Das Matriarchat*

bei den alten Arabern, Leipzig 1884); W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia* (New Edition, London 1903); Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern* (N. G. W. Gött., 1893); Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, p. 276 sqq. — Tradition: Wensinck, *A Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, s. v. Marriage. — On the doctrine of the *Fikḥ*: Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. vi., index, s. v. Huwelijk; Juynboll, *Handleiding*³, p. 174 sqq.; Santillana, *Istituzioni*, p. 150 sqq.; J. Lópiz Ortiz, *Derecho musulmán*, p. 154 sqq. — On marriage and society: Lammens, *Moʾāwīa Ier*, p. 306 sqq.; R. Levy, *Sociology of Islam*, i. 131 sqq.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century*, index, s. v. Marriage; do., *Verspreide Geschriften*, iv/i. 218 sqq.; Polak, *Persien*, i. 194 sqq. Modern conditions: Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, p. 360 sqq.; R. Paret, *Zur Frauenfrage in der arabisch-islamischen Welt*. — On the ethical estimation of marriage: H. Bauer, *Islamische Ethik*, fasc. ii.; Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, p. 276 sq.; Becker, *Islamstudien*, i. 407. — Cf. also Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s. v. Marriage. (JOSEPH SCHACHT)

NIKOPOLI(S), in Turkish spelling Nikbūli or

Nikbūli (in Ewliyā Ćelebi, vii. 463: نیکه بولی),

town on the southern bank of the Danube, at 43° 43' N., 24° 54' E. This Nikopolis, founded by Heraclius (c. 575–642), has often been confused, especially in mediæval literature, with Nikopolis *ad Istrum* or *ad Haemum*, founded by Trajan in 101 in commemoration of his victory over the Dacians (ruins recently excavated near modern Niküp in the upper valley of the Djantra by Mt. Haemus). The Byzantine Nikopolis is sometimes called Nikopolis Major to distinguish it from Trajan's Nikopolis and Nikopolis Minor on the opposite bank of the Danube near the Roumanian town of Tornu Magurele.

The importance of Nikopolis as a trade centre and military post is due chiefly to the command which it holds over the Osma and the Aluta, the two Danubian arteries reaching into the heart of Bulgaria and Roumania respectively. Situated on a naturally fortified plateau, it dominates the plains to the south, the Danube to the north, and the eastern gorge connecting the interior of Bulgaria with the river. The mediæval double walls and strong towers surrounding Nikopolis were destroyed by the Russians during their occupation of the city in 1810 and 1877.

Nikopolis was first captured from the Bulgarians in 791 (1389) by ʿAlī Pāshā Ćendereli [see ʿALĪ PĀSHĀ]. Seven years later, it was the scene of the famous battle in the Crusade which is called by its name. The acquisition of Bulgaria by the Turks and their continual irruptions north of the Danube into territories claimed by Hungary, together with a state of comparative peace in western Europe in the last decade of the xivth century, made it both necessary and possible for most Catholic countries to participate in the expedition. An army of about 100,000 crusaders (according to the most reliable estimates) from France, Burgundy, England, Germany, Italy, Spain, Hungary, Poland, Wallachia and Transylvania marched along the Danube, seized Widdin and Rahova, and finally set siege to Nikopolis while an allied Veneto-

Genoese fleet blockaded the city from the river. The siege lasted about fifteen days, during which Bāyazīd [q. v.] abandoned the siege of Constantinople, burnt the siege machinery, and summoned his Asiatic and European contingents to arms. A Turkish army of perhaps 110,000 men met at Adrianople and, marching through the Shipka Pass, descended into the valley of the Osmā and pitched their camp on the southern hill commanding the Nikopolis plain.

The battle took place on Monday, September 25, 1396, and the crusaders were completely routed owing to the superiority of Ottoman tactics and the dissensions amongst the leaders of the Christian host. Bāyazīd divided his army into two large sections. The first, consisting of two large bodies of irregular cavalry and of irregular infantry, occupied the slope of the hill. Between the cavalry vanguard and the foot rearguard of this section, the Turks planted a field of pointed stakes. Beyond the skyline on the other slope of the hill, hidden from their unsuspecting enemy, the second and more important section, consisting of Bāyazīd with his Sipāhis and Stephen Lazarović with his Serbs, watched for the right moment to advance against the exhausted Christians. These tactics proved to be effective when the Crusaders' vanguard of French and foreign auxiliaries defeated the Turkish irregular cavalry and, after forced dismounting to uproot the stakes, routed the irregular infantry and pursued them uphill to face the new and unseen forces. Meanwhile, a stampede of riderless horses produced confusion in the Crusaders' rear which comprised the Eastern European armies. Mircea and Laczković, who had no sympathy for Sigismund of Hungary, retired with their Wallachian and Transylvanian auxiliaries who constituted the left and right wings of the rearguard. After desperate fighting for the relief of the French and foreign contingents, the Hungarian nobles persuaded their king to board a Venetian galley and escape by way of Byzantium and the Morea to Dalmatia. The rest were either killed or captured, only to be massacred on the following day by Bāyazīd in order to avenge in this way the severe losses which he had sustained. A small number of nobles were, however, saved from the massacre for a ransom of 200,000 gold florins.

The immediate result of the Ottoman victory was the extension of the conquests into Greece and the submission of Wallachia to Ottoman suzerainty. More important, however, was the breathing-space it gave for the consolidation of the Turkish territories in Europe, which enabled the Ottoman empire to survive the critical struggles of the next decades.

In later history Nikopolis plays only a minor part. During the wars of the 19th century it was thrice captured by Russian armies (Sept. 1810; July 1829; July 1877), and by the Treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878) was included in the tributary principality of Bulgaria.

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XIVème siècle, Paris 1886; H. Kiss, *A'Nicapolye ulkozet*, Magyar Academiai erestito, 1896; I. Köhler, *Die Schlachten bei Nikopoli und Warna*, Breslau 1882; F. Šišić, *Die Schlacht bei Nikopolis*, Vienna 1893.

(A. S. ATIYA)

NĪKSĀR, Neo-Caesarea, first mentioned by Pliny (vi. 3) so that it presumably arose under Tiberius, lies in the Anatolian wilāyet of Siwās [q. v.] 1,150 feet above sea-level. The town is picturesquely situated at the foot of a hill, crowned by the ruins of a mediaeval castle which was erected from the material provided by the numerous buildings of antiquity there. Here in remote antiquity was Cabira and after its decline Diospolis founded by Pompey, later called Sebaste. In Church history Nīksār is famous as the scene of a Council (314 A.D.) and as the birthplace of Gregory the miracle-worker. In the Muslim period it became important under the Saldjūks of whom numerous and important buildings have survived to the present day. It became more important under the Dānīshmandīya [q. v.] whose founder Malik Dānīshmand Aḥmad Ḡhāzī took Nīksār among other places. His grandson Muḥammad successfully resisted a siege by the emperor Manuel in Nīksār. His son Yaghībaṣān (537—562 = 1142—1166) of whom there survives an inscription of the year 552 (1157) died in 562 (1166) whereupon Nīksār was taken by the Byzantine emperor Manuel (Kinnamos, p. 296 sq., 300) although only for a short time. In 1397 Nīksār passed to the Ottomans and gradually lost its former importance. It remained noted for its very prolific orchards, celebrated already in Kāzwīnī's time (*Aṭṭār*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848) the special produce of which, very large and sweet cherries, pears, figs etc., were famous at all times. Ewliyā Ćelebi (cf. *Siyāḥat-nāma*, ii. 389; v. 14; *Travels*, ii. 102 sqq.) who visited Nīksār in 1083 (1672) describes the town in his usual extravagant fashion, mentioning 70 schools, 7 monasteries, many mills and water-wheels and 500 shops with a large number of shoe-makers. The pomegranates there, he says, are the size of a man's head and weighed 1 okka. The remains of the Muslim period so far as they bear inscriptions, have been published by Ismā'īl Ḥaḳḳī, *Kitābeler* (Stambul 1345 = 1927), p. 58—73. The türbes (sepulchral cupolas) of Malik Ḡhāzī and of Ḥādjdjī Ćikrīk are worth mentioning; among old dervish monasteries there are the Ishīk-tekke and the Kolaḳ-tekke. Nīksār has often been visited and described by modern travellers. The population (c. 4,000) was before the war one quarter Christian; they were mainly engaged in the silk and rice trades.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 628; F. Taeschner, *Anatol. Wegenets*, i. 216 sqq.; ii. 12 sqq.; Gyllius, *Bosph. Thrac.*, p. 334; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 339, 426; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde von Kleinasien*, i. 221 sqq.; J. Morier, *A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople*, London 1812, p. 42; R. Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia etc.*, London 1821, p. 700; W. Ouseley, *Travels in various Countries of the East*, London 1819 sqq., p. 484; J. B. Fraser, *Winter-Journey*, London 1838, p. 209; J. E. Alexander, *Travels from India to England*, London 1827, p. 235; Eli Smith and Dwight, *Missionary Researches*, London 1834, p. 46;

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(FRANZ BABINGER)

AL-NĪL, the river Nile. The Nile is one of the large rivers which from the beginning have belonged to the territory of Islām, and the valleys and deltas of which have favoured the development of an autonomous cultural centre in Islāmic civilisation. In the case of the Nile this centre has influenced at different times the cultural and political events in the Muḥammadan world. Thus the Nile has, during the Islāmic period, continued to play the same part as it did during the centuries that preceded the coming of Islām.

The name al-Nīl or, very often, Nīl Miṣr, goes back to the Greek name Νεῖλος and is found already in early Arabic literary sources, though it does not occur in the Qurʾān. (in Sūra xx. 39 the Nile may be meant by *al-yamm*). The Christian habit of calling the river Γεῆν, after one of the rivers of Paradise, as found in the works of Ephraim Syrus and Jacob of Edessa and in the Arabic-Christian author Agapius (*Patrologia Orientalis*, v. 596), is not followed by the Muḥammadans, who know only the Oxus under this name. Al-Zamakhshari (*Kitāb al-Amkina*, ed. Salverda de Grave, p. 127) mentions as another name al-Faīḍ, no doubt a poetical allusion to the yearly flood. Already in the Middle Ages, the word *baḥr* having come to acquire in Egyptian Arabic the meaning of "river", the Nile is also called al-Baḥr or Baḥr Miṣr (cf. al-Makrizī, ed. Wiet, i. 218), which is also the case with several separate parts of its river system, such as Baḥr Yūsuf or Baḥr al-Ḡhazal. In the Delta the different ramifications of the river are occasionally also called Nile, but where necessary the main stream (*amūd*) is distinguished from the minor branches (*dhirāʿ* or *khalidj*) and the canals (*turʿa*).

The geography of the Nile is treated here only from a historico-geographical point of view so far as the knowledge of Islāmic science is concerned. The geographical knowledge of the Nile among the Muḥammadans, so far as we can learn from their literary sources, is based partly on direct observation, but for the most part on legendary or pseudo-scientific traditions which go back to local beliefs or to classical science. For a long time during the Middle Ages the limit of Islāmic territory on the Nile was well fixed; it ended at the first cataract near the island of Bilāḳ (Philae) to the south of Uswān (Assouan); here began, since the treaty (*baḳṭ*) concluded by ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Sarḥ with the Nubians, the Nubian territory, where for long centuries Christianity prevailed (al-Balādhurī, p. 236; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, p. 188). The first locality on Nubian territory, where tribute was paid, was called al-Ḳaṣr (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii. 40, 41).

Historical tradition has preserved parts of the alleged correspondence between ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and the caliph ʿUmar on the subject of Egypt, then newly conquered; here the Nile is described as a river "whose course is blessed", while the flood and the inundations are praised in poetical terms (ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Kindī, *Faḍāʾil Miṣr*, ed. Østrup, p. 204; al-Dimashqī, ed. Mehren, p. 109). The same correspondence reveals the perhaps historical fact that ʿUmar did not wish to see the Arab army established in Alexandria, because

there would be then a great river between the army and the caliph (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, p. 91; cf. also what is said on p. 128 about those who went to live in al-Dīja).

The principal towns by which the Nile passed in mediæval Egypt in Upper Egypt, between Uswān and al-Fuṣṭāt, were Atfū (Edfu, on the left), Isnā (Esne, l.), Armant (l.), Kūṣ (r.), al-Aḳsur (Luxor, r.), Kift (r.), Ikhmīm (Akhmīm, r.), Usyūt (Asyūt, Suyūt, l.), al-Ushmūnain (l.), Anṣina (r. opposite al-Ushmūnain), Ṭahā (l.), al-Ḳais (l.), Dalās (l.), Ahnās (l.) and Itfīḥ (Atfīḥ, r.). This succession of towns is given for the first time by al-Yaʿqūbī (*B. G. A.*, vii. 331—334), while Ibn Hawḳal (*B. G. A.*, ii. 95) is the first to give a table of the distance between these towns, expressed in *barids*, the entire distance being 21 days' journey (al-Idrisī, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, p. 52, gives 25 days' journey for the same distance). Shortly before al-Ushmūnain branched off on the left the canal that conducted the water to al-Faiyūm, which is known to Ibn al-Faḳīḥ (*B. G. A.*, vi. 74) as Nahr al-Lāhūn and to al-Idrisī (p. 50) as Khalidj al-Manḥi; this canal, which according to unanimous tradition was dug by Joseph, occurs already on the MS. map of the year 479 (1086) of Ibn Hawḳal in the Seray Library of Constantinople, N^o. 3346 (reproduction on fol. 658 of *Monumenta Africæ et Aegypti* by Youssef Kamāl). It is the Baḥr Yūsuf of our days; on it was situated al-Bahnasā. The banks of the Nile in Upper Egypt are not very completely described by the geographers; one finds repeated everywhere the assertion that the borders were cultivated without interruption between Uswān and al-Fuṣṭāt (cf. al-Iṣṭakhṛī, *B. G. A.*, i. 50), but that the width of the cultivated territory varied during the river's course, dependent on the greater or lesser distance of the two mountain ranges that border the stream. Ibn Hawḳal (MS. of Constantinople, cf. supra) describes two extremely narrow strips, one between Uswān and Atfū (now called Gebelein) and one between Isnā and Armant (now called Gebel Silsile). The curves in the course of the Nile, especially in the upper part of the Ṣāʾid, are not indicated on the maps of Iṣṭakhṛī and Ibn Hawḳal. The oldest extant Arab map of the Nile, however — which is at the same time the oldest Arab map that we know of —, gives clear indications that its sinuous course was a known fact. This map is found in the Strassburg MS. of the year 428 (1037) of al-Kh̲wārizmī's *Ṣūrat al-Ard* and has been reproduced in the edition of that text by H. v. Mīzk (*B. A. H. U. G.*, iii., Leipzig 1926). The representation of the Nile here is connected with the classical tradition of astronomical geography; al-Kh̲wārizmī himself, and after him Suhṛāb (Ibn Serapion) and Ibn Yūnus (MS. 143 Gol. of the University Library at Leyden, where on p. 136 a special table is given of the towns lying on the banks of the Nile) give exact indications as to the longitudes and latitudes of the Nile towns, but these indications need many very uncertain corrections to allow of the reconstruction of a map, as v. Mīzk has tried to do for al-Kh̲wārizmī in *Denkschr. Ak. Wiss. Wien*, lix., Vienna 1916 and J. Lelewel for Ibn Yūnus in pl. ii. of the Atlas annexed to his *Géographie du Moyen-âge*, Paris 1850. But the fact that the course of the Nile is from south to north is well known to all the Arabic sources, which often repeat the

assertion that the Nile is the only river in the world for which this is the case. Only the text of Ibn Ḥawḳal seems to imply that the Nile reached al-Fuṣṭāṭ from the S. E. (*B. G. A.*, ii. 96).

The Delta of the Nile begins to the north of al-Fuṣṭāṭ, where the distance between the two mountain ranges widens, while these hills themselves become lower and pass gradually into the desert. Immediately below al-Fuṣṭāṭ began the canal that was dug by 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ to link up the Nile with the Red Sea; this canal (*Khaliḍj Miṣr* or *Khaliḍj Amīr al-Mu'minīn*) was made in 23 (644) according to Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Kindī (cited by al-Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ, ii. 143; cf. Yāqūt, ii. 466) and served for the conveyance of provisions to the Ḥijāz until the reign of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz; afterwards it was neglected and even obstructed by the order of the caliph al-Manṣūr, so that, in the ivth (xth) century, it ended at *Dhanab al-Timsāh* in the lakes to the north of al-Ḳulzum (cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i. 147).

The two principal arms of the Nile in the Delta began about 12 miles to the north of al-Fuṣṭāṭ (a little further than nowadays, according to Guest) and had, as now, a great number of ramifications which communicated in many ways and ended for the greater part in the big lakes or lagoons stretching behind the sea coast from west to east; these lakes were called in the Middle Ages: Buḥairat Maryūt (behind Alexandria), B. Idkū, B. al-Barullus or B. al-Buṣṭim and the very large B. Tinnīs, which last contained a large number of islands with Tinnīs as the most important. On the land tongue, where the two main arms separated was situated the town of *Shāṭnāf*. The western arm went as now to the town of *Rashīd* (Rosette) after which it reached the sea; near the town of *Shābūr* a branch parted from this arm in the direction of Alexandria, ending in the Buḥairat Maryūt; this branch was only filled with water in the time of the flood (a very complete survey of the different "canals" of Alexandria by P. Kahle, in *Isl.*, xii. 83 sqq.). The eastern arm ran, as is still the case, past *Dimyāt* (Damiette) and reached the sea shortly afterwards; it had several branches that went to the Buḥairat Tinnīs, one of which continued one of the Nile mouths of antiquity. Though many sources, based on a pseudo-historical tradition, repeat after each other that there are seven Nile arms (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, p. 6; further al-Khwarizmi, *Qudāma*, *Suhrāb*, al-Mas'ūdī, Ibn Zūlāḳ), the more realistic authors (Ibn *Khurdādhbeh*, al-Ya'qūbī, Ibn Rusta, al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Idrisi) only know of the two main arms. These were linked up by a canal system which, in the Middle Ages, differed considerably from the present situation. The chief sources from which we know them are Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Idrisi, who give itineraries following the different branches, but as the places named in these itineraries have been identified only in part, an integral reconstruction is not yet possible (on this problem cf. R. Guest, *The Delta in the Middle Ages*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1912, p. 941 sqq. and the map annexed to this article). The description in the text of *Suhrāb* (ed. v. Mzik, *B. A. H. U. G.*, v.) has little value as an endeavour to trace back to his time (xth century) the seven legendary arms; among these arms special attention is paid to the "arm of Saradūs", which, according to tradition, was dug by Ḥamān

(Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, p. 6; cf. Guest, *loc. cit.*, p. 944 and Maspéro and Wiet, *Matériaux*, in *M. I. F. A. O.*, xxxvi., 104). Al-Maḳrīzī has preserved a detailed description of the canal system in the province of al-Buḥaira, to the east of Alexandria, from the *Kitāb al-Minhādj* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Makhzūmī, who wrote in the thirteenth century (*M. I. F. A. O.*, xli., p. 167 sqq.). It seems possible that a study of the ancient maps (especially the Delta map of the Constantinople MS. of Ibn Ḥawḳal and the maps of al-Idrisi) may be useful for a more complete reconstruction of the mediæval situation.

The Nile arms have always been decisive for the administrative division of the Delta, which the sources call by the name of *Asfal al-Arḍ* or *Asfal Arḍ Miṣr*. The region to the east of the eastern branch was called al-Ḥawf; the texts of al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawḳal place al-Ḥawf to the north of the Nile, which may be understood in connection with the view referred to above that the Nile at al-Fuṣṭāṭ had a direction from S. E. to N. W. The region between the two main arms was called al-Rif (a name sometimes used for the entire Delta as well) or *Baṭn al-Rif*, while the country to the west of the western arm was called al-Buḥaira and later al-Ḥawf al-Ḡharbī, the original Ḥawf being called then al-Ḥawf al-Sharḳī. The three sections were divided into *kūras*, the limits of which were determined by the more important branches; the bigger administrative units of later times [cf. EGYPT] depended likewise on the river system. The present geographical aspect of the Delta is the result of the new irrigation works that began in the sixth century under Muḥammad 'Alī; the most conspicuous new canals are the Maḥmūdiyya canal, dug from Fūwa on the western arm to Alexandria, the Tawfiḳīya, Manūfiya and Buḥairīya canals that were completed in 1890, and the Ismā'īliya canal, which links up the Nile with the Suez canal.

As to the knowledge of the course of the Nile to the south of Egypt the Muḥammadan geographical literature begins rather late to give information based on direct observation. At first these sources content themselves with saying that the Nile comes from the country of the Nūba; for the rest there were ancient sources of a different kind that helped to complete the geographical conception of the course of the great river. This conception involved also the origin of the Nile, covered since antiquity by a veil of mystery. The real origin of the Nile always remained unknown to the Muḥammadan scholars and travellers. It is a curious fact, however, that the information on this subject which we find uniformly repeated in the Islāmic sources from the treatise of al-Khwarizmi (± 830 A. D.) gives an idea of the origin of the Nile which does not correspond entirely to the data furnished by the classical sources. This conception makes the Nile emerge from the Mountains of the Moon (*Djabal al-Qamar*) to the south of the equator; from this mountain come ten rivers, of which the first five and the second five reach respectively two lakes lying on the same latitude; from each lake one or more rivers flow to the north where they fall into a third lake and it is from this lake that the Nile of Egypt begins. This conception is largely schematized and corresponds only partly to Ptolemy's description of the Nile sources; Ptolemy

knows only of two lakes, not lying on the same latitude and does not speak of a great number of rivers coming from the Mountains of the Moon. The third lake especially is an innovation (cf. A. v. Mzik, in *Denkschr. Ak. Wiss. Wien*, lxxxix., p. 44); in later authors such as Ibn Sa'īd and al-Dimashkī this third lake is called Kūrā and may be connected with some notion of Lake Chad (the same authors change the name of Djabal al-Qamar into Djabal al-Qumr which pronunciation is commented on by al-Makrizī, ed. Wiet, i. 219), but this is not probable for the time of al-Khwarizmi; the knowledge of more equatorial lakes, however, may perhaps be traced to the experiences of the two centuries despatched by Nero to explore the Nile and who reached, according to Seneca, a marshy impassable region, which has been identified with the Baḥr al-Ghazal. The system described by al-Khwarizmi of the origin of the Nile is represented on the map in the Strassburg MS. and is repeated many times after him (Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Ibn al-Faḥīh, Qudāma, Suhrāb, al-Idrisi and later authors). Al-Mas'ūdī, in describing a map he has seen, does not speak of the third lake (*Murūdj*, i. 205, 206) and Ibn Rusta (*B. G. A.*, vii. 90) says that the Nile comes from a mountain called B-b-n and also knows only two lakes. Al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawḳal on the contrary, frankly admit that the origin of the Nile is unknown, which is also illustrated by their maps. Still the system of al-Khwarizmi continued to be a geographical dogma and is found as late as al-Suyūṭī. Al-Khwarizmi also took over from Ptolemy a western tributary of the Nile, which comes from a lake on the equator; this river is called by Ptolemy Astapos and may perhaps be identified with the Atbara. A later development, which connects with the Nile system a river that flows to the east in the Indian Ocean, is found for the first time in al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, i. 205, 206; ii. 383, 384); this view is later taken up again by Ibn Sa'īd and al-Dimashkī.

Another category of notions about the origins of the Nile is connected with the Jewish and Christian traditions which make the Nile come from Paradise. Mediæval cosmographical theory places Paradise in the extreme East, on the other side of the sea (cf. the maps of Beatus), so that the Nile, like the other rivers of Paradise would have to cross the sea. This state of things is actually described in an old tradition, probably of Jewish origin, of a man who went in search of the sources of the Nile and had to cross the sea, after which he reached Paradise (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i. 268, 269 and *Akhbār al-Zamān*, MS. Vienna, fol. 156a-b; al-Maḳḍisī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 21). With this origin in Paradise is perhaps connected the view, which all sources attribute to al-Djāhiz in his lost *Kitāb al-Buldān*, that the Nile and the Mibrān (Indus) have the same origin (cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, *B. G. A.*, viii. 55), a view which is sarcastically criticized by al-Birūnī (*India*, p. 101). To the same origin may go back the idea, often found in Muḥammadan sources, that, when the Nile rises, all the rivers of the earth go down in level.

Thirdly there is a cycle of geographical conceptions which link up the western part of Africa with the river system of the Nile. Herodotus already had sought a western origin and Pliny quotes the *Lybica* of king Juba of Mauretania, who makes the Nile rise in western Mauretania. Mar-

quardt (*Benin-Sammlung*, p. 125 sqq.) has explained this view from a corruption of the name of the river Nuhul, which he identifies with the Wādī Nūl and which has its origin in the Mauritanian Atlas. Traces of this western Nile are to be found in Ibn al-Faḥīh (*B. G. A.*, v. 87) who, following an authority of the time of the conquest, places the origin of the Nile in al-Sūs al-Aḳṣā. Al-Bakrī for the first time identifies this western Nile with the river Niger, although we find already in al-Mas'ūdī the knowledge of a great river, far to the south of Sijilmāsa (*Murūdj*, iv. 92, 93). Al-Bakrī describes the Nile as passing through the territory of the Sūdān (ed. de Slane, p. 172) and enumerates a number of Berber and Sūdān tribes and their towns which border the river; the westernmost town is with him Ṣanghāra, followed in eastern direction by Takrūr, Sillā, Ghāna, Tiraḳḳā and finally the country of Kawkaw. After al-Bakrī a similar description is given by al-Idrisi, but this last author goes back to another source than al-Bakrī when he places the mouth of the Nile in the neighbourhood of the salt town Awlīl, thus identifying the lower course of this Nile with the Senegal (Marquardt, *loc. cit.*, p. 171). Al-Idrisi likewise shows himself informed on the course of the Nile to the east of Kawkaw, though he is in doubt if Kawkaw is situated on the Nile itself or on a side arm (ed. Dozy and de Goeje, p. 11); he finally derives this western Nile from the third of the big Nile lakes mentioned above, thus connecting the Nile of the Sūdān with the Nile of Egypt in one river system. So long as the complete text of al-Bakrī is not known, we cannot ascertain if this conception goes back already to that author. Al-Idrisi's Nile course is clearly indicated on his maps of the 1st—4th section of the first climate. After him it is especially Ibn Sa'īd who has described the western Nile in this way and he has been followed again by Abu 'l-Fidā'. Al-Dimashkī (ed. Mehren, p. 89) gives the same representation; this last author even makes the third lake, which he calls like Ibn Sa'īd the lake of Kūrā, give birth to three rivers: the Nile of the Sūdān, the Nile of Egypt, and a third river running in eastern direction towards Maḳdashū in the Zandj country on the Indian Ocean. This last river, which was also connected by al-Mas'ūdī with the Nile [cf. *supra*] is probably identical with the Webi river in Italian Somaliland.

While the geographical authors constructed in this way the Nile system with a good deal of credulity and imagination, the real knowledge of the Nile south of Egypt advanced but slowly. The southernmost point reached by the Arab conquerors was Dongola (al-Kindī, ed. Guest, p. 12) and it was well known that this town was situated on the Nile; its latitude and longitude are given by al-Khwarizmi and Suhrāb. Al-Ya'qūbī (*Ta'rikh*, ed. Houtsma, p. 217) knows that, in the country of the Nūba called 'Alwa, who live behind the Nūba called Muḳurra, the Nile divides into various branches; this same author, however, places Sind behind 'Alwa. Al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, iii. 31, 32) knows that the country of the Nūba is divided into two parts by the Nile. Ibn Ḥawḳal (Constantinople MS.) describes two places where there are cataracts (*djanādīl*), namely the one above Uswān, which is the "first cataract", and one near Dongola, of which it is not certain whether the "second" or the "third" cataract is meant. About the same time,

however, a traveller named Ibn Sulaim al-Uswānī wrote a valuable description of the middle Nile course, which has been preserved in al-Maḳrīzī's *Khīṭaṭ* (ed. Wiet, in *M.I.F.A.O.*, xlii. 252 sqq.). This Ibn Sulaim, on whom al-Maḳrīzī's *Kitāb al-Muḳaṭṭaʿ* gives some information (cf. Quatremère, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, ii.), had been sent by the Fāṭimid general Dījawhar to the king of the Nūba on a diplomatic errand, and was the author of a *Kitāb Akhbār al-Nūba wa 'l-Muḳurra wa 'Alwa wa 'l-Budja wa 'l-Nīl*, in which a detailed description is given of these countries. He says that the region between Uswān and Dunḳula is inhabited in the north by the Maris and more to the south by the Muḳurra; the northern part is barren and the great cataracts are correctly described. The country between Dunḳula and 'Alwa (this last spot is the region of *Khartūm*) is described as highly flourishing; the big winding of the Nile here is perfectly known to Ibn Sulaim. The Nile "is divided" then into seven rivers; from the description it is clear that the northern one of these rivers is the Atbara, coming from the east; further south the "White Nile" and the "Green Nile" join near the capital of 'Alwa and the "Green Nile", which comes from the east, is again the result of four rivers, one of which comes, as the author thinks, from the country of the Habasha, and one from the country of the Zandj; this last, incorrect, statement may have been influenced by learned tradition. Between the "White Nile" and the "Green Nile" there stretches a large island (*djazīra*, as it is still called on our maps), which has no limits in the south. This is about the only description in mediæval Islāmic literature that shows how far the knowledge of the middle Nile really went. Only little of it seems to have reached the systematic geographic treatises; al-Idrīsī, e.g., describes this part of the river in a way which only shows that he did not make good use of the inadequate sources that were at his disposal.

The exploration of the upper Nile and its sources since the end of the xviiith century was the work of European travellers. They discovered, or perhaps re-discovered, the real big Nile lakes and identified the Ruwenzori mountain range with the Moon Mountains, the name of which was found again by the explorer Speke in the name of the Unyamwezi country, the "country of the moon". A part of the exploration of the Nile was due, however, also to Egyptian initiative. The well-known military expedition of 1820—1822 under Muḥammad 'Alī's son Ismā'īl Pasha, during which the city of *Khartūm* was founded, established Egyptian domination in the Egyptian Sūdān and opened the way for further scientific exploration. In the years 1839—1842 three Egyptian expeditions went up the White Nile, and during the reign of Ismā'īl Pasha the Egyptian government repeatedly tried to cleanse the swamps of the White Nile above Sobat from the masses of vegetation (*sudd*) which hindered navigation.

The yearly flood of the Nile (*ziyāda*, *faiḍ*, *faiyaḍān*) is the phenomenon to which Egypt has been at all times indebted for its fertility and prosperity, as it provides, in compensation for the almost complete lack of rain in the country, a natural and almost regular irrigation for the lands on its borders and in the delta. It is the foundation of all cultural life and justifies entirely the attribute *mubārak* so often given to the river. On the same

account the Nile is considered, as well as the Euphrates, as a "believing" river (al-Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, *M. I. F. A. O.*, xxx. 218). The flood deeply influences the private and public life of villagers and townsfolk alike, and already the oldest Muḥammadan traditions about Egypt reflect the feelings of wonder and thankfulness that animated the people of Egypt before them (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, p. 109, 205). Having reached its lowest level towards the end of May at Assuan and in the middle of June at Cairo, the Nile begins to rise again, reaching its highest level in the beginning of September at Assuan and in the beginning of October at Cairo. This regularity brings about a similar regularity in the methods of irrigation in the several parts of Egypt, in the times of the sowing and reaping of the different crops and consequently in the modes of levying the land taxes (e.g. al-Maḳrīzī, ed. Būlāḳ, i. 270, which text comes from Ibn Ḥawḳal); all the dates referring to these occupations have always continued to be fixed according to the Coptic solar calendar.

There is much discussion in the literary sources about the causes of the flood. The most ancient belief, which at the same time corresponds best with reality, was that the flood is caused by heavy rainfalls in the countries where the Nile and its tributaries have their origin. This is expressed in a somewhat exaggerated way in a tradition that goes back to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ, according to which all the rivers of the world contribute, by divine order, with their waters to the flood of the Nile (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *loc. cit.*, and p. 149). This implies the belief that all other rivers fall while the Nile rises, but, on the other hand, it is sometimes observed that other rivers also show the same phenomenon of rising and falling, especially the Indus, and this again is considered as a proof of the common origin of the two rivers (al-Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, *M.I.F.A.O.*, xxx. 227). There are, however, other views, which attribute the cause of the flood to the movement of the sea, or to the effect of the winds; these views have been inherited from sources of the pre-Muḥammadan period, among others from the treatise on the flood of the Nile attributed to Aristotle, and they are discussed and refuted at length in a special chapter of al-Maḳrīzī's *Khīṭaṭ* (*M. I. F. A. O.*, xxx. 236 sqq.).

Up to the xixth century the irrigation system of Egypt continued along the same lines. When the flood begins all the outlets on both sides of the main stream and its principal arms in the Delta are closed, to be opened again about the time of the highest flood, when the water level has reached the necessary height according to the different places. The most important of these yearly "openings" was that of the canal (*Khaliḍj*) of Cairo, which, until recent times, remained a public festival. In Cairo the flood is complete (*wafā' al-Nīl*), when it has reached 16 *dhīrāt*, generally in the first decade of the Coptic month of Mesore (about the midst of August), and this was proclaimed everywhere in the town (cf. the description by Lane, *Manners and Customs*, ii. 287 sqq. and E. Littmann, *Ein arabischer Text über die Nilschwelle*, *Festschrift Oppenheim*, Berlin 1933, p. 66 sqq., for older times, al-Ḳāḷashandī, iii. 516).

The height of the level of the Nile has been measured since olden times by the Nilometers [cf. *MIKYAS*]. Many of these *miḳyās* are recorded by the

sources, the southernmost being that of 'Alwa and the most celebrated the one of al-Fuṣṭāṭ, constructed by Usāma b. Zaid al-Tanūkhī about 92 (711) and often restored afterwards (a complete survey of all the *miḡyās* is given in Omar Toussoun, *Mémoire sur l'Histoire du Nil*, ii. 265 sqq.). These instruments generally were made of stone, with marks upon them, but they were sometimes of other material (e.g. a fig-tree near the monastery of Safanūf in Nubia; cf. Evetts, *Churches*, p. 262). The level necessary for the operations of irrigation varied in different places; in the capital the average level had to be 16 *dhirā'* above the lowest level of the Nile; if the flood surpassed 18 *dhirā'* it became dangerous, while a flood not exceeding 12 *dhirā'* meant famine (cf. e.g. al-Idrisi, p. 145, 146). In the history of Egypt the years after 444 (1052), and especially the year 451 (1059), are notorious for the famine and disaster caused by the failure or practical failure of the flood. A historical account of the flood from the years 152—1296 (769—1879) is given on p. 454 sqq. of Omar Toussoun, *Mémoire sur l'Histoire du Nil*, ii.

The regulation of the main stream and its branches are ascribed to the ancient Egyptian kings (al-Maḡrizī, on the authority of Ibn Wāṣif Shāh), but no real irrigation work of a wider scope existed in the Middle Ages and later except the famous canal system of al-Faiyūm [q.v.], which all the sources ascribe to the prophet Yūsuf. In the rest of Egypt the water was allowed to flow freely over the lands after the piercing of the dams, so that large areas were completely inundated for some time; the Arabic sources contain some vivid descriptions of the large stretches of water, above which rose the villages, communication between the villages being only possible by means of boats during that time of the year (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i. 162; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, p. 205). Since the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī new irrigation works have been planned with the aim of making the country more productive, a possibility at which already the mediæval authors hinted more than once. The first efforts, however, failed. About 1840 was begun the construction of a great barrier across the two arms of the Nile at the apex of the Delta, according to the plans of the French engineer Mouget, but this enterprise began to bear fruit only fifty years later when this barrage project, including the Tawfiḡiyya, Manūfiyya and Buḡairiyya canals, had been completed in 1890. The later great irrigation works were executed higher up the river, such as the great dam and locks at the head of the cataracts near Philae above Assuan, in 1902, which was raised again in 1912, and again in 1933. While allowing, on one side, a better regulation of the distribution of Nile water in Egypt, these barrages higher up enable at the same time a better irrigation of the borders to the south of Egypt. Herewith is connected the enormous barrage of Makwār, near Sennār on the Blue Nile above Kharṭūm, which permits the irrigation of the region called al-Djazīra, between the Blue Nile and the White Nile. This work was finished in 1925 and is meant to be completed by a similar barrage on the White Nile. In this way the control of the Nile waters has passed to a certain extent out of Egypt itself; it recalls the days of the great famine in 1059, when the Egyptians thought that the Nubians were holding up the flood of the Nile.

The same problem came up recently with regard to the new project of constructing a dam on the frontier of the Sūdān and the Belgian Congo and the question was raised whether this dam will prove a *fā'ida 'adjiila* or a *fā'ida 'adjiila* for Egypt (cf. the newspaper *al-Balāgh* of March 17, 1934).

It has already been shown how the flood of the Nile was the occasion of popular festivals such as the opening of the canal of Cairo. But in other respects also the Nile is connected with traditional customs of a religious character, which are to be traced back through the Greek-Christian period into very ancient times. When the Arabs conquered Egypt, the sacrifice of the "Nile Bride" was still in use; every year a richly apparelled young virgin was thrown into the Nile to obtain a plentiful inundation. According to a tradition first recorded by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (p. 150), this custom was abolished by 'Amr Ibn al-Āṣ and the Nile resumed its flood after a note of the caliph 'Umar had been thrown into it requiring the river to rise if the flood was willed by God. In later times a symbolic offering of a girl called *'Arūsāt al-Nīl* was still practised on the Coptic *'Id al-Ṣalīb* (Norden, *Travels in Egypt and Nubia*, 1757, p. 63—65); Lane (*Manners and Customs*, p. 290) mentions a round pillar of earth, near the dam of the canal of Cairo, which pillar was called *al-'Arūsa*. Another custom, practised formerly by Christians and Muḥammadans alike, was to bathe in the Nile on the eve of the Epiphany, in memory of the Baptism of Christ (cf. Evetts, *Churches*, p. 129). Al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, ii. 364 sqq.) describes this festival, which he calls *Lailat al-Ḡhiṭās*, for the year 330 (942). Lane (p. 363 sq.) describes the same ceremony, but in his time the Muḥammadans did not take part in it. But bathing in Nile water in general procures *baraka* (cf. W. Blackman, *The Fellāḥin of Upper Egypt*, p. 32 with regard to bathing in the Baḡr Yūsuf).

The quality of the Nile water is a matter of discussion in medical treatises. Avicenna (*al-Ḳānūn fi 'l-Ṭibb*, ed. Būlāḡ 1294, i. 98; cited by al-Maḡrizī) holds that the circumstance that a river flows from south to north has a bad influence on the water, especially when a south wind blows, and on this account he thinks that the abundant praise given to the Nile is exaggerated. The Egyptian physician Ibn Riḏwān (d. 453 = 1061) says that the Nile water reaches Egypt in a pure state, owing to the health in the country of the Sūdān, but that the water is spoilt by the impurities that mix with it on Egyptian soil (cited by al-Maḡrizī, *M.I.F.A.O.*, xxx. 275 sqq.). This same author describes very clearly the troubled condition of the water when the flood begins. He discusses likewise the influence of the Nile on the climate of Egypt and the medicinal properties of its water.

Other authors speak at length of the fauna of the Nile, giving especial attention to the fish. A very long list of fishes is given by al-Idrisi (p. 16 sqq.) with a description of their often curious qualities. The animals most frequently described by the geographers are, however, the crocodiles, and the animal called *saḡankūr*, which is said to be the result of a cross between a crocodile and a fish, but which seems to be in reality a kind of lizard.

The possibilities which the Nile afforded for navigation are best seen from the historical sources. Sea-going vessels do not seem ever to have entered

its arms, while the traffic on the river was maintained by small craft; various names of Nile boats occur in literature; in the ninth century the vessel called *dhahabiya* is especially known. In earlier times the term *zallāḍj* is used for a Nile boat (al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umarā'*, ed. Guest, p. 157; Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v.). The skill of the fishermen in their sailing boats on the lakes in the Delta is often recorded; on shallow places, however, as well as on the inundated lands, boats had to be moved by means of oars or poles. The rapids between Egypt and Nubia were, as nowadays, an insurmountable barrier to river traffic; the loads were conveyed along the shore to the other side of the falls (Ibn Hawkal, MS. Sulṭān Aḥmad Kōshk, N^o. 3346, fol. 86).

The cataracts above Assuan for a long time continued to form a barrier to the spread of Islām towards the countries bordering the Nile to the south of Egypt, which forms a curious contrast with the part played by the Nile in the introduction of Christianity into Nubia (cf. J. Kraus, *Die Anfänge des Christentums in Nubien*, Münster [Diss.] 1930). Islām penetrated only slowly into Nubia and became more generally disseminated in the Sudān only in the ninth century [cf. SUDĀN].

Something has been said already about the praises of the Nile and its descriptions in poetical terms, by which this river has contributed to Arabic literature. Al-Makrizī (*loc. cit.*, p. 270 sqq.) cites some fragments of poems in praise of the Nile and its flood; among the poets which he names are Tamīm Ibn al-Mu'izz [q. v.] (d. 985) and Ibn Ḳalāḳis (d. 1172). Further Yāḳūt (i. 592; iv. 865) cites some poems which he attributes to Umaiya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt; this poet is probably Abu 'l-Ṣalt Umaiya b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 1134) who wrote a treaty *al-Risāla al-Miṣriya*, from which also al-Makrizī makes quotations. The earliest Arabic poems on the Nile are probably those found in the *Diwān* of Ibn Ḳais al-Ruḳaiyāt [q. v.], the court poet of 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Marwān in the beginning of the eighth century. Several treatises have been especially devoted to the Nile. Ibn Zūlāḳ (d. 997) says in his *Faḍā'il Miṣr* (MS. arabe N^o. 1818 of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, fol. 31r) that he has written a book on the importance and the salutary qualities of the Nile, which now seems to be lost. Further there are a treatise *Tabṣīrat al-Aḫyār fī Nīl Miṣr wa-Aḫḥawātihi min al-Anḥār* (MS. in Algiers; cf. Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 506), and two short opuscula by Djalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 1459) and al-Suyūṭī, which are found together in the MS. Or. 1535 of the British Museum (Rieu, *Suppl.*, N^o. 1198; *G.A.L.*, ii. 114).

Bibliography: As the aim of the present article is to give only an account of the Nile from the point of view of Islām and its history, it seems superfluous to quote here even the most important modern works and articles belonging to the abundant bibliography of the Nile. The earlier Muḥammadan authors have all been named in the text; the later ones, such as Yāḳūt, 'Abd al-Laṭīf, Abu 'l-Fidā', al-Ḳalkashandī, al-Makrizī, al-Suyūṭī (*Husn al-Muḥādara*), al-Nuwairī and others are in most cases a compendium of earlier earlier views and statements. A very important later Muḥammadan source is *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfiḳiyya* by 'Alī Bāshā Mubārak. The Muḥammadan literary sources have been used in the following works: Else Reitemeyer, *Beschreibung Aegyptens*

im Mittelalter, Leipzig 1903, p. 31—61; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la Géographie de l'Égypte*, in *M.I.F.A.O.*, xxxvi. 215 sqq.; and very profusely: Omar Toussoun, *Mémoire sur l'Histoire du Nil*, vols. i., ii., iii., in *Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Égypte*, viii., ix., x., Cairo 1925. The last of these three volumes contains a series of cartographical reconstructions. A number of ancient Muḥammadan maps of the Nile are to be found in the *Mappae Arabicae*, ed. Konrad Miller, Stuttgart 1926—1930, and more completely in vol. iii. of the *Monumenta Cartographica Africae et Aegypti* by Youssouf Kemal, as far as this work has appeared; in this same work all the geographical references to the Nile are also to be found in a chronological order. (J. H. KRAMERS)

NİLÜFER KHATUN, wife of Urḳhan and mother of Murād I, apparently the Greek name Nenuphar (i. e. Lotus-flower) (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, i. 59), was the daughter of the lord of Yārḥiṣār (Anatolia, near Brussa; cf. Ḥādjī Khalifa, *Diḥānummā*, p. 659) and according to one story was betrothed to the lord of Belokoma (Bilejik). 'Oṭmān, the founder of the dynasty which bears his name, is said to have kidnapped and carried her off in 699 (1299) and to have destined her to be the wife of his son Urḳhan, then only 12 years old. Idris Bitlisi, and following him Neshri, tells the story of the rape but the Byzantine sources make no reference to it. Nīlūfer Khātun became the mother of Murād I and also of Sulaimān Pasha. The river which flows through the plain of Brussa bears the same name as also does the bridge over it in front of the town and monastery there. The bridge and monastery are said to have been endowed by Nīlūfer Khātun. Nothing more is known of her life. She was buried beside Urḳhan on the citadel of Brussa. That Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii. 323 sq. really means Nīlūfer Khātun by Bayalūn, (بيلون) Khātun, which both F. Giese (cf. *Z.S.*, ii., 1924, p. 263) and F. Taeschner (cf. *Isl.*, xx. 135) think to be obvious, as they take بيلون to be a corruption of نيلوفر, is however by no means proved, because Bayalūn is a name which occurs again in Ibn Baṭṭūta for a Byzantine princess (cf. ii. 393 sq.). Besides, the mention in Ibn Baṭṭūta who paid his respects to the princess at her court in Iznīk (c. 740 = 1339) is very brief. F. Taeschner suggests that Nīlūfer is a corruption of Olivera, while hitherto Nīlūfer (cf. Pers. *nīlūfer* "water lily" and Greek *Λουλούφερον* and *νούφερα* with the same meaning) has been derived from the Greek. Nīlūfer was and is also popularly known as Lulufer (e. g. in the early Ottoman chronicles) or Ulufur the river Ülfer Çai; cf. F. Taeschner, *op. cit.* p. 135 sq.

Bibliography: J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, i. 59 sq.; *Sidḳill-i 'oṭmānī*, i. 86 (according to Neshri); F. Taeschner, in *Isl.*, xx. 133—137. (FRANZ BABINGER)

Nİ'MAT ALLĀH B. AḤMAD B. ḲADĪ MUBĀRAK, known as Khalīl Ṣūfī, author of a Persian-Turkish Dictionary, entitled *Lughat-i Ni'mat Allāh*. Born in Sofiā, where as an enameller he made a reputation as an artist, he moved to Constantinople and there entered the Nakṣbandī order. Association with the Nakṣbandī dervishes made him more closely acquainted with literature and

especially with Persian poetry. Nīmat Allāh decided to make accessible to others the knowledge he had acquired by an ardent study of Persian literature and thus arose his lexicographical work which he probably compiled at the instigation and with the assistance of the famous Kemāl Pasha-zāde (d. 940 = 1533). He died in 969 (1561—1562) and was buried in the court of the monastery at the Adrianople gate in Stambul. His work which survives in a considerable number of manuscripts is divided into three parts: verbs, particles and inflection, nouns. His sources were: 1. *Uḡnūm-i 'Adjam* (s. Uri, p. 291, N^o. 108); 2. *Kāsimā-yi Lutf Allāh Ḥalīmī* (Hādjdjī Khalifa, iv. 503); 3. *Wasīlā-yi Maḥāsīd* (Flügel, Vienna Catalogue, i. 197); 4. *Lughāt-i Karā-Ḥisāri* (Rieu, p. 513^a); 5. *Shihāb-i 'Adjam* (Hādjdjī Khalifa, vi. 91 and Leyden Catalogue, i. 100). Besides making careful use of these sources Nīmat Allāh added much independent material, of which his dialect notes and ethnographical observations are especially valuable. This work is of considerable scientific importance and deserves greater attention than it has so far received.

Bibliography: O. Blau, *Über Nīmatullah's persisch-türkisches Wörterbuch*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxi. (1877), S. 484; Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 514^b; Hādjdjī Khalifa, vi. 362. — Partly used by Golius for the Persian part of Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton*. The best MSS. are Dorn, St. Petersburg Catalogue, N^o. 431 (p. 426) and Fleischer, Dresden Catalogue, N^o. 182. (E. BERTHELS)

NĪMAT ALLĀH B. ḤABĪB ALLĀH HARAWĪ, a Persian historian. His father was for 35 years in the service of the Great Mughal Akbar (1556—1605) where he was a *khālīṣa* inspector. Nīmat Allāh himself was for 11 years historian to Djahāngir (1605—1628), then entered the service of Khān-Djahān whom he accompanied in 1018 (1609—1610) on the campaign against the Dekkan. Soon afterwards he became acquainted with Miyan-Haibat-Khān b. Salīm-Khān Kākar of Sāmāna who persuaded him to write a history of the reign of Khān-Djahān. Nīmat Allāh began his work in Malkāpūr in Dhu 'l-Hijjā 1020 (Feb. 1612) and finished it on the 10th Dhu 'l-Hijjā 1021 (Feb. 2, 1613). The work is dedicated to Khān-Djahān, is entitled *Tārīkh-i Khāndjahāni* and consists of a *muḥaddima*, 7 *bāb* and a *khātima*. It deals with the history of the Afghāns, beginning with their legendary descent from the Banū Ismā'īl and treats with special fullness of the history of Bahlūl Lodī, Shīr Shāh Sūr and Nawwāb Khān-Djahān Lodī. The last chapters are devoted to the genealogy of the Afghān tribes and the reign of Djahāngir. The *khātima* contains biographies of famous Afghān *shāikhs*. There is also an abbreviated version of the work entitled *Makhsūz-i Afghāni*.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, in *G. I. Ph.*, ii. 362—363; Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 210^a, 212^a, 903^b; H. Elliot, *History of India*, v. 67—115. The shorter version is translated by B. Dorn, *History of the Afghans: translated from the Persian of Neamat Ullah*, in *Orient. Transl. Fund*, London 1829—1836. (E. BERTHELS)

NĪMAT ALLĀH WALĪ, a Persian mystic. Amir Nūr al-Dīn Nīmat Allāh, son of Mir 'Abd Allāh, and a descendant of the fifth imām of the Shī'a, Bākīr, the founder of the Nīmat Allāhī order, is highly esteemed in Persia as a great saint and wonder-worker. He was born in Ḥalab in

730—731 (1329—1330/1), spent his early years in the 'Irāq and went to Mecca at the age of 24 where he became a pupil and *khālīṣa* of the famous Shāikh 'Abd Allāh Yāfī' [see Yāfī']. After his teacher's death, he went to Samarkand, then visited Herāt and Yazd and finally settled in Māhān, 8 farsakhs from Kirmān, where he spent the last 25 years of his life and died on 22nd Rādjāb 834 (April 5, 1431). His tomb is still a popular place of pilgrimage (*ziyaratgāh*). In his lifetime he was held in great honour by all rulers and received particular marks of esteem from Shāh-Rukh. His grandsons migrated to India and were appointed to high office in the Deccan by 'Alā' al-Dīn Aḥmad-Shāh Bahmanī (1435—1457). Nīmat Allāh was a very prolific theorist of Ṣūfism and is said to have written over 500 *risālas* on different questions of Ṣūfī doctrine. About a hundred of these have come down to us and can be identified. They are for the most part quite short treatises, generally explanations of difficult passages in the classics of Ṣūfism like Ibn al-'Arabī, Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī etc. His large *Diwān* of lyrics is more valuable; it contains much true poetry and is marked by a fervent sincerity.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, in *G. I. Ph.*, ii. 299, 301; Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 43^a, 634^b, 641^b, 774^b, 829^a, 831^b, 869^b; E. G. Browne, *History of Persian Literature under Tatar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920, p. 463 sq.; *Diwān*, lith. Tih-rān 1276. A biography by Ṣān' Allāh Nīmat-Allāhī, *Sawāniḥ al-A'iyām fi Mushāhadāt al-A'wām mawṣūm bi-Silsilat al-'Arifin* (Persian), lith. Bombay 1307 (1890). See also Ḥabīb al-Siyar, iii. 3, 143 (where 25th Rādjāb is given as the date of his death) and Dawlatshāh (ed. Browne, p. 333—340), who however with his usual carelessness gives 827 as the date of his death. (E. BERTHELS)

NĪMAT KHĀN 'ĀLĪ, MİRZĀ NŪR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD, son of Ḥakīm Fath al-Dīn Shīrāzī, a Persian author, was born in India and came of a family several of whom had been distinguished physicians in their ancestral home in Shīrāz. He entered the service of the state under Shāh-Djahān (1628—1659) and was appointed keeper of the crown jewels with the title of *dārūgha-yi djawāhir-khāna*. He attained his highest honours under Awrangzēb (1659—1707) who gave him the title of Nīmat Khān (1104 = 1692—1693), which was later changed to Muḥarrab Khān and then to Dānīshmand Khān. He died at Dehli on the 1st Rabi' II 1122 (May 30, 1710). Nīmat Allāh who wrote under the *takhalluṣ* of 'Ālī, was exceedingly prolific and wrote a number of works in prose and verse of which the following are the most important: 1. *Waḳā'f-i Haidarābād*: a description of the siege of Haidarābād by Awrangzēb in 1097 (1685—1686). This work is characterized by a biting wit and describes the siege in a satirical form which procured the little book the greatest popularity; 2. *Djāng-nāma*, a chronicle which covers the last years of Awrangzēb's reign and the war which broke out after his death among his sons; 3. *Bahādur-shāh-nāma*, a chronicle of the two first years of the reign of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur-Shāh (1707—1712); 4. *Ḥusn u-'Ishk*, also called *Katkhudāyī* or *Munākaha-yi Ḥusn u-'Ishk*, an allegorical love story, an imitation of the celebrated *Ḥusn u-Dil* of Fattāhī [q. v.]; 5. *Rāhat al-Kulūb*, satirical sketches of a number of contemporaries; 6. *Risāla-yi Hadjw-i Ḥukamā'*,

anecdotes of physicians and their incompetence; 7. *Khān-i Nīmat*, a work on cookery; 8. *Ruḡa'āt*, letters to Mirzā Mubārak Allāh Irādāt *Khān Wāḡīh*, Mirzā Muḥammad Sa'īd, the head of the imperial kitchen and others, which were very highly thought of as models of a choice style of letter-writing; 9. a lyrical *Diwān*; 10. a short *Mathnawī* without a title, which deals with the usual Šūfī ethical themes. This survey shows a great versatility on the part of Nīmat *Khān* but it must be pointed out that, with the exception of the satirical works which are really original and of great value for the characterisation of his age, none of them rises above the level of degenerate imitations of classical models.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, in *G. I. Ph.*, ii. 334, 336—338; Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 268^a, 702^b, 703^a, 738^b, 744^b, 745^a, 796^a, 807^a, 938^b, 1021^a, 1049^b; *Diwān*, lith. Lucknow 1881; *Husn u-'Ishk*, Lucknow 1842, 1873, 1878—1880, 1899, Delhi 1844 (almost all editions have a commentary); *Waḡā'ī-i Haidarābād* or *Waḡā'ī-i Nīmat Khān*, lith. Lucknow 1844, 1848, 1859, Cawnpore 1870, 1878; *Bahādur-shāh-nāma* in H. Elliot, *History of India*, vii. 568; *Djāng-nāma*, *ibid.*, vii. 202. An English translation: *An English Translation of Nīmat Khan Alī's Jang Nama. With . . . a short sketch of the author's life*. Candra Lall Gupta and Angra Lall Varma, Agra 1909; *Ruḡa'āt wa-Mudhḥikāt*, Lucknow 1845. An MS. of the *Khān-i Nīmat* in Pertsch, *Berlin Catalogue*, N^o. 341. (E. BERTHELS)

NIMRŪD. [See NAMRŪD.]

NIMRŪD, a ruined site in the ancient Assyria, the northern portion of the modern 'Irāk, about twenty miles south of Mōsul, in 36° 5' North Lat. and 43° 20' East Long. (Greenwich) in the angle formed by the Tigris and its tributary, the Upper or Great Zāb, six miles above the mouth of the latter. The plateau of Nimrūd rises abruptly from the surrounding country, and the great advantages of this situation caused a settlement to be made here already in remote antiquity. Excavations on the site have established the fact that the ruins there were those of the town of Kalakh (Kalkhu). This is already mentioned as Kelakh (Calah) in the Old Testament in a passage which is not absolutely unambiguous (Gen. x. 11—12), which says it was built either by Nimrod or Ashshur; the latter appears to me more intelligible. In Greek writers we find only the name of the district *Καλαχηνή* or *Καλακηνή* (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encykl. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, x. 1530). It was no doubt its favourable strategical position that decided the Assyrian King Salmanassar I (c. 1280—1261) to raise it to be his royal residence alongside of the previous capital Ashshur (now Ḳal'at Sherkāṭ; q. v.).

We learn nothing from the cuneiform inscriptions about the decline of Kalkhu. Kalkhu probably fell about the same time as Nineveh after a stubborn resistance to the onslaught of the Median-Babylonian army. When Xenophon in 401 B. C. passed by the town, which he describes clearly, it was already a ruin.

So far as I know Kalakh is not mentioned in Syriac literature and in the Arab writers of the middle ages only incidentally and under wrong names. In Yāḳūt (ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 119, 16; iii. 113) we are told that al-Salāmiya is in the vicinity of the ruins of the town of Athūr, which can

only mean the ruins of Kalakh (cf. also ii., p. 184). At the present day the site is known only as Nimrūd, which so far as I know first appears in Niebuhr, who stayed in Mōsul in 1766, see his *Reisebeschr. nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern*, ii. (Copenhagen 1778), p. 355, 368. When this, now the usual, name arose is unknown; I consider it to be of modern origin. It should be noted that names like Nimrod, Tell Nimrod, etc. are not found in the geographical nomenclature of Mesopotamia and the 'Irāk in the middle ages, while they are several times met with at the present day.

The first European to give a brief account of the "ruined castle" of Nimrūd and the remains there was Niebuhr, although not from his own inspection. In 1821 Cl. Rich visited the site and gives the first detailed account of the ruins; in his posthumous work are the first pictures of cuneiform tablets discovered there. A few years before Layard, William Ainsworth examined the site. In 1843 Fletcher visited it. Layard, the real investigator of Nimrūd, twice examined the mounds of ruins in 1840 but it was not till 1845 that he was able to begin excavations, which were conducted in two great expeditions (1845—1847 and 1849—1851). Layard's reports were supplemented in many details by the notes, to which too little attention has so far been paid, by Sandreczki (see *Bibl.*) who spent a considerable time in Mōsul and its neighbourhood in 1850. After Layard's departure home, H. Rassam continued his work in Nimrūd. In 1873 G. Smith resumed Layard's work but only for a month. Finally Rassam on behalf of the British Museum again continued the earlier excavations for a period of five years (1878—1882).

Our study of the topography of Nimrūd must still be based on the large map of the vicinity of Nineveh and the whole area between the Tigris and Upper Zāb made by F. Jones in 1852, which the Royal Asiatic Society published in three sheets under the title *Vestiges of Assyria* (sheets 2 and 3 deal with Nimrūd). The commentary on these maps is the article by Jones, in *J. R. A. S.*, vol. xv. (see *Bibl.*).

The fairly comprehensive complex of ruins at Nimrūd forms in the main a rectangular plateau, out of which a triangular mass juts in the south-east giving the whole the appearance of an irregular hexagon. The longest side, which runs east and west, measures 7,000 feet and the northeast side 5,000 feet (in the southeast including the salient triangle 6,600 feet). The circumference of the whole area is six miles. Layard's investigations revealed that this extensive area marking the site of the town of Kalkhu was surrounded by a wall with towers. In the north he found fifty-eight, in the east fifty of these towers; in the south this wall of earth has now almost entirely disappeared (cf. Layard, *Discoveries* etc., p. 656). The length of the wall was seven miles, that is to say it was longer than the boundary of the whole ruined area because two arms were necessary to include the suburbs in the southeast.

The royal quarter in the southwest corner with the palaces and chief temples occupied a relatively small part of the area described. It lay on a terrace and was shut off from the rest of the town by a wall. To it also belonged the high cone-shaped mound in the northwest which is the dominating

feature of the landscape at Nimrūd. Its diameter is 550 feet in breadth and 600 in length and it still stands 130 feet above the level of the Tigris but must as a storied temple tower (*siḫkuratu*), have been originally about 160 feet high. The royal city is oblong in shape and has a circumference of over 2,000 yards; its west side measures 2,000—2,050 feet and its north side about 1,200 feet.

In the northwest part of the royal city stood the temple of Ninurta (formerly read Ninib), the chief centre of worship of this deity in Assyria. It had a storied tower, the builder of which, according to an inscription, was Salmanassar III, Xenophon's *ῥαπακὶς λυδίων*, now represented by the conical mound (cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, p. clxiv., cc., note 2 sq.; Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien* etc., p. 20 sq. and do., *Armenien*, II/i. 251 sq.). Farther south on the same side was the so-called northwest (better: west) palace of Assurnāširpal II which Sargon II replaced by a new building. The sculptures with which its founder adorned it came for the most part to the British Museum (cf. *Reallexicon der Assyriologie*, i. 218). In the centre of the royal city but more to the south, Salmanassar III built the so-called central palace which at a later date was completely restored by Tiglatpileser III. The famous black obelisk came from it. This palace is less well preserved as Assarhaddon partly destroyed it when he took out Tiglatpileser III's reliefs to transport them to the new palace which he built in the southwest of the royal city. This southwest palace however remains unfinished as after a fire the building was not resumed; cf. Meissner and Rost, in *Beitr. zur Assyriol.*, iii. 191 sq.; *Reallex. der Assyriol.*, i. 202 and see also E. Unger, *Die Reliefs Tiglatpileasers III aus Nimrud*, Constantinople 1917.

In the south-east part of the royal quarter Assuretililāni built a palace and at the same time restored a temple of Nabū there which Adad-nirāri III had built and called after the chief sanctuary of this deity, E-zida in Borsippa (= Birs; q. v.). Here Rassam discovered a series of statues of Nabū dating from the time of Adadnirāri III which because they were found in *situ* were of topographical importance (cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, i, p. cc—ccii and ii. 272).

The eastern and north-eastern sides of the royal city have so far only been cursorily examined; probably they also conceal royal buildings.

Outside of the city walls, in the already mentioned triangle at the south-east corner, there are smaller mounds. Layard (*Discoveries*, p. 656) thought that the largest of these tells was perhaps once a fort or castle; he gives it the name of Tell Aḥūr (*op. cit.*, p. 165) on the authority of the local Arabs. Now it is true that — as already mentioned — in the Arab middle ages, the mounds of ruins near al-Salāmiya, i. e. the modern Nimrūd, were erroneously thought to be ruins of the town of Aḥūr. Educated Mōṣulans still held this view in the time of Rich (cf. Rich, *op. cit.*, ii. 131). I think nevertheless that Layard's name Tell Aḥūr for the mound or four mounds in question is due to a misunderstanding. In *Vestiges of Assyria*, sheet ii., Jones gives the name *Tall Yazār* for it, J. Oppert (*op. cit.*, i. 309) Tūlū Yazār, Sachau (*op. cit.*, p. 106) writes Tell Āzar, which is probably the name of a tribe (Yazār, *J. A.*, 1879, xiii. 224, 226).

The Tigris now runs about one and a half miles from Nimrūd but in Assyrian times it flowed directly past the walls of the town as distinct traces still prove (cf. thereon Jones in *J. R. A. S.*, xv. 342—343 = *Selections* etc., p. 446 sq.; Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, p. 27 and his *Armenia*, II/i., 250 sq.). In the centre, between the still distinct ancient bed of the Tigris and the modern one, is a third bed which the river filled in the middle ages; this latter now bears the name of *Širūt Albū Debbān* (see Jones, *Vestiges* and *J. R. A. S.*, xv. 343 = *Selections*, p. 447) = "The road of Albū Debbān", apparently after a Beduin tribe (the explanation given by Jones is hardly tenable).

A quarter of an hour west of the ruined site of Nimrūd (called frequently al-Kal'a = the citadel) is an older settlement, the fair-sized village of (old) Nimrūd also called Derāwīsh. Still farther west, near the Tigris is a village also called (New) Nimrūd of more recent origin and a mile N. W. of it directly on the river the village of Na'ife. Again a mile N. W. are the remains of a dam first described by J. Macdonald Kinneir from personal observations (see his *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia and Koordistan*, London 1818, p. 465). The natives call it *Sakr* or *Sukr Nimrūd* (see Kinneir, *loc. cit.*; Layard, *Nineveh*, i. 8) = Nimrod's Dam. Jones gives (*J. R. A. S.*, xv. 343 = *Selections*, p. 447 and *Vestiges of Assyria*, sheet ii.): *Ṣakhr* Nimrūd (= Nimrūd's Cliff); I suspect that he picked up the name wrongly (*ṣakhr* for *sakr* "dam"). At the same time we also have the name *Sikr al-Awāze* (Rich, *op. cit.*, ii. 129) or simply al-Awāze, Āwāy (Layard, *op. cit.*, i. 8, 365; Jones, *loc. cit.*) = "dam of noise" or "(the) noise" (*awāze* or *awah* from Persian *āwazidān*; see Vullers, *Lex. Pers.*, i. 56) and this second name owes its origin to the great noise caused by the waters breaking over the rocks here. The people of the vicinity say that there was once a bridge here. Probably a barrier of rock in the river was already used in ancient times as the foundation for a dam for irrigation purposes.

Still farther northwards about three miles from the ruins of Nimrūd lies Selāmiye on the Tigris, now a small village but in the middle ages as Yāḳūt, iii. 113 (al-Salāmiya; cf. also i. 119, 16) tells us, one of the most beautiful places in the region of Mōṣul. The modern Selāmiye lies in the southeast corner of an area covered with old ruins.

This Selāmiye may with great probability be identified with the Biblical Resen, numbered among the four Assyrian towns founded by Aššur (or Nimrod; cf. above) according to Gen. x. 11—12, and there located as lying between Nineveh and Kalakh (Calah). The assertion constantly made in learned works because of the words describing them "the same is a great city" and in view of passages in Jonah (i. 2; 3, 3—4; 4, 11) that these formed a gigantic tetrapolis linked together hardly deserves serious refutation.

The greater part of the finds at the English excavations at Nimrūd are in the British Museum where they are exhibited in the Assyrian transept, the Nimrud Gallery and in the Nimrud Central Saloon (cf. the *B. M. Guide* etc. [see *Bibl.*], p. 41 sq.). Nimrūd provided the British Museum with even greater treasures in sculptures (not inscriptions) than Koyunjik-Nineveh. Various objects from Layard's collection were left in Bombay on the way home and are now, with some pieces brought

by Rawlinson, in the possession of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; on them see Karkaria in the *Journal B. R. A. S.*, xviii. (Bombay 1891), p. 97—107. A large series of sculptures came to the Louvre; cf. E. Pottier, *Catalogue des Antiquités Assyriennes* (Louvre), Paris 1924, p. 23, 49—63. There are also miscellaneous antiquities from Nimrūd in the national collections in Stambul, Berlin, Zürich and Leningrad (Hermitage); on a few finds by Lehmann-Haupt, see his *Materialien*, p. 22 sq.

The English excavators left the site without filling in or even roughly levelling the ground they had cut up. In the spring of 1920 the 'Irāk government however had the half exposed sculptures lifted and put in the new Museum in Baghdad. During my stay in Nimrūd (May 1928), I saw the sculptures lying on the bank of the Tigris ready to be moved (2 statues of Nabū, a colossal bull, fragments of another, an unfinished lion in stone, two great slabs with inscriptions of Assurnāširpal etc.).

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NIMRÜD [See SISTĀN.]
NIRİZ, a place in Ādharbāidjān on the road from Marāgha [q. v.] to Urmīya [q. v.] south of the Lake of Urmīya. The stages on this route are still obscure. At about 15 farsakhs south of Marāgha was the station of Barza where the road bifurcated; the main road continued southward to Dinawar while the northwest went from Barza to Tiflis (2 farsakhs), thence to Djābarwān (6 farsakhs), thence to Niriz (4 farsakhs), thence to Urmīya (14 farsakhs); cf. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 121 (repeated by Kudāma with some variations); Muḥaddasī, p. 383.

The distance from Urmīya indicates that Niriz was in the vicinity of Suldūz [q. v.] which would find confirmation in the etymology from *ni-rēz* "flowing". Suldūz lies in the low plain, through which the Gādir flows to the Lake of Urmīya. At the present day the name Niriz is unknown, but a Kurd tribe of the region of Sa'udj-bulak [q. v.] bears the name of Nirizhī.

After the Arab conquest a family of Tā'i Arabs settled in Niriz. The first of these semi-independent chiefs was Murr b. 'Alī Mawṣilī who built a town at Niriz and enlarged the market of Djābarwān (cf. Balādhuri and Ya'qūbī, ii. 446). One of his sons, 'Alī, was among the rebels of 212 (827) whom the governor of Ādharbāidjān Muḥammad b. Ḥamid Ṭūsī deported to Baghdād, but 'Alī succeeded, it seems, in returning to his lands) cf. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 119). Abū Rudainī 'Omar b. 'Alī, appointed in 260 (873) governor of Ādharbāidjān by the caliph, made war on his predecessor 'Alī b. Aḥmad Azdī and killed him (Ṭabarī, iii. 1886). He was supported by the Khāridjīs. Cf. the account in *Pādshāhān-i gumnām*, Teherān 1929, ii. 27, 34.

In the 5th century Iṣṭakhri, p. 186 and Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 240 mention the Banū Rudainī as a dynasty already forgotten which had reigned over Dākharkān (read Djābarwān), Tabriz (read Niriz) and Ushnub al-Ādhariya [cf. Ushnū].

(V. MINORSKY)

AL-NISĀ², the "Women", the title of Sūra iv. of the Qur'ān; so-called because in the opening verses the position of women is dealt with. Nöldeke (*Geschichte des Qur'āns*, i. 195) thinks that the greater part belongs to the period between the end of the year 3 and the year 5 A. H.

This sūra contains many verses that were abrogated: among the principal we may mention 8—9 abrogated by 12; 10 abrogated by ii. 178; 20 abrogated by xxiv. 2; 33 abrogated by xxiv. 60 etc. . . .

It is also one of the most important sūras of the Qur'ān because many of the precepts formulated in it form the foundations for the Muḥammadan laws of marriage.

The sūra lacks unity, consisting as it does of a collection of verses of different origin and on different subjects. The following is a brief analysis of its contents: the creation of man; consanguinity; the care of orphans; rules for succession; marriage; relations of husband and wife; impediments to marriage; almsgiving; evidence; accidental homicide; holy war and the art of war; obedience to Allāh and to the Prophets; punishment of the unbelieving Jews and Christians.

Bibliography: Cf. the art. AL-NAHL and add: Ṭanṭāwī Dījawhari, *Tafsīr*, Cairo, 25 vol.; Aḥmad Ridda, *Tafsīr al-Manār*, Cairo, 9 vols. so far appeared. (MAURICE CHEMOUL)

NIṢĀB. [See ZAKĀT.]

NIṢĀN, the seventh month in the Syrian calendar. Its name is taken from the first month of the Jewish religious (seventh of the civil) year with the period of which it roughly coincides. It corresponds to April of the Roman year and like it has 30 days. On the 10th and 23rd Niṣān, according to al-Bīrūnī, the two first stations of the moon rise (the numbering of these two as first and second shows that the numbering was established by scholars for whom Niṣān was the first month) and the 15th and 16th set. In 1300 of the Seleucid era (989 A. D.), according to al-Bīrūnī, the stars of the 28th and 1st stations of the moon rose and those of the 14th and 15th set while the rising and setting of the 2nd and 16th stations of the moon took place in Aiyār.

Bibliography: al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, p. 60, 70, 347—349; cf. also the references under TAMMŪZ. (M. PLESSNER)

NISH (Serbian *Niš*), the second largest town in Serbia, now the capital of the banate of Morava in the kingdom of Yugoslavia, situated 650 feet above sea-level in a fertile plain surrounded by hills, on both sides of the Nišava not far from its junction with the Morava and an important centre of communications by rail and road, on the international route to Sofia-Istanbul or Salonika-Athens. The larger part of the town with the railway station lies on the left bank, the fortress is on the right. The two parts of the town are connected by four iron bridges (including a railway bridge), cover an area of 11 sq. m. and had in 1931 35,384 inhabitants of whom only 3.7% are Muslims. According to the latest (Dec. 1933) statistics of the Imām-registrar, Nish has 1,982 Muslims in 365 households, chiefly gipsies, while Muslims speaking Serbo-Croatian, Turkish and Albanian form the remainder. These gipsies call themselves Muslims, bear Muslim names, marry with Muslim rites but nevertheless observe at home some of the Serbian Orthodox Church feasts, visit the churches etc. There are a number of offices of the civil and military authorities in the town, including a district *shari'a* court. This court has existed only since Oct. 29, 1929, i. e. since the abolition of the old office of district mufti whose authority till then extended over the whole of Serbia. The authority of the new court extends over a part of that of the older (19 districts) while the remainder are under the *kaḍī* of Belgrade. The Muslims of Nish have also a district waḳf me'arif council (cf. i., p. 760), a common council (*džematski medžlis*) and a registration office (*imāmat*). There are said to have been 19 mosques in Nish in the last Turkish period (1878), only one of which now survives. The second last mosque of which the great minaret is still

standing, was destroyed as a result of the great floods of 1896. Nish has also Serbian Orthodox churches and a Roman Catholic church and a synagogue. Besides several colleges, it has a Hygienic Institute, two hospitals and a society for popular education. The town is making steady progress. Its whole history shows that Nish has always been an important strategic and commercial centre.

In antiquity Nish (Naissus, Niz, Nissa etc.) belonged at first to the Roman province Moesia Superior and later became the capital of Dardania.

Nish's greatest claim to fame is that it was the birthplace of Constantine the Great (306—337) and attained great prosperity in ancient times. The Romans had state munition works here.

In the time of the migrations of the Huns, Nish was taken after a vigorous resistance by Attila (434—453) and destroyed but rebuilt and refortified very soon afterwards by Justinian I (527—565). By the middle of the sixth century the first forces of the Slavs who had entered the Balkan peninsula in their endeavour to found states at the expense of the Byzantine empire appeared before Nish. Nish was thus in the ninth century usually in the hands of the Bulgars and until 1018 it belonged to a Slav state founded in Macedonia in 976 by the emperor Samuel. The Byzantines held it from 1018 to the end of the 11th century, when we find it described as large and prosperous; Idrīsī who calls it "Nisu" (also on his map of 1154, ed. K. Miller) lays special emphasis on the quantity and cheapness of food and the importance of its trade. But even then it did not enjoy peace. In 1072 the Hungarians reached the town on a marauding campaign; in 1096 its inhabitants had to defend themselves in a strenuous battle "at the Bridge" against the Crusaders in which the latter suffered very heavily, and in 1182 the town was taken by Bela III supported by Nemanja, the Serbian prince. A little later Nemanja took Nish and the whole country as far as Serdica (Sofia). The town suffered considerably in these troubled times. The Third Crusade (1189) found it almost empty and practically destroyed. In spite of this, Nemanja was able to receive the emperor Barbarossa in Nish with great ceremony. From this time on to the Turkish conquest Nish was generally in Serbian hands.

In the earlier Turkish chronicles (e.g. Shükru'llāh, Urudj b. 'Ādil, 'Āshīkpashazāde, Neshrī [Nöldeke], Anonymous Giese) there is no mention of the taking of Nish: Sa'd al-Din (i. 92—93), Ḥājjdī Khalīfa and Ewliyā Ćelebi, then von Hammer (*G.O.R.*, i. 157) and Lane-Poole (Turkey⁵, p. 40) on the other hand, assume that it took place in the reign of Murād I in 777 (1375—1376). The Serbian chronicles however definitely give 1386 and this year, which Gibbons has recently strongly urged as the correct date (*The Foundations of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1916, p. 161—162), is now generally accepted.

During the Turkish period (1386—1878) Nish had chequered fortunes. In 1443 it was taken by the Christian army under king Vladislav III and John Hunyadi and destroyed. After the fall of Smederevo in 1459 the Serbian despotate became a Turkish province and Nish was even more securely in Turkish hands. For several days after June 20, 1521 a great fire raged in Nish which would have destroyed it completely if the Beglerbeg Aḥmad Pasha, who was leading an army against Hungary

at the time, had not come at the last moment to its assistance [F. Tauer, *Histoire de la campagne du Sultan Suleyman Ier contre Belgrade en 1521*, Prague 1924, p. 26 (Persian text), p. 31 (transl.)].

Western travellers who visited Nish in this period (Dernschwam, Contarini etc.) were not particularly attracted by it.

Turkish writers give us an idea of the appearance of Nish in the xviiith century. Hādjī Khālifa (c. 1648) describes it i. a. as a great town and kādīlīk in the sandjak of Sofia. The description which Ewliya Čelebi (c. 1660) gives is much fuller: it is a fortified town in the plain with 2,060 houses, 200 shops, three mosques (1. Ghāzī Khudāwendīgār; 2. Muşlī Efendi; 3. Husain Kethkhudā), 22 schools for children, several masjīds, darwish monasteries, fountains, baths, many vineyards and gardens etc.

On Sept. 23, 1689 Nish was taken by the Austrians under Ludwig of Baden but abandoned the very next year to the Turks (1690). In 1737 Nish was again taken by the Austrians under Seckendorf but left to the Turks again after two months occupation. It is to this period that the city owes its fortifications.

When in 1804 the Serbians under Karađorđe (đ = dj) rebelled against the Turks they soon won a number of successes and in 1809 were able to build redoubts against Nish, in which Stevan Sindelić, one of Karađorđe's vojvods, on May 31 blew up himself and the attacking Turks. Nish was nevertheless not relieved and the Turks built the so-called Čele-Kula ("tower of skulls") with the heads of the Serbians killed there, of which A. de Lamartine gave a moving description on his way home in 1833 (cf. *Voyage en Orient*, Paris 1859, p. 255—256). It was not till Jan. 11, 1878 that Nish, hitherto the capital of a Turkish *livā*, finally passed from the Turks. This induced many Muslims to migrate to Turkey.

Lying on the military road between Constantinople and Vienna and therefore exposed to every campaign Nish was by no means favourably situated to become a centre for the development of even a modest intellectual life. It appears, at least according to Gibb, that Nish has produced no Turkish poets or authors, except perhaps Sunbulzāde Wehbi (end of the xviiith century) who celebrated in song his meeting with the young Sara in the Turkish camp at Nish (*H.O.P.*, iv. 259). In Nish however, two Turks worked for a time who later were to become celebrated: 1. Aḥmad Luṭfī (1815—1907), afterwards imperial historiographer served in Vidin and Nish from April 1845 (*G.O.W.*, p. 384); 2. the famous statesman and author of the Turkish constitution of 1876, Midḥat Pasha [q. v.], was appointed governor of Nish and Prizren in 1861. In this capacity he saw to the building of a Serbian school (1864) in Nish.

Nish played an important part in the World War: first as the seat of the Serbian government and the Skupština (till Oct. 26, 1915) and then as the scene of a battle between the Germans who were strongly concentrated here and the Serbs in pursuit of them which ended in the capture of the town by the latter (Oct. 12, 1918).

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Greek and Roman Geography, London 1857, ii. 395 (N.B. Pauly-Wissowa has not yet reached Naissus); C. Jireček, *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel und die Balkanpässe*, Prague 1877, s. index; do., *Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*, Prague 1879, index; Ž. Živanović, *Niš i niške znamenitosti*, Belgrade 1883 (not properly a monograph but travel sketches with some useful notes); Sāmī Bey, *Kāmūs al-A'lām*, vol. vi. (1316 = 1898), p. 4631; Ewliya Čelebi, *Siyāhat-nāme*, vol. v. (1315), p. 363—364; M. Besnier, *Lexique de géographie ancienne*, Paris 1914, p. 510; Fr. Lübkers, *Reallexikon des klassischen Altertums*⁸, Leipzig-Berlin 1914, s. v. *Naissus*; Jireček (transl. Radonić), *Istorija Srba*, vol. i.—iv. (Belgrade 1922), index; H. Dernschwam, *Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien* (1553—1555), ed. by F. Babinger, Munich and Leipzig 1923; B. Drob-njaković, in *Narodna enciklopedija*, vol. iii. (Zagreb 1928), p. 94—95; *Almanah kraljevine Jugoslavije* (Zagreb since 1933), i. 40, 54, 573 and 582—583; V. Čorović, *Istorija Jugoslavije*, Belgrade 1933, *passim*. (FEHIM BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

NISHĀNDJĪ, secretary of state for the Sultān's tughra, chancellor.

The Saldjūks and Mamlūks already had special officials for drawing the tughra, the sultān's signature. As their official organisation was inherited in almost all its details by the Ottomans this post naturally was included. Its holder was called *nishāndjī* or *tewkī*. The *nishāndjī* held the same rank as the *defterdārs* [q. v.] and indeed even preceded them, for we find *defterdārs* promoted to *nishāndjis* but never a *nishāndjī* becoming a *defterdār*. The *nishāndjī* was included among the "pillars of the empire" (*erkān-i dewlet*). The part which he played varied in course of time. Besides being secretary of state for the imperial tughra (*nishān*) he had originally considerable legislative powers and he was called *muftī-i kānūn* (to distinguish him from the *muftī* proper, i. e. the *Shaiḫ al-Islām*). In his office the texts of the laws were prepared under his supervision. Most of the Ottoman codes of law (*kānūn*) as they have come down to us go back to *nishāndjis*. As they had besides the right to approve the contents of documents put before them for the imperial tughra, they had no slight influence on the business of administration. Of their official career we know that according to the *Kānūn-nāma* of Meḥammed II they had to be chosen from teachers acquainted with law (*müderris*), apparently because they had to display legislative ability, or from the *defterdārs* and *ru'asā' ul-küttāb*. As their authority diminished more and more in course of time, so did their influence, and finally they were limited to preparing the tughra. According to Mouradjea d'Ohsson (*Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, iii. 373), the *nishāndjis* received from the state a salary of 6,620 piastres. On their official dress, see v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, viii. 431, according to whom they wore red in contrast to the other *khodjagiān* who wore violet.

Bibliography: Cf. the article TUGHRA and the references there given; also J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, i. 173; ii. 217, 229; iv. 3; viii. 431; J. v. Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, i. 64; ii. 127, 135.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

NISHĀNDJĪ. [See *DJĀLĀLZĀDE MUṢṬAFĀ ĀLEBĪ*; *KARAMĀNĪ MEHMED PAṢHĀ.*]

NISHĀPŪR, the most important of the four great cities of *Khurāsān* (*Nishāpūr*, *Marw*, *Herāt* and *Balkh*), one of the great towns of *Irān* in the middle ages.

The name goes back to the Persian *Nēw-Shāhpūhr* ('Fair *Shāpūr*'); in Armenian it is called *Niushapuh*, Arab. *Naisābūr* or *Nisābūr*, new Pers. *Nēshāpūr*, pronounced in the time of *Yāqūt*: *Nishāwūr*, now *Nishāpūr* (*Nöldeke*, *Ṭabarī*, p. 59, note 3; *G. Hoffmann*, *Auszüge* . . ., p. 61, note 530). The town occasionally bore the official title of honour, *Irānshahr*.

Nishāpūr was founded by *Shāhpūhr* I, son of *Ardashīr* I (*Hamza al-Isfahānī*, ed. *Gottwaldt*, p. 48), who had slain in this region the Turanian *Pahlīāk* (*Pālēzak*) (*Städteliste von Ērān*, § 13); some authors say it was not founded till the time of *Shāhpūhr* II (*Ṭabarī*, i. 840; al-*Tha'alibī*, ed. *Zotenberg*, p. 529).

In the wider sense the region of *Nishāpūr* comprised the districts of al-*Ṭabasain*, *Kūhistān*, *Nisā*, *Beward*, *Abarshahr*, *Djām*, *Bākhars*, *Tös*, *Zōzan* and *Ispārān* (*Yāqūbī*, ed. de *Goeje*, p. 278; cf. *Ṭabarī*, i. 2884); in the narrower sense *Nishāpūr* was the capital of the province of *Abarshahr* (Armen. *Apar ashkharkh*, the "district of the *Araxpov*"; *Marquart*, *Ērānshahr*, p. 74; do., *Catalogue of the Prov. Capitals of Ērānshahr*, p. 52), which was in turn divided into 13 *Rustāks* and 4 *Tassūdī* (names in *Iṣṭakhri*, p. 258; *Ibn Ḥawkal*, p. 313; *Ibn Khurdādhbih*, p. 24; *Yāqūbī*, p. 278; *Ibn Rusta*, p. 171). The latter were: in the west *Rēwand* (now *Riwand*), in the south al-*Shāmāt*, Pers. *Tak-Āb*, in the east *Pushfrōshan* (now *Pusht Farūsh*) and in the north *Māzūl* (now *Māsul*); cf. al-*Maqdisī*, p. 314—321.

In the *Rēwand* hills to the northwest of the town was one of the three most sacred fire-temples of the *Sāsānians*, that of the fire *Burzīn-Mihr* (*G. Hoffman*, *op. cit.*, p. 290). *Yazdādjiird* II (438—57) made *Nishāpūr* his usual residence.

In the year 30 (651) or 31 (652) the governor of *Baṣra*, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amīr [q.v.], took *Nishāpūr* (*Ṭabarī*, i. 3305; *Balādhuri*, p. 404) whose governor *Kanārang* (*Xavapárvus*; *Marquart*, *Ērānshahr*, p. 75) capitulated. The town was then insignificant and had no garrison. During the fighting between 'Alī and Mu'āwīya (36—37 = 656—657) the Arabs were again driven out of *Nishāpūr* by a rising in *Khurāsān* and *Tukhāristān* (*Ṭabarī*, i. 3249, 3350; *Balādhuri*, p. 408; *Dinawari*, p. 163). *Perōz* III, the son of *Yazdādjiird* and of the daughter of *Kanārang* of *Nishāpūr*, is said to have lived for a period in *Nishāpūr*. *Khulaid* b. *Ka's* was sent in 37 by 'Alī against the rebellious town (*Dinawari*, *op. cit.*). Mu'āwīya reappointed 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amīr governor of *Baṣra* in 41 (661—662) and commissioned him to conquer *Khurāsān* and *Sidjīstān*. The latter in 42 (662—663) installed *Kais* b. al-*Haitham* al-*Sulamī* in *Nishāpūr* as governor of *Khurāsān*. *Ziyād* b. *Abī Sufyān* in 45 (665—666) made *Khulaid* b. 'Abd Allāh al-*Hanafi* governor of *Abarshahr* (*Nishāpūr*). 'Abd Allāh b. *Khāzim* rebelled in 683 against the *Umayyads*. He fell in 692 at *Marw* fighting against 'Abd al-*Malik*, whereupon *Umayyad* rule was restored in *Khurāsān*.

The prosperity of the city dates from the time when *Abu 'l-'Abbās* 'Abd Allāh b. *Tāhir* made it his capital in the third (ninth) century.

The founder of the *Šaffārid* dynasty, *Yāqūb* b. al-*Laith* b. Mu'addal, entered *Nishāpūr* on the 2nd *Šawwāl* 259 (Aug. 1, 873) and took *Muhammad* b. *Tāhir* prisoner (*Ṭabarī*, iii. 1881; *Gardīzi* in *Barthold*, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 217, note 6) but the latter soon regained his liberty and land. Only after *Yāqūb's* death was his brother 'Amr b. al-*Laith* granted the fiefs of *Khurāsān* and other districts. *Rāfi* b. *Harthama* in 882 took *Nishāpūr* from him (*Ṭabarī*, iii. 2039) and *Muhammad* b. *Tāhir* became viceroy of *Khurāsān* in 885 again; but in 279 (892) 'Amr was finally confirmed in office as governor and erected many buildings there. He finally fell in battle (899—901) with *Ismā'il* b. *Aḥmad*. The town thus passed to the *Sāmānids*, under whom it attained its greatest prosperity. It was the residence of the governor and commander-in-chief of the province of *Khurāsān* (*sipāh-sālār*).

The Arabic geographers describe *Nishāpūr* at this time as a thickly populated town divided into 42 wards, 1 *farsakh* in length and breadth (al-*Iṣṭakhri*, *B. G. A.*, i. 254) and consisting of the citadel, the city proper and an outer suburb in which was the chief mosque built by the *Šaffārid* 'Amr. Beside it was the public market called al-*Mu'askar*, the governor's palace, a second open place called *Maidān* al-*Husainiyyin* and the prison. The citadel had two gates and the city four: the Gate of the Bridge, the Gate on the road from *Ma'kil*, the Gate of the Fortress (*Bāb al-Kuhandiz*) and the Gate of the *Takin* Bridge. The suburbs also had walls with many gates. The best known market places were al-*Murabba'at* al-*Kabira* (near the Friday Mosque) and al-*Murabba'at* al-*Saghira*. The most important business streets were about fifty in number and ran across the city in straight lines intersecting at right angles; all kinds of wares were on sale in them (on the products and exports of *Nishāpūr* see *G. Le Strange*, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 429 sq.). Numerous canals were led from the *Wādī Saghāwar*, which flowed down from the village of *Bushtankār* and drove 70 mills, from whence it passed near the city and provided the houses with an ample water supply. Gardens below the city were also watered in this way. The district of *Nishāpūr* was regarded as the most fertile in *Khurāsān*.

The town suffered many vicissitudes after this period. A great famine broke out there in 401 (1011). At the beginning of the xith century *Nishāpūr* was the centre of the pietist *Karrāmīs* led by the anchorite *Abū Bakr Muhammad* b. *Ishāk*. The *Saldjūk* *Tuğhrul-Beg* occupied the town in 1037 and made it his capital. *Alp Arslān* also seems to have lived there (cf. *Barhebraeus*, *Chron. Syr.*, ed. *Bedjan*, p. 243). In May 1142 the *Khwarizmshāh* *Atsiz* took the town for a time from the *Saldjūk* sultān *Sandjar*. When it was sacked by the *Ghuzz* in 548 (1153), the inhabitants fled, mainly to the suburb of *Shādyākh* (al-*Shādhayākh*) which was enlarged and fortified by the governor al-*Mu'aiyyid*. *Tuğhān-Shāh* *Abū Bakr* ruled the city 1174—1185 and his son *Sandjar Shāh* 1185—1187.

In May or June 1187 the *Khwarizmshāh* *Takish* took *Nishāpūr* and gave it to his eldest son *Malik-Shāh*. At the end of 1193 the latter received *Marw* and his brother *Qutb al-Dīn Muhammad* became governor of *Nishāpūr*. *Malik Shāh* died in 1197 in the neighbourhood of *Nishāpūr*. 'Alā' al-*Dīn* *Muhammad* (as *Qutb al-Dīn* called himself after

his father's death) took Marw and Nishāpūr in 1202 from Ghiyāth al-Dīn and his brother Shihāb al-Dīn.

In addition to the wars and rebellions (e.g. 1207—1208) which afflicted the town, it suffered from repeated earthquakes (540 = 1145, 605 = 1208, 679 = 1280). Yākūt who visited it in 613 (1216) but stayed in Shadyākḥ, still could see the damage done by the first earthquake and by the Ghuzz but nevertheless thought the town the finest in Khurāsān. The second earthquake was particularly severe; the inhabitants on this occasion fled for several days into the plain below the city.

In 618 (1221) the Mongols under Činghiz-Khān sacked the city completely. In the time of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (c. 1340) and of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (c. 1350) it had to some extent recovered. After each earthquake the inhabitants had rebuilt the town on a new site but it never regained its former importance.

According to the Georgian chronicle (transl. by Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie*, i. 472), the Georgian queen Tamar is said to have taken the city of Romguar between 1210 and 1212; Brosset identified this with the Maḥalla Ramdjār mentioned by Yākūt in the district of Nishāpūr (more probably a suburb of it). Here the patriarchs of Antioch, whose jurisdiction according to the Χρονολογικὸν σύντομον compiled in 854 (ed. Schöne in his edition of Eusebius I, app., p. 82 sq.) already at this time extended to Khurāsān (μέχρι τῆς ἑσπερίας ἐρήμου τοῦ Χωρσῶν), created about 1053 the catholicate of Πρωτοσύεως or Πρωτοσύεως ἡ τοῦ Περίου which, in name at least, still existed in 1365 (*Brief des antiochenischen Patriarchen Petros III. an Domenico von Grado und Aquileia*, ed. by Cornelius Will, *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis ecclesiae Graec. et Lat. saeculo XI composita extant*, Leipzig and Marburg 1861, p. 212, 32; *Notitia Antiochena*, ed. Gelzer, in *B.Z.*, i. 247, 2; Neilos Dopsch, ed. Parthey in Hieroclis *Synecdemus et Notitiae graecae episcopatum*, Berlin 1866, p. 271, 5; *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, i. 207, 464—465; Pref., p. x.).

The modern Nishāpūr is in 36° 12' N. Lat. and 58° 40' East Long. (Greenwich) on the east side of a plain surrounded by hills. To the north and east of the town lies the ridge of Binālūd-Kūh, which separates it from the valley of Meshhed and Tūs. At its foot spring a number of streams, among them the Shūrah Rūd and the river of Dizbād (Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī) which irrigate the lands of Nishāpūr and disappear in the salt desert to the west. North of the town in the mountains was the little lake of Čashmah Sabz out of which, according to al-Mustawfī, run two streams, one to the east and the other to the west. Northwest of Nishāpūr were the famous turquoise mines (*Ma'dīn*: the district is still called Bār-i Ma'den). In the S. E. of the town is shown the tomb of her celebrated sons 'Omar Khaiyām and Farid al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār.

A history of the 'ulamā' of Nishāpūr was completed in 8 volumes by Ḥakīm Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Baiyī' al-Nisābūrī (d. 405 = 1041; it was added by Yākūt and Ḥādjdjī Khalifa (ed. Flügel, ii. 155 sq.) and continued by 'Abd al-Ghāfir b. Ismā'il al-Fārisi down to the year 518. Al-Dhahabī produced an abbreviated version of al-Baiyī's work.

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NISIB (نِزِيب and نِزِيب, in the modern Turkish orthography Nizip), an administrative district in the Turkish wilāyet of Ghāzī 'Aintāb (now officially Gazi Antep) which borders on Syria in the south. The little town lies not far from the right bank of the Euphrates, N. E. of Ḥalab (Aleppo). Nisib formerly belonged to northern Syria, to the sandjak of Urfa in the wilāyet of Ḥalab. According to the census of 1927, the whole district had 48,717 inhabitants of whom only 3,000—4,000 were in the town. Nisib is noted for its extensive olive groves and sesame fields, which extend to Kilis (in the same wilāyet but nearly on the Syrian frontier); in this zone the annual production of oil is estimated at 5 million kilos.

Ewliyā Čelebi visited Nisib in the xviith century and describes it as "an inhabited town in the middle of an unfertile district on the edge of a high hill, with inns, mosques, baths and a small market but without vineyards or gardens". Nisib at this period was the residence of a judge on the salary scale of 150 akçe.

During the war (1831—1840) between the Turks and Egypt under Mehmed 'Alī, Nisib became the scene of a celebrated battle. Ibrāhīm Pasha,

an adopted stepson and general of Meḥmed 'Alī, had crossed the Syrian frontier by the end of 1831 and after several victories advanced as far as Konya, where he inflicted such a defeat on the Turks at the end of 1832 that they had to cede by the peace of Kutāhia (1833) the whole of Syria to Meḥmed 'Alī and the government of Adana to Ibrāhīm himself, both recognising the sovereignty of the sultān. But neither the sultān nor Meḥmed 'Alī were satisfied with this and both made preparations for another war. For this purpose Maḥmūd II combined the four wilāyets of Diyārbakr, Kharpūt, Reḡka and Siwās under one governor with the title of vizier, Čerkes Hāfız Meḥmed Paṣha (on his career cf. *Sidjillī-i 'oṭhmānī*, ii. 99—100), and commanded him to cross the Euphrates at the beginning of 1839. It was not till some time later however that fighting actually began. Moltke and the military experts in Meḥmed's army then advised him not to cross the river but only to display his strength and frighten the Egyptian army into retreating; but Meḥmed Paṣha would not take this advice, crossed the Euphrates and fought a battle at Nisib, where he was completely defeated by Ibrāhīm Paṣha on June 24, 1839 (cf. also *infra*, iv., 299a).

Besides this great defeat on land, the Turks a few days later suffered an equally severe loss at sea. The traitorous Kapudān-i Deryā Aḥmad Fewzī Paṣha known as Firārī (i. e. "fugitive", "deserter"; details in *Sidjillī-i 'oṭhmānī*, i. 294—295) led the Turkish fleet, which was sent to Syrian waters at the time of the battle of Nisib, to Alexandria and handed it over to Meḥmed 'Alī. The Egyptians however were unable to take advantage of the victory at Nisib because the Great Powers intervened and Meḥmed 'Alī's aspirations were in 1841 limited to the hereditary governorship of Egypt. The defeat at Nisib led in the domestic politics of Turkey to the speedy proclamation of the *tanẓīmāt* [q. v.].

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(FEHIM BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

NISIBIS. [See NAŞIB.]

NĪYA (A.), intention. The acts of ceremonial law, obligatory or not, require to be preceded by a declaration by the performer, that he intends to perform such an act. This declaration, pronounced audibly or mentally, is called nīya. Without it, the act would be *bātil* [q. v.].

The nīya is required before the performance of the 'ibādāt, such as washing, bathing, prayer, alms, fasting, retreat, pilgrimage, sacrifice. "Ceremonial acts without nīya are not valid", says Ghazālī (*Iḥyā'*, Cairo 1282, iv. 316). Yet a survey of the opinions of the lawyers regarding the nīya in connection with each of the 'ibādāt would show, that there is only unanimity about the nīya as required before the *ṣalāt*.

Further the nīya must immediately precede the act, lest it should lose its character and become simple decision ('*azm*). It must accompany the act until the end (Abū Ishāḳ al-Shirāzī, *Tanbih*, ed. Juynboll, p. 3). Its seat is the heart, the central organ of intellect and attention. Lunatics, therefore, cannot pronounce a valid nīya.

So the nīya has become a legal act of its own. It is usually called obligatory, but in some cases, e. g. the washing of the dead, commendable. It can even be asked what the intention of the nīya is. According to al-Bādjūrī (i. 57), four conditions must be fulfilled in a nīya: who pronounces it, must be Muslim, *compos mentis*, well acquainted with the act he wants to perform, and having the purpose to perform this act. In some instances *aḏma'a* is used, where the later language has *nawā* (e. g. Nasā'ī, *Ṣiyām*, bāb 68; Tirmidhī, *Ṣawm*, bāb 33).

The term does not occur in the Qur'ān. It is found in canonical *ḥadīth*, but the passages show that it has not yet acquired in this literature the technical meaning and limitation described above. The development of this technical use appears to have taken place gradually, probably aided by Jewish influence. In Jewish law the *karwānā* has a function wholly analogous to the nīya. Al-Shāfi'ī († 204 = 820) appears to be acquainted with the nīya in its technical sense (*Kitāb al-Umm*). In canonical *ḥadīth* — i. e. the literature which, generally speaking, reflects the state of things up to the middle of the eighth century A. D. — neither the verb *nawā* nor the noun nīya appear to have any special technical connection with the 'ibādāt. On the contrary, nīya has here the common meaning of intention.

In this sense it is of great importance. Bukhārī opens his collection with a tradition, which in this place is apparently meant as a motto. It runs: "Works are in their intention only" (*innama 'l-a'māl bi 'l-nīya* or *bi 'l-nīyāt*). This tradition occurs frequently in the canonical collections. It constitutes a religious and moral criterion superior to that of the law. The value of an 'ibāda, even if performed in complete accordance with the precepts of the law, depends upon the intention of the performer, and if this intention should be sinful, the work would be valueless. "For", adds the tradition just mentioned, "every man receives only what he has intended"; or "his wages shall be in accordance with his intention" (Mālik, *Djanā'iz*, trad. 36). In answer to the question how long the *hiḏra* is open, tradition says: "There is no *hiḏra* after the capture of Mekka, only holy war and intention" (Bukhārī, *Manāḳib al-Anṣār*, bāb 45; *Djihad*, bāb 1, 27; Muslim, *Imāra*, trad. 85, 86 etc.). This higher criterion, once admitted, may suspend the law in several cases (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Islam und Phonograph*, in *T.B.G.K.W.*, xlii. 393 sqq. = *Verspr. Geschriften*, ii. 419 sqq.). So the intention, in this sense, becomes a work of its own, just as the intention in its juridical application. Good intention is taken into account by Allāh, even if not carried out; it heightens the value of the work. On the other hand, refraining from an evil intention is reckoned as a good work (Bukhārī, *Riḳāḳ*, bāb 31). In this connection the (post-canonical) tradition can be understood, according to which the intention of the faithful is better than his work (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, xx. 223; cf. Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, iv. 330 sqq. where this tradition

is discussed). In similar instances nīya comes near to the meaning of *ikhlaṣ* [q. v.].

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(A. J. WENSINCK)

NĪYĀZĪ, an Ottoman poet and mystic. Shams al-Din Meḥemmed known as Mişri Efendi, **Shaiḫ** Mişri, whose *makhlaṣ* was Niyāzī, came from Aspūzi, the former summer capital of Malatia (cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, iv. 15; v. Moltke, *Reisebriefe*, p. 349), where his father was a Nakṣhabandī dervish. Niyāzī was born in 1027 (1617—1618). The statement occasionally found that Soghanlı was his birthplace is not correct. His father instructed him in the teaching of the order, then he went in 1048 (1638) to Diyārbakr, later to Mārdin where he studied for three years and finally to Cairo. There he joined the Kādirī order, travelled for seven years and finally settled down in the Anatolian village of Elmālī, once notorious as a centre of heresy, to devote himself to study under the famous Khalwetī Shaiḫ Umm-i Sinān (d. 1069 = 1658). He stayed with him for twelve years until he was sent by the Shaiḫ as his deputy to ʿUshshāk near Smyrna. After the death of his master he moved to Brussa where a pious citizen, Abdāl-Čelebi, built a hermitage for him. The fame of his sanctity and his gifts of prophecy spread more and more and finally reached the ears of the grandvizier Köprülü-zāde Aḥmad Paṣha, who invited him to Adrianople, entertained him with great honour for 40 days and finally sent him back to Brussa. When in 1083 (1672) the army set out for Kameniec in Podolia [q. v.], he was summoned to Adrianople where he had great audiences as a preacher. As he had allowed himself to drop obscure allusions (*kelimāt-i dīfīriye*) he gave umbrage and was banished to Lemnos. There he spent some years in exile until he received permission to return to Brussa. The fact that during his stay on the island it was spared Venetian attacks was interpreted as a miracle wrought by this holy man. But when he stirred up the people by "kabbalistic" preaching he was again banished to Lemnos in Şafar 1088 (May 1677). All kinds of prophecies which were fulfilled as well as the story that his coming had been foretold by Ibn al-ʿArabī [q. v.]s trengthened his reputation as a holy man and miracle-worker. He spent ten years on Lemnos until in 1101 (1689) the vizier Köprülü-zāde Muṣṭafā Paṣha allowed him to return to Brussa. In the next year he was summoned to Adrianople; he again excited the people by political utterances and mystical allusions so that the Kāʾimmaḳām ʿOṯmān Paṣha had him taken with all respect by a guard of Janissaries and Čawşes out of the mosque and sent directly via Gallipoli to Brussa. From there he was again banished to Lemnos but died on the 20th Radjāb 1105 (March 17, 1694). The date 1111 (1699) given by v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, iii. 588 must therefore be wrong.

Unfortunately the contemporary notices give no information about the nature of the sermons by Niyāzī which gave offence from the political as well as religious point of view. The historian Demetrius Kantemir said Niyāzī was secretly a Christian. His *Diwān*, in Arabic and Turkish, does not justify this suggestion although the poem declared by v. Hammer (*G. O. D.*, iii. 589) to be apocryphal, given in translation by Kantemir, is really taken from his *Diwān*, as Gibb, *H. O. P.*, iii. 315 has proved. No study has yet been made of the *Diwān* or of Niyāzī's position in the religious life of Turkey generally.

The order founded by Niyāzī once possessed several monasteries on Greek soil, in Modoni, Negroponte (Eghriboz), Saloniki, Mytilene, also in Adrianople, Brussa and Smyrna. Cf. thereon the study by V. A. Gordlevsky, *Tarikat Mysri Niyazi*, in *Doklady Akademii Nauk S. S. S. R.*, 1929, p. 153—160.

The main source for the history of Niyāzī's life and work is the rare Turkish treatise of Morall-zāde Luṭfi (= Muṣṭafā Luṭfulāh), *Tuḥfat al-ʿaṣrī fi Manāḳib al-Miṣrī*, published at Brussa in 1308 (1890—1891).

Niyāzī's poems were repeatedly published 1254 and 1259 in Büllāk, also 1260 and 1291 in Stambul; cf. thereon J. v. Hammer, in *Wiener Jahrbücher*, lxxxv., p. 36 and *J. A.*, ser. 4, vol. viii., p. 261. On his numerous other works, only available in MSS., cf. Brūsālī Meḥemmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOṯmānī Muʿellifleri*, i. 173 sq. with references to where they are preserved.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned by J. von Hammer, *G. O. D.*, iii. 587 sqq. and Gibb, *H. O. P.*, iii. 312 sqq. and Brūsālī Meḥemmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOṯmānī Muʿellifleri*, i. 172 sqq. cf. also the biographies of Ottoman poets by Shaiḫi, Salīm, ʿUshshākī-zāde etc.; Rāshid, *Tārīkh*, i. 89, 193; J. B. Brown, *The Darvishes*², London 1927, p. 203—205. — On Niyāzī's religious attitude cf. D. Kantemir, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Hamburg 1745, p. 636 sq., 642 also Mouradgēa d'Oḥsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, iv. 626, also J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vi. 337, 364, 578; vii. 161 (his tomb on Lemnos); L. Massignon, *al-Hallaj, martyr mystique de l'Islam*, i., Paris 1922, p. 428 and 440. — The Vienna MS. N^o. 1928 (cf. Flügel, *Katal.*, iii. 474 sqq.) contains besides the *Diwān* many other works of Niyāzī; cf. thereon Rieu, *Catal. of Turk. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 261. (FRANZ BABINGER)

NĪẒĀM AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD MUḴĪM AL-HARAWĪ, a Persian historian, author of the celebrated *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarshāhi*. He was a descendant of the famous **shaiḫ** of Harāt, ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī. His father Khōdjā MuḴīm Harawī was major-domo to Sulṭān Bābur (1526—1530) and later vizier to the governor of Guḍjarāt Mirzā ʿAskarī. Nīẓām al-Dīn himself held several high military offices under the Great Moghul Akbar and became in 1585 **Bakhshī** of Guḍjarāt and in 1593 even **Bakhshī** of the whole empire. According to Badāʾunī (ii. 397), he died on the 23rd Şafar 1003 (Oct. 18, 1594) aged 45. At his father's instigation he took up historical studies while quite a boy. His fondness for this subject increased as time went on and induced him to try writing himself. The lack of a complete history of India made him decide to fill the gap and thus arose

his celebrated work, called the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbar-shāhi* or *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* or *Ṭaʾrīkh-i Nizāmī* which was finished in 1001 (1593). Nizām al-Dīn used 27 different sources for this work, all of which he mentions by name and in this way produced a very thorough piece of work on which all his successors have relied. He deals with the history of India from the campaigns of Sabuktigin (977-978) to the 37th year of Akbar's reign (1593). The work is divided into a *muḳaddima* which deals with the Ghaznawids and nine *ṭabaḳa*: 1. the Sultāns of Delhi from Muʿizz al-Dīn Ghūrī to Akbar (574-1002 = 1178-1594); at the end of this part are biographies of famous men at Akbar's court, amirs, 'ulamā', poets, writers and *shāikhs*; 2. the rulers of the Deccan (748-1002 = 1347-1594); the Bahmanī, Nizām al-Mulkī, 'Adilshāhi and Kuṭb al-Mulkī; 3. the rulers of Guḍjarāt (793-980 = 1390-1572); 4. the rulers of Mālwa (809-977 = 1406-1569); 5. the rulers of Bengal (741-984 = 1340-1576); 6. the Sharḳī dynasty of Džawnpūr (784-881 = 1381-1476); 7. the rulers of Kašmīr (747-995 = 1346-1567); 8. the history of Sind from the Arab conquest (86) to 1001; 9. the history of Mūltān (847-932 = 1444-1525). The whole work was to have as a *khātima* a topographical description of India but it was apparently never finished by the author.

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(E. BERTHELS)

NIZĀM AL-DĪN AWLIYĀ whose real name was MUHAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. 'ALĪ AL-BUKHĀRĪ AL-BADĀ'ŪNĪ was born at Badā'ūn in 636 (1238). He studied elementary Arabic literature with Mawlānā 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Uṣūlī al-Badā'ūnī and then went to Dehlī and became a pupil of Shams al-Mulk and Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Zāhid. Later on he went, on the 15th Radjab 655 (July 29, 1257), to Adjudahn where he became a devoted disciple of Shāikh Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd Gandjī Shakar (died 664 = 1265), who nominated him as his Khālifa or spiritual successor in 656 (1258). Subsequently he returned to Dehlī and resided in an adjoining village Ghīyāthpūr which is now called "Nizām al-Dīn Awliya kī bastī" where he died in 725 (1325). He is regarded as one of the most celebrated saints of India and he is popularly known as *Sultān al-Awliyā* "the king of the saints" and *Maḥbūb Ilāhī* "the beloved of God". He was

as proficient in mysticism as he was in *Ḥadīth* (Traditions), *Tafsīr* (Commentary on the Qur'ān) and literature. His tomb is visited by innumerable Muhammadans from all parts of India during the time of his 'Urs (anniversary of his death). His works are the following: *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, utterances of the saints taken down from his lips by Ḥasan 'Alā'ī Sandjārī (cf. Rieu, *Cat. Brit. Mus.*, p. 972; Hādījī Khālifa, iv. 478); *Rāḥat al-Muḥibbin*, discourses of the saint uttered in several successive sittings during the year 689 and 690 A.H. and taken down by one of his disciples (cf. Rieu, *Persian Cat. Brit. Mus.*, p. 973).

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, p. 54; Faḳīr Muḥammad al-Lahawī, *Ḥadā'iq al-Ḥanafīya*, p. 277; Ethé, *Cat. Ind. Office*, p. 318.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

NIZĀM AL-MULK, ABŪ 'ALĪ AL-ḤASAN B. 'ALĪ B. IṢḤĀḲ AL-ṬŪSĪ, the celebrated minister of the Saldjūkid sultāns Alp Arslān [q.v.] and Malikshāh [q.v.]. According to most authorities, he was born on Friday 21 Dhu 'l-Ka'da 408 (April 10, 1018), though the sixth (twelfth) century *Taʾrīkh Baihaḳ*, which alone supplies us with detailed information about his family, places his birth in 410 (1019-1020). His birth-place was Rādkān, a village in the neighbourhood of Ṭūs, of which his father was revenue agent on behalf of the Ghaznawid government. Little is recorded of his early life. The *Waṣāyā* however (for a discussion of the credibility of which see *J.R.A.S.*, October 1931: "*The Sar-gudhash-i Sayyidnā*, etc.") contains several anecdotes of his childhood, and is also responsible for the statement that he became a pupil in Nishāpūr of a well known Shāfi'ī doctor Hibat Allāh al-Muwaffāḳ. On the defeat of Mas'ūd of Ghazna at Dandānkān in 431 (1040), when most of Khurāsān fell into the hands of the Saldjūkids, Nizām's father 'Alī fled from Ṭūs to Khurawdjird in his native Baihaḳ, and thence made his way to Ghazna. Nizām accompanied him, and whilst in Ghazna appears to have obtained a post in a government office. Within three or four years, however, he left the Ghaznawid for the Saldjūkid service, first attaching himself to Čaghri-beg's [q.v.] commandant in Balkh (which had fallen to a Saldjūkid force in 432 [1040-1041]), and later, probably about 445 (1053-1054), moving to Čaghri's own headquarters at Marw. It seems to have been now, or soon after, that he first entered the service of Alp Arslān (then acting as his father's lieutenant in eastern Khurāsān) under his wazīr, Abū 'Alī Aḥmad b. Shādhān. And he so far won Alp Arslān's regard as on Ibn Shādhān's death to be appointed wazīr in his stead (then, probably, receiving his best-known *laḳab*). During the period between the death of Čaghri-beg in 451 (1059) and that of Tughrl-beg in 455 (1063), therefore, Nizām had the administration of all Khurāsān in his hands.

The fame he thereby acquired, and the fact that by now Alp Arslān was firmly attached to him, played a considerable part in prompting Tughrl-beg's wazīr al-Kunduri, first, before his master's death, to scheme for the throne to pass to Čaghri's youngest son Sulaimān, and then, after it, to do his utmost to prevent Alp Arslān's accession. For he calculated that Alp Arslān, on becoming sultān, would retain Nizām rather than himself in office. In the event al-Kunduri, who

soon found himself too weak to oppose Alp Arslān, and thereupon sought to retrieve his position by acknowledging his claim, was retained in his post on the new sultān's first entry into Raiy. But a month later Alp Arslān suddenly dismissed him and handed over affairs to Nizām. Al-Kunduri was shortly afterwards banished to Marw al-Rūd, where ten months later he was beheaded. His execution was undoubtedly due to Nizām, whose fears he had aroused by appealing for help to Alp Arslān's wife.

During Alp Arslān's reign Nizām accompanied him on all his campaigns and journeys, which were almost uninterrupted. He was not present, however, at the famous battle of Manāzgird, having been sent ahead with the heavy baggage to Persia. On the other hand, Nizām sometimes undertook military operations on his own, as in the case of the reduction of Iṣṭakhr citadel in 459 (1067). Whose, his or Alp Arslān's, was the directing mind in matters of policy it is hard to determine. Its main points, however, appear to have been the following: first, the employment of the large numbers of Türkmens that had immigrated into Persia as a result of the Saldjūkid successes, in raids outside the *Dār al-Islām* and into Fāṭimid territory: hence the apparently strange circumstance that Alp Arslān's first enterprise after his accession, despite the precarious condition of the empire he had inherited, was a campaign in Georgia and Armenia; secondly a demonstration that the sultān's force was both irresistible and mobile, coupled with clemency and generally reinstatement for all rebels that should submit; thirdly the maintenance of local rulers, *Shi'ī* as well as *Sunni*, in their positions as vassals of the sultān, together with the employment of members of the Saldjūkid family as provincial governors; fourthly the obviation of a dispute over the succession by the appointment and public acknowledgement of Malikshāh, though he was not the sultān's eldest son, as his heir; and lastly the establishment of good relations with the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Kā'im [q. v.], as the sultān's nominal overlord.

Nizām al-Mulk did not really come into his own until after the assassination of Alp Arslān in 465 (1072). But thenceforward, for the next twenty years, he was the real ruler of the Saldjūkid empire. He succeeded from the outset in completely dominating the then eighteen-year-old Malikshāh, being assisted in this purpose by the defeat of Kāwurd-beg's attempt to secure the throne for himself (for which service Nizām received the title *atā-beg* [q. v.], thus bestowed for the first time). Indeed in one aspect the history of the reign resolves itself into repeated attempts by the young sultān to assert himself, always in vain.

Malikshāh undertook fewer campaigns and tours than his father, the prestige of the Saldjūkid arms now being such that few would risk rebellion, and warlike operations being left largely to the sultān's lieutenants, as they had not been under Alp Arslān. Nevertheless, from Iṣfahān, which had by now become the sultān's normal place of residence, Malikshāh visited the greater part of his empire accompanied by Nizām.

Policy continued on the same lines under Malikshāh as under his father. Nizām, however, was notably less tender than Alp Arslān had been to insubordinate members of the Saldjūkid family,

insisting at the outset on the execution of Kāwurd, and, later, on the blinding and imprisonment of Malikshāh's brother Takash.

Nizām also reversed during the earlier part of Malikshāh's reign the conciliatory policy originally pursued under Alp Arslān towards the caliph. He had been rewarded for the friendly attitude he first evinced — which formed a welcome contrast to that of al-Kunduri — by the receipt from al-Kā'im of two new *laqabs*, viz. *Kiwwām al-Dīn* and *Raḍī Amīr al-Mu'minīn* (the latter believed to be the earliest of this type in the case of a wazīr); and up to 460 (1068) his relations with the caliph's wazīr Fakhr al-Dawla Ibn Djahir [q. v.] became more and more cordial; so much so, indeed, that al-Kā'im in that year dismissed Ibn Djahir, chiefly on account of his too-subservient attitude to the Saldjūkid court. To secure this attitude in the caliph's wazīr was, however, the very aim of Nizām; and on Fakhr al-Dawla's dismissal he sought to impose a nominee of his own in a certain al-Rūdāwari, and subsequently in the latter's son Abū Shudjā'. Al-Kā'im, to avoid this, reappointed Fakhr al-Dawla, though on condition that his relations with the Saldjūkids should in future be more correct. In fact, they soon grew strained, till Nizām came to attribute any unwelcome event in Baghdād to Fakhr's influence. For many years matters were prevented from coming to a head by the tact of Fakhr's son, 'Amid al-Dawla [cf. IBN DJAHIR, 2], who won Nizām's favour so far as to marry in turn two of his daughters, Nafsā and Zubsaida; but in 471 (1078) Nizām demanded Fakhr's dismissal, which the caliph al-Muḩṭadī [q. v.] (who had succeeded in 467 [1075]) was obliged to grant. Nizām now hoped to obtain the office for his own son Mu'ayyid al-Mulk; but to this al-Muḩṭadī would not agree. Henceforward, accordingly, Nizām's dislike was deflected to al-Muḩṭadī himself, and to Abū Shudjā', his former protégé, whom the caliph now created deputy wazīr in an effort to conciliate him, leaving the wazīrate itself unoccupied till the next year, when he appointed 'Amid al-Dawla. But in 474 (1082) Nizām in turn demanded the dismissal and banishment of Abū Shudjā', and at the same time composed his quarrel with Fakhr al-Dawla, when the latter was sent on a mission to Iṣfahān, concerting with him a plan by which Fakhr should watch his interests at Baghdād. As a result al-Muḩṭadī, who gave in with a bad grace, lost all confidence in the Banū Djahir, and two years later replaced 'Amid al-Dawla with the offensive Abū Shudjā'; whereupon Fakhr and 'Amid fled to the Saldjūkid headquarters. Nizām, on this, vowed vengeance on al-Muḩṭadī, and at first seems even to have contemplated the abolition of the caliphate (see *Mir'āt al-Zamān*), as a prelude to which he commissioned Fakhr to conquer Diyār Bakr from the Marwānids [q. v.], the sole remaining *Sunni* tributaries of any consequence. The Marwānids were duly ousted by 478 (1085); whilst al-Muḩṭadī, on his side, showed himself consistently hostile to Nizām. But Nizām's feelings towards the caliph were in the following year completely transformed as a consequence of his first visit to Baghdād (for the wedding of al-Muḩṭadī to Malikshāh's daughter). The caliph received him very graciously; and thenceforward he became a champion of the caliphate in face of the enmity which developed between al-Muḩṭadī and Malikshāh as a result of the marriage.

The celebrity of Nizām al-Mulk is really due to the fact that he was in all but name a monarch, and ruled his empire with striking success. It was not his aim to innovate. On the contrary, it was to model the new state as closely as possible on that of the Ghaznawids, in which he had been born and brought up. His position was similar to that of his forerunners, the Barmakids [q. v.], and the notable Būyid wazīr Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād [q. v.]. All three may be said to have represented the old Persian civilization (progressively Islamicized, of course) in the face of a rise to empire of barbarian conquerors, Arab, Dailamī and now Türkmen. The monarchs were in each case equalled, if not surpassed, by their wazīrs, and most of all in the case of Nizām al-Mulk. For with him the invaders aspired to an emperor's position whilst still quite unacclimatized to their new habitat, so that his superiority in culture was the more marked (cf. Barthold, *Turkistan*, p. 308). But in revenge the Saldjūkids' lack of acclimatization stood in the way of a complete realization by Nizām al-Mulk of the now traditional Perso-Muslim state. Hence the lamentations that recur in the *Siyāset-Nāme*.

The *Siyāset-Nāme*, written by Nizām in 484 (1091), with the addition of eleven chapters in the following year, is in a sense a survey of what he had failed to accomplish. It scarcely touches upon the organization of the *diwān*, for instance, partly, it is true, because the book was intended as a monarch's primer, but also because Nizām, having absolute control of the *diwān*, as opposed to the *dargāh* (cf. again Barthold, p. 227), had succeeded, with the assistance of his two principal coadjutors, the *mustawfī* Sharaf al-Mulk and the *munshi*? Kamāl al-Dawla, in exactly modelling this, his special department, on traditional lines. Of the *dargāh*, on the other hand, Nizām complains that the sultāns failed to maintain a sufficient majesty. They were neither magnificent (though he approves their daily free provision of food), formal, nor awe-inspiring enough. At their court, accordingly, the formerly important offices of *hādhib*, *wakil* and *amīr-i ḥaras* had declined in prestige. Nor, as had his model potentates, would they maintain a sound intelligence service, whereby corruption might be revealed and rebellion forestalled. The *Siyāset-Nāme* consists in all of fifty chapters, of advice illustrated by historical anecdotes. The last eleven chapters, added shortly before the wazīr's assassination, deal with dangers that threatened the empire at the time of writing, in particular from the Ismāʿīlis (for a review of the work see Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii. 210—217).

Nizām's situation resembled that of the Būyid administrators in another respect. He was faced, as they had been, with the problem of supporting a largely tribal army, and solved it likewise by a partial abandonment of the traditional tax-farming system of revenue collection for that of the *iqṭāʿ*, or fief [q. v.], whereby military commanders supported themselves and their troops on the yield of lands allotted to them. Since in the decay of the ʿAbbāsid power provincial *amīrs* had tended to assume the originally distinct and profitable office of *ʿamīl*, the way for this development had been paved. The Būyids had later attempted to restore the older system; but the establishment of numerous local minor dynasties

had favoured the new. Nizām now systematized it in the larger field open to him. In the *Siyāset-Nāme* he insists, however, on the necessity of limiting the rights of fief-holders to the collection of fixed dues, and of setting a short time-limit to their tenures (see on this subject Becker, *Steuerpacht und Lehnswesen*, in *Isl.*, v.).

In the absence of the intelligence service he desired, Nizām contrived to intimidate potential rebels and suppress local tyranny by a judicious display of the might and mobility of the Saldjūkid arms. He also insisted on the periodical appearance at court of local dynasts such as the Mazyadites [q. v.] and ʿOḡailids [q. v.], and proclaimed the sultān's accessibility to appeals for the redress of wrongs by means of notices circulated throughout the empire and exposed in public places (see al-Māfarriḡhī, *Maḥāsini Isfahān*). He also gained the powerful support of the ʿulamāʾ, especially those of the Shāfiʿī school, of which he was an ardent champion, by the institution of innumerable pious foundations, in particular of *madrasas*, the most celebrated being the Nizāmiya of Baghdad (opened 459 = 1067), the earliest west of Khurāsān; by the general abolition of *mukūs* (taxes unsanctioned by the *shariʿa*) in 479 (1086—1087); and by undertaking extensive public works particularly in connection with the *ḥadīdī*. After the Hīdjāz had returned from Fātimid to ʿAbbāsid allegiance in 468 (1076), he exerted himself to make the Irāk road safe from brigandage for pilgrims, as well as to diminish their expenses; and from the next year until that of his death the journey was accomplished without mishap. It was not until the second half of Malikshāh's reign that the full effects of Nizām's achievement made themselves felt. By 476 (1083—1084), however, such were the unwonted security of the roads and the low cost of living that reference is made to them in the annals.

Nizām al-Mulk was naturally much sought after as a patron. The poet al-Muʿizzī [q. v.] accuses him of having "no great opinion of poetry because he had no skill in it", and of paying "no attention to anyone but religious leaders and mystics" (see *Čahār Maḳāla*, transl., p. 46). But though his charity, which was profuse (see for example al-Subkī, iii. 41), went in large measure to men of religion — among them the most notable objects of his patronage being Abū Ishāḡ al-Shirāzī [q. v.] and al-Ghazālī [q. v.] —, he was clearly a lavish patron also of poets, as is testified by the *Dumyat al-Ḳaṣr* of al-Bāḡharzī [q. v.], the greater part of which is devoted to his panegyrists. In another sphere, the inauguration of the Djalālī calender [q. v.] in 466 (1074) was probably due to his encouragement, since at this time his ascendancy over Malikshāh was at its most complete.

For the first seven years of Malikshāh's reign Nizām's authority went altogether unchallenged. In 472 (1079—80), however, two Turkish officers of the court instigated Malikshāh into killing a protégé of the wazīr; and in 473 (1080—1081), again, the sultān insisted on disbanding a contingent of Armenian mercenaries against Nizām's advice. Malikshāh now began to hope, indeed, for the overthrow of his mentor, showing extraordinary favour to officials such as Ibn Bahmanyār and, later, Saiyid al-Ruʿasāʾ, who were bold enough to criticize him. Ibn Bahmanyār went so far as to attempt the wazīr's assassination (also 473),

whereas Saiyid al-Ru'asā' contented himself with words. But in each case Nizām was warned; and the culprits were blinded. In the case of Ibn Bahmanyār, in whose guilt a court jester named Dja'farak was also implicated, Malikshāh retaliated by contriving the murder of Nizām's eldest son Djamāl al-Mulk, who had taken Dja'farak's execution into his own hands (475 = 1082). After the fall of Saiyid al-Ru'asā' in 476 (1083—1084), however, the sultān left plotting till, some years later, a new favourite, Tādj al-Mulk, caught his fancy.

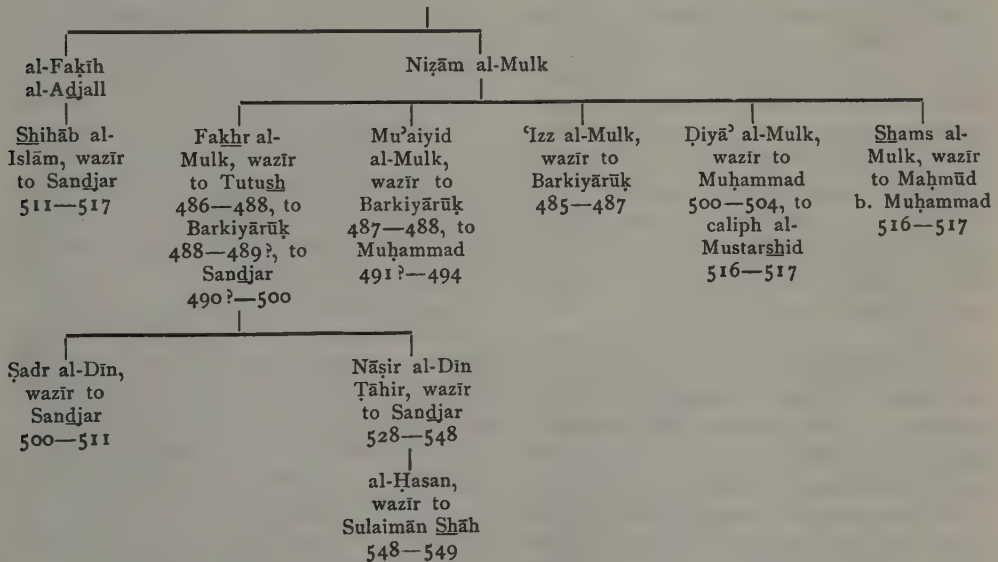
All went well with Nizām al-Mulk till 483 (1090—1091). In that year, however, occurred the first serious challenge to the Saldjūkid power, when al-Basra was sacked by a force of Karmātiāns; and almost simultaneously their co-sectary the Assassin leader al-Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabbāḥ [q. v.] obtained possession of the fortress of Alamūt, from which repeated attacks failed to dislodge him. Meanwhile, moreover, an awkward problem had arisen over the succession to the sultānate, on account of the death in turn of Malikshāh's two eldest sons, Dāwūd (474 = 1082) and Aḥmad (481 = 1088). These sons had both been children of the Karākhānid princess Terken Khātūn (see *Djāmi' al-Tawārikh*), who had borne the sultān a third son, Maḥmūd, in 480 (1087). She was eager for Maḥmūd to be formally declared heir. Nizām, however, was in favour of Barkiyārūk [q. v.], Malikshāh's eldest surviving son by a Saldjūkid princess. Hence Terken became his bitter enemy, and joined with Tādj al-Mulk, who was in her service, in instigating Malikshāh against the wazīr.

Tādj al-Mulk accused Nizām to the sultān, who by this time was in any case incensed with the

wazīr's championship of al-Muqtadī, of extravagant expenditure on the army and of nepotism; and Malikshāh's wrath was finally inflamed beyond bearing by an ungarded reply made by Nizām to a formal accusation of these practices. But even so he did not dare to dismiss him. (The earliest historian to assert that he was dismissed is Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, who appears to have misunderstood the purport of some verses by al-Naḥḥās quoted in the *Kāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, and really composed after Nizām's death).

Nizām al-Mulk was assassinated on 10th Ramaḍān 485 (October 14, 1092) near Siḥna, between Kanguwar and Bisutūn, as the court was on its way from Iṣfahān to Baghdād. His murderer, who was disguised as a Šūfī, was immediately killed, but is generally thought to have been an emissary of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabbāḥ. Contemporaries, however, seem to have put the murder down to Malikshāh, who died suddenly less than a month later, and to Tādj al-Mulk, whom Nizām's retainers duly tracked down and killed within a year. And Rashīd al-Dīn combines the two theories, stating that the wazīr's enemies at court concerted it with the Assassins. The truth is therefore uncertain; but as Rashīd al-Dīn is one of the earliest historians to whom the Assassin records were available, his account would seem to deserve attention.

The extraordinary influence of Nizām al-Mulk is attested by the part played in affairs after his death by his relatives, despite the fact that only two appeared to have displayed much ability. For the next sixty years, except for a gap between 517 (1123) and 528 (1134), members of his family held office under princes of the Saldjūkid house.



Of Nizām's family Diyā' al-Mulk is remarkable as being his son by a Georgian princess, either the daughter or the niece of Bagrat I, formerly married, or at least betrothed, to Alp Arslān, after the campaign of 456 (1064).

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(HAROLD BOWEN)

NIZĀM BADAQSHĪ studied law and *ḥadīth* under Mawlānā 'Iṣām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm and Mullā Sa'īd in his native land Badakhshān and was looked upon as one of the most learned men of his age. He was also the *murīd* (disciple) of Shaikh Husain of Khwārizm. His attainments procured him access to the court of Sulaimān, king of Badakhshān, who conferred upon him the title of Qādī Khān. Subsequently he left his master and went to India. At Khānpūr, he was introduced to the Emperor Akbar (963—1014 = 1556—1605). He received several presents, and was appointed *Parwānī* writer. Akbar soon discovered in him a man of great insight, and made him a "Commander of One Thousand" (*yak hazārī*). He also bestowed upon him the title of Ghāzī Khān after he had distinguished himself in several expeditions. He died in Oudh at the age of seventy in 992 (1584). He is the author of the following works: 1. *Hāshiyat Sharḥ al-'Aḳā'id*, a commentary on al-Taftāzānī's commentary on the 'Aḳā'id of al-Nasafī; 2. several treatises on Sūfism.

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(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

NIZĀM-I DJEDĪD, "new decree", the reforms of Selīm III. Sulṭān Selīm III [q.v.], recognizing the necessity of a thorough reorganisation in certain departments of state, promulgated in 1793 under the name of *Nizām-i djedīd*, i.e. new decree, a series of measures for the reform of the feudal military system, the admiralty, the artillery and transport, a "vizeerate ordinance" for the governors of provinces, a law dealing with provincial taxation, another for the creation of a body of infantry raised and drilled on western lines, and lastly the institution of a special military fund from new sources of revenue, to provide the funds for the reforms. These revenues consisted of taxes on brandy, tobacco, coffee, silk, wool, sheep and the yields of the fiefs of holders of *timar* [q.v.] in Anatolia, who had neglected their duty in war and were therefore deprived of their fiefs. It was intended that the new body of infantry, *nizām-i djedīd askerī*, should number 12,000. To begin

with a model battalion of 1,600 men was raised, to be composed of volunteers. This body was formed of young men of different nationalities and religions, mostly Austrian or Russian deserters collected during the war with Russia. The result was that the force enjoyed little prestige and native Turks only joined it in small numbers, with the consequence that this corps, popularly called *lewena askerī*, consisted of only a few hundred men and was unable to attain to the strength of a battalion (1,600) until 1799. The Sulṭān's force trained and armed on European lines was limited to this body. The Sulṭān employed foreign officers, mainly from England, Sweden and Spain, to train the soldiers and see to the management of the arsenals, ship-building and fortifications. Large barracks and ammunition depots were built. The new revenue earmarked for military purposes which by 1797—1798 amounted to 60,000 purses, i.e. 48,000,000 francs (cf. Djewdet, *Tārīkh*, viii. 139 sq.), supplied the necessary funds. Internal difficulties, especially the ever increasing number of opponents of reform, prevented the Sulṭān from completely realising his plans. The name *Nizām-i djedīd* became more and more hateful to the people so that it was finally decided to abolish it altogether and to call the corps of regular troops *Sejmen* or *Segban*, i.e. "kennel-men". On Selīm's deposition it was disbanded. Under his successor Muṣṭafā [q.v.] the attempt was made to revive the *nizām-i djedīd*. The Austrian renegade Sulaimān Agha who had previously commanded the division quartered in Lewend Çiftlik was ordered to reconstitute it again secretly, but this effort met with no permanent success (cf. Zinkeisen, *G.O.R.*, vii. 552 sq.).

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NIZĀM SHĀH, title assumed in 895 (1490) by Malik Aḥmad Bahrī, founder of the Nizām Shāhī state of Aḥmadnagar [q.v.], one of the five independent sulṭānates which arose out of the ruins of the Bahmanī kingdom of the Dakhan towards the end of the fifteenth century. For a chronological list and genealogical table of these kings of Aḥmadnagar see *Cambridge History of India*, iii. 704—705; also Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 298—299.

The second ruler, Burhān Nizām Shāh I (914—960 = 1509—1553), adopted, in 1537, the Shī'a form of Islām which, except for a brief period under Ismā'il when the Mahdawīs were in power, became the established religion of this kingdom. During Burhān's reign an unsuccessful attempt was made by the anti-Dakhani faction, known as the Foreigners, to place his brother, Rādjādī, upon the throne. The flight of the defeated rebel to Berār, combined with the refusal of 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Imād Shāh to surrender Pāthri, the home of Burhān's Brāhman ancestors, led to war with Berār and to the capture of Pāthri. It was a dispute as to the possession of Sholāpur, the chief bone of contention between Aḥmadnagar and the neighbouring kingdom of Bidjāpur, that caused Burhān to adopt the disastrous policy of joining forces with Sadāshivarāya of Vijaynagar, as a result of which the Hindu monarch was able to annex the Rāičūr Dōab to his dominions, while Burhān was successful in capturing the fortress of Sholāpur.

Burhān was succeeded, after a period of civil warfare, by his son Husain who reigned until 972 (1565). His reign, however, is of outstanding importance in the history of the Dakhan, for it was at this time that the Muslim rulers of this area, with the exception of Berār, irritated by the overbearing insolence of Sadāshīwarāya and realizing the strength of the Hindu menace in the south, combined to crush the military power of Vijayānagar at the battle of Tālikota (972 = 1565).

In the same year Husain was gathered to his fathers and his son, Murtaḍā NiẒām Shāh I (972—994 = 1565—1586), reigned in his stead. Murtaḍā, called *Diwāna* or Madman, neglected the affairs of his kingdom for a life of dissipation, the real power being in the hands of his ministers. An unsuccessful attempt was made during this reign to drive the Portuguese out of India, but the effort came too late, for, during the critical years when the Portuguese had been establishing themselves along the coast, the forces which might have united to hurl the invaders into the sea had been engaged in inglorious internecine conflicts. The most important event in this reign was the annexation of Berār, in 982 (1574).

The subsequent history of this dynasty, until the Mughal invasions of the Dakhan, is unimportant. Full details will be found in the pages of Firīshṭa, the contemporary chronicler. Despite the heroic efforts of the dowager queen, Čānd Bibī, the imperial forces conquered Aḥmadnagar in 1600. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the incorporation of the NiẒām Shāhī dominions in the Mughal Empire was effective under Akbar. All attempts by his successor Djaḥāngir to complete his father's policy were frustrated by the organizing ability of Malik Ambar, an able Abyssinian minister, who was in charge of the affairs of Aḥmadnagar until his death in 1035 (1626). It was not until 1042 (1633), in the reign of Shāhjahān, that this kingdom was finally annexed, although for some years afterwards the Marāṭhā leader Shāhḍjī attempted to resuscitate the NiẒām Shāhī dynasty.

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NIẒĀMĪ, NIẒĀM AL-DĪN ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ILYĀS B. YŪSUF, one of the greatest poets of Persia. He was born in Gandja, the later Elisavetpol in 535 (1140—1141). His parents died while he was still quite young so that the education of the boy and of his brother had to be undertaken by his uncle. From NiẒāmī's poems, it is apparent that his uncle very soon followed his parents to the grave. Nevertheless the two boys succeeded in getting an excellent education, for NiẒāmī's brother, who wrote under the pen-name of Kīwāmī Mutarrizī, attained a very high skill as a writer of *qaṣīdas* (an ingenious *qaṣīda* by him is given in Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Pers.*, ii. 47 sq.). NiẒāmī was thrice married and had a son named Muḥammad. The poet was interested in Sūfism and studied in Sūfī circles under a certain *Shaikh Akhū Farrukh Raihānī*. Nothing more is known about his career and it may be presumed that his life was relatively uneventful, as he says himself that he avoided the bustle of princes' courts and had a strictly ascetic conception of life. Never-

theless all his great poems are dedicated to rulers of his time and for one of them he even received the rents of the village of Ḥamdūniyān but it yielded him very little, he tells us. He died in 599 (1202—1203) aged 63½. Dawlatshāh gives the date of his death as 576 (1180—1181), which is however impossible as three of his poems were written after this year; this is probably an instance of the usual carelessness of this writer.

NiẒāmī's great work is his *Khamsa* or Quintette, a collection of five great epic poems, with different subjects. It is very possible that these poems were not collected under one title by the author himself, as Ḥamd Allāh Kazwīnī 25 years after NiẒāmī's death does not yet know his work as a collected whole, although he esteems it very highly and was perfectly acquainted with it. The *Khamsa* consists of the following parts: 1. *Makhzan al-Asrār* (561 = 1165—1166) dedicated to Ildigiz, Atābek of Ādharbāidjān. It is a didactic poem strongly permeated by the spirit of Sūfism. The principles inculcated are expounded by the insertion of short stories. In spite of a certain prosiness, the work is characterized by certain passages of remarkable beauty (e.g. chap. 5 "On old age") and played a prominent part in the history of Persian didactic poetry. 2. *Khusraw u Shirin* (571 = 1175—1176) dedicated to the sons of Ildigiz, Muḥammad and Kizil Arslān; unlike the first poem this is a romantic epic poem, based on historical incidents dealing with the story of the Sāsānian Khusraw Parwiz and coinciding in parts with the corresponding sections of the *Shāh-nāma*. The heroic element however here falls into the background to give free play to the romantic and especially to a penetrating psychological analysis. 3. *Lailā* (or as now pronounced *Laili*) *u-Madjnūn* (584 = 1188—1189) dedicated to the Shīrwānshāh Akhsitān Minūčehr. The subject was adopted at the request of the Shīrwānshāh. NiẒāmī was by no means satisfied with this choice; the love-story of the Beduin poet Kais al-Āmirī, known as Madjnūn [q.v.], seemed to him as dry "as the Arabian desert". Yet it is this very poem that is his greatest work, for it was an astonishing success and stimulated countless imitations, among them some of the pearls of Oriental poetry, such as the work of the same name of the Ādharbāidjān poet Fuḍūlī. Here the heroic style is completely dropped and we have a simple love-story, only occasionally interrupted by the clash of arms. 4. *Sikandar* or (*Iskandar*)-*nāma* (587 = 1191) divided into two parts which are known as *Ikkāl-nāma* or *Sharaf-nāma* and *Khirad-nāma* (or *Sikandar-nāma-yi barri* and *Sikandar-nāma-yi bahri*). The first version of the work was dedicated to 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd I, Atābak of Moṣul. A revised version was offered by the poet to Nasrat al-Dīn Abū Bakr Bishkin, Atābak of Ādharbāidjān. NiẒāmī took the romance of Alexander as the foundation for his poem and treats it very much on the same lines as Firdawsī. The subject afforded ample opportunities to work in scientific and philosophical material, which NiẒāmī does very skilfully in the conversations between Alexander and his tutor Aristotle and other scholars. The work thus became a kind of encyclopædia, which touches on almost all branches of knowledge of the time. 5. *Haft Paikar* (595 = 1198—1199) dedicated to the same ruler as the previous poem. In this poem NiẒāmī again goes back to the popular Sāsānian hero Bahrām Gūr. But here again

it is not on his chivalrous adventures that stress is laid but on seven stories related to the hero by seven kings' daughters with whom he is in love. Each of these stories is associated with a day of the week, a planet and a colour. They form a masterpiece of Oriental story-telling which has never been surpassed and their grotesque and gruesome fantasy is particularly effective. As a master of fantasy, Nizāmī recalls E. T. A. Hoffmann and J. Callot and is able to make his readers visualise his wonderful pictures just as vividly as the European masters. Besides these large works, Nizāmī left a lyrical *Dīwān* of which only three MSS. are known (Bodleian, N^o. 618, 619 and Berlin, Pertsch Cat., N^o. 691) and which so far has received little attention. It contains no *kašidas* in the court style and is distinctly *Sūfi* in tone.

Nizāmī's works are of the greatest importance in the history of Persian literature. They mark the zenith of epic poetry in Persia, as in them for the first time the antithesis between the language of the lyric and the archaic style of the epic is overcome and the epic is brought into the milieu of the court style, which at this time was already fully developed in the lyric. The epic however at the same time loses its heroic character and devotes itself more and more to psychological characterisation at which Nizāmī was a master. The overloading with learning, which in time came to choke the action completely, is very noticeable.

Nizāmī's influence on the later poets was unusually strong. A whole series of important poets, among them men like Amīr Khusrāw Dihlawī, Khwādju Kirmānī, Kātibī, Djamī, Hātifī and even the great mystic Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār and the great master of *Ġhātāī* poetry Mīr 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī, tried their skill in *naḡiras* on Nizāmī's *Khamsa* (the number of poems in later writers rises to seven).

In spite of its great importance, so far critical editions of parts only of the *Khamsa* have appeared and we are dependent for the rest on bad Indian lithographs or manuscripts difficult of access. It is most desirable to put an end to this state of affairs and devote greater attention in Europe to the study of Nizāmī.

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(E. BERTHELS)

NIZĀMĪ 'ARŪDĪ. Aḥmad B. 'Umar B. 'Alī took the *takhalluṣ* of Nizāmī and the honorific Naḡm al-Dīn (or Nizām al-Dīn); he was usually called 'Arūḍī (the "prosodist") to distinguish him from other Nizāmīs (particularly the great Nizāmī; cf. the anecdote quoted by E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Pers.*, ii. 339) According to Browne, Nizāmī is one of the most interesting and remarkable Persian writers of prose: "one of those who throw most light on the intimate life of Persian and Central Asian Courts in the xiith century of our era". He was a court poet who served faithfully the Ghōrid [q.v.] princes for 45 years (he would thus be born at the end of the xith century), according to what he tells us at the beginning of the *Āḡāh Maḡāla*, the only work by him that has come down to us. His verse has been lost, at least except for fragments; Dawlatshāh (ed. Browne, p. 60—61) only gives one couplet which does not seem to be by him. Awfi (*Lubāb*, ed. Browne, p. 207—208) quotes five poetical fragments (mostly occasional pieces) and adds that Nizāmī composed several *mathnawī*, the titles of which have not survived. The only biographical information we possess about Nizāmī comes from himself. In 504 (1110—1111) he was in Samarkand collecting traditions relating to the poet Rūdagi (*Āḡāh Maḡāla*, text, p. 33); in 506, he met Khāiyām in Balkh (*ibid.*, p. 63) and three years later he was living in Herāt (*ibid.*, p. 44); in the following year (510 = 1116—1117) finding himself in poverty in Nishāpūr (*ibid.*, p. 9), he went to Tūs in the hope of gaining the favour of Sulṭān Sandjar who was encamped outside the town (p. 40 sq.); in Tūs he visited the tomb of Firdawsī (p. 51) and collected information about him which he put in his book (p. 47 sq.). Encouraged by Mu'izzī, Sandjar's poet-laureate, he succeeded in attracting the prince's attention; his fame and fortune probably date from this time; in 512 we find him again at Nishāpūr (p. 69); and again in 514 when he heard from the lips of Mu'izzī an anecdote about Maḡmūd and Firdawsī (p. 50—51); in 530 he returned to this town and visited the tomb of Khāiyām (p. 63); in 547 he fled into hiding after the defeat of the Ghōrid army by Sandjar near Herāt (p. 87). His "Four Discourses" (*Āḡāh Maḡāla*) were probably written in 1156. For the remainder of his life we have no data. There is reason to believe he practised medicine and astrology (cf. text, p. 65 and 87). As to his poetry, in spite of the satisfaction he expresses with it, it is not

of the first rank, to judge by the fragments that survive; in any case it was very inferior to his prose, which Browne says is almost unequalled in Persian.

The *Cahār Maḳāla* consists of four discourses, each of which deals with one of the classes of men whom the author regards as indispensable in the service of Kings: secretaries, poets, astrologers and physicians. Each discourse begins with general considerations, which are followed by anecdotes, often from the writer's personal experience. The number of these anecdotes, which form the most interesting and valuable part of the book, is about forty; some give valuable information on the literary and scientific state of Persia. We may say that the "Four Discourses" (especially the second) and Awfī's *Lubāb* are the two old works which deal systematically with Persian poetry. Dawlatshāh made a great deal of use of it (cf. Browne, *Sources of Dawlatshāh*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 37—69). We may specially point out that it is to Nizāmī that we owe the earliest notice of Firdawsī and the only contemporary reference to Khayyām. On the other hand, we must point out the historical inaccuracy of certain passages, even in the case of events in which Nizāmī claims to have taken part. His book is mentioned or quoted by Awfī (*Lubāb*), Ibn Isfandiyyār (*Hist. of Tabaristan*), Mustawfī Kazwīnī (*Tārīkh-i Guzida*), Djāmī (*Silsilat al-Dhahab*), Ghaffārī (*Nigāristān*). Hādjdjī Khalifa speaks of a *Madjma' al-Nawādir* which he thinks is different from the *Cahār Maḳāla*; but Mirzā Muḥammad Kazwīnī has shown that this is another title of the same book.

Bibliography: Nizāmī 'Arūdī has been edited in full by Mirzā Muḥammad Kazwīnī and transl. by E. G. Browne (*G.M.S.*, xi, Pers. text, 1910; English transl., 1921) A lith. ed. appeared at Teheran (1305 = 1887). Cf. *G. I. Ph.*, ii, index; E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, ii, index; Hādjdjī Khalifa (ed. Flügel, No. 4348); Riżā Kulī-Khān, *Madjma' al-Fuṣṣḥā*, i. 635; Muḥammad Nizām al-Dīn, *Introd. to the Jawāmi' ul-hikayāt* (*G. M. S.*, index).

(H. MASSÉ)

NIZĀMĪ, ḤASAN, a Persian historian whose full name was ŠADR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. ḤASAN. Born in Nishāpūr, he went on the advice of his *shaiḫ* Muḥammad Kūfī to Ghaznī to give an opportunity to his remarkable talents as a stylist. A severe illness forced him to leave Ghaznī, and he went to Dihli where he obtained an appointment as court historian to the Pathān Sultāns and began in 602 (1206) his great historical work *Tādj al-Ma'āthir fī Tārīkh*, which brought him great fame. It deals with the history of the first three Pathān Sultāns of Dehli — Muḥammad b. Sām (588—602 = 1192—1206), Kuṭb al-Dīn Aibak (602—607 = 1206—1210) and Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (607—633 = 1210—1235). The book begins with the capture of Adjmir by Mu'izz al-Dīn in 587 (1191) and ends with the appointment of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad as governor of Lahore (614 = 1217). An Appendix contains a panegyric of Iltutmish and his campaigns of conquest. The work was very highly esteemed in the Muslim east as a model of elegant style. It is written in high flowing and difficult language and has a large number of poetical passages inserted in it. It is only with difficulty that the historical facts can be extricated from the medley of rhetoric but

nevertheless the book is of undeniable value for the history of India and Afghānistān.

Bibliography: Rieu, *Catalogue*, i. 239; Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, ii. 204—243; N. Lees, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1868, p. 433; Flügel, *Catalogue Vienna*, ii. 173 (No. 951); W. Pertsch, *Die persischen Handschriften der . . . Bibl. zu Gotha*, p. 53; E. Blochet, *Catalogue des mss. persans de la Bibl. Nationale*, Paris 1905, i. 333; C. Salemann and v. Rosen, *Indices alphabet. codicum mss. persicorum . . . in Bibl. Imper. Literarum Universitatis Petropolitanae*, St. Petersburg 1888, p. 12, No. 578. On the biography of the author see also Mirkhond (lith. Bombay), i. 7.

(E. BERTHELIS)

NIZĀM-ŠAHĪ (i. e. *Ilā-yi Nizām-shāhī* "ambassador of Nizām-Shāh" of the Dakhan), a Persian historian whose real name was Khūrshāh b. Kuḅād al-Ḥusainī. Born in the Persian 'Irāk, he entered the service of Sultān Burhān [cf. NIZĀM-ŠAHĪ]. The latter being converted to the Shī'a sent Khūrshāh as ambassador to Tahmāsp-Shāh Ṣafawī. Reaching Raiy in Radjab 952 (Sept. 1545), he accompanied the Shāh to Georgia and Shirwān during the campaign of 953 (1546) against Alkāš-Mirzā. He stayed in Persia till 971 (1563), perhaps with occasional breaks. He died at Golconda on the 15th Dhū 'l-Ka'da 972 (June 24, 1564).

Khūrshāh's chief work is the *Tārīkh-i Ilā-yi Nizām-shāh*, a general history from the time of Adam based on such sources as Tabarī, Baidāwī, *Tārīkh-i guzida*, *Zafar-nāma*, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, the "Memoirs of Shāh-Tahmāsp" etc. The book is divided into a preface and seven *maḳāla*, each of which is again divided into several *guz'āt*. The most important part of this work is that which refers to the reign of Tahmāsp-Shāh (in the Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 153, written in 972 = 1565, the events come down to 969) and to the local dynasties of the Caspian provinces: Māzandarān, Gilān, Shirwān. The two manuscripts in the British Museum show differences in their contents: Add. 23,513 (written in 1095 = 1684) has passages added by some continuator and taken from the *Djihan-ārā* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ghaffārī. The later additions of Or. 153 come down as late as 1200.

According to Firishṭa, "Shāh Khūrshāh", during the reign of Ibrāhīm Kuṭb-Shāh of the Deccan (957—988) also wrote a history of the Kuṭb-Shāhis [q. v.]. It is difficult to reconcile this with a continuous stay in Persia from 952 to 971.

Bibliography: Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 107—111; Schefer, in his *Chrestomathie persane*, ii., 1885, p. 64—133 (notes 65—133) printed the sections relating to the Caspian provinces.

(V. MINORSKY)

NIZĀR B. MA'ADD, common ancestor of the greater part of the Arab tribes of the north, according to the accepted genealogical system. Genealogy: Nizār b. Ma'add b. 'Adnān (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, A. 3). His mother, Mu'āna bint Djahla, was descended from the pre-Arab race of the Djurhum. Genealogical legend which has preserved mythological features and folklore relating to several eponyms of Arab tribes is almost silent on the subject of Nizār (an etymological fable about his name: *Tādj al-'Arūs*, iii. 563, 15—17 from the *Rawḍ al-Unf* of al-Suhaili [i. 8, 8—10] is without doubt of very late origin as is shown by the connection which is established

with the prophetic mission of Muhammad; the same etymology from *nazzr* "insignificant" is further found in Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishṭikāq*, p. 20, 6; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, p. 763, 16, without the story in question). Tradition has more to say about his four sons Rabi', Muḍar, Anmār, Iyād and about the partition of the paternal heritage among them, in connection with which they visited the *Djurihumī ḥakam* al-Af'ā. Their adventures on the journey (they are able to describe minutely the appearance of a camel they have never seen from the traces it has left) form the subject of a popular story which has parallels among other peoples; its object is to make the origins of the *ḥiyāfa* go back to the most remote period (al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, *al-Fakhir*, p. 155—156 and the sources there quoted; Ṭabari, i. 1108—1110 etc.); it perhaps is of interest to note that the story was known to Voltaire who introduced it into his *Zadig*.

As Robertson Smith showed half a century ago (*Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*², p. 5 sqq., 283—289) and as Goldziher has confirmed by numerous quotations (*Muhammedanische Studien*, i. 78—92), the name Nizār only appears late in Arab poetry while that of Ma'add (which is found as early as the Byzantine historians Procopius and Nonnosus) appears quite early in it, although its ethnic character is rather vague (as to that of 'Adnān, still more comprehensive, one of the oldest historians of Arab poetry, Muḥammad b. Sallām, d. 230 = 844—845, had already pointed out that his name was almost unknown in ancient poetry, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shu'arā'*, ed. Hell, p. 5, 1; cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Iṣṭikāq 'alā Ḳabā'il al-Ru'āḥ*, Cairo 1350, p. 48). Before the Umayyad period the only trace we find of the use of Nizār as an ethnic is in a verse of the pre-Islamic poet Biṣr b. Abī Ḳhāzim (in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, p. 667, 15) and in another of Ka'b b. Zuhair (in Ṭabari, i. 1106, 10); in the verse of Ḥassān b. Ṭhābit, ed. Hirschfeld, lx. 2, the reference is to another Nizār, son of Ma'īṣ b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy (Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, P. 15) belonging to the *Ḳuraysh*. The line in Umayya b. Abī 'l-Ṣalt, ed. Schulthess, U, i. 10, in which the descent of the Ṭhāḳif from Nizār is celebrated, is apocryphal and is connected with the well known dispute regarding the origin of the Ṭhāḳif. The story of the verdict of al-Aḳra' b. Ḥābis al-Tamīmī in favour of *Djarir* b. 'Abd Allāh al-Baḍjalī against Ḳhālīd b. Arṭāh al-Kalbī (*Naḳḁ'id*, ed. Bevan, p. 141—142; cf. Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 50) in which there is a reference to Nizār and which is placed before Islām, is not less suspect; its object is to defend the northern origin of the Baḍjila (descendants of Anmār), often disputed, as well as that of their brethren the *Ḳhath'am* [q. v.], and to refuse the same origin to the Kalb, descendants of the *Ḳuḍā'a*, to which it was attributed just at the time of the strife that raged around the succession to Yazīd I. The *radjaz* quoted by Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, p. 49 (and often elsewhere; they are sometimes attributed to 'Amr b. Murra al-Djūhanī, a contemporary of the Prophet, and sometimes to a certain al-Aflaḥ b. al-Ya'būb, otherwise unknown) in which we find used with reference to *Ḳuḍā'a*, the verb *tanazzara* "to announce oneself to be descended from Nizār" may be regarded as apocryphal. No stress need be laid on the isolated reference in al-Balāḍhurī (*Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 276, 16) to the quarters

(*khīṭa'*) of the Banū Nizār in *Kūfa* contrasted with those of the *Yamanī*; his language simply reflects the position in the author's time or that of his sources, later than the great revolution of the first century A. H.

It is only from this period, and to be more exact after the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ (65 = 684 won by the Kalb over the *Ḳais*, that we begin to find the name Nizār recurring with increasing frequency; it occurs mainly in the political poetry: *Djarir*, al-Farazdaq, al-Aḳḥṭal, al-Ḳuṭāmī, Zufar b. al-Ḥārith use it to designate the common source of the tribes of the north, contrasting it with the terms "Yaman" or "Ḳaḥṭān". The expression *Ibnā Nizārīn* "the two sons of Nizār" becomes regular; it indicates the Muḍar (*Ḳais 'Ailān*) and the Rabi'a as belonging to one ethnic group; they were previously regarded as unrelated to one another. The tribes descended from Anmār (cf. above) and Iyād (the fourth son of Nizār; but other sources make him a son of Ma'add) appear only rarely as members of the group. This is what the genealogical systematisation seeks to explain by alleged migrations of Anmār and Iyād into the groups of *Yamanī* tribes.

But the application of the term Nizār continued to remain vague, more so than those of *Ḳais*, Muḍar and Rabi'a which represent very large groups but more precise than that of Ma'add, of which it tends to take the place. This is due to the fact that the term Nizār corresponds to a political ideal rather than to a historical reality; in the latter the reigning dynasty, claiming descent from *Ḳuraysh* (themselves, consequently, *Nizārīs*) had as their henchmen the Kalb, one of the most powerful *Yamanī* tribes, while the *Azd*, another tribe of the south, bound to the policy of their most illustrious representatives, the *Muhallabids*, were sometimes on the side of the Umayyads and sometimes against them. It was this complicated position that gave rise to the attempt to separate the *Ḳuḍā'a* (i. e. the Kalb) from the southern stock in order to make them descendants of Nizār. The story told in *Aghānī*, xi. 160—161, al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 14—15 is intended to explain the separation of the *Ḳuḍā'a* from the rest of the Nizār as a result of the murder of the *Nizārī* *Yadhkur* b. 'Anaza by the *Ḳuḍā'i* *Ḥazīma* b. Naḥd. The lines in *Djarir* (*Naḳḁ'id*, p. 994) sum up very completely the way in which the *Ḳuḍā'a*-Kalb were connected with the Nizār, while elsewhere (e. g. *ibid.*, p. 261: al-Farazdaq) *Ḳuḍā'a* and Nizār are opposed. Later, at the end of the Umayyad period and especially in the period of the struggle in *Ḳhurāsān* which was the prelude to the fall of the dynasty, Nizār (also in the form *Nizārīya*) became the regular designation which was contrasted with *Yamanīya*: henceforth the Banū Nizār were to be the representatives of northern Arabism; as early as the period of decline of the Umayyads, the poet al-Kumait b. Zaid al-Asadī [q. v.] had composed a long poem, the *Mudhahhaba*, exalting the Nizār at the expense of the *Ḳaḥṭān*; nearly a century later, the *Yamanī* *Di'bīl* [q. v.] replied to him; these poetical jousts on which the *aṣābiya*, nationalist fanaticism, of the two great ethnic groups of the Arabs was nourished, continued down to quite a late date, especially among the *Zaidīs* of the *Yaman*.

From what has been said it is evident that we cannot speak of Nizār as of a tribe having had

a real historical existence nor, as is the case with the Ma'add, as a comprehensive term indicating an effective grouping together of a number of tribes of different origin. Nizār is simply a fictitious invention, a label intended to serve political interests. One must however ask whence the name came and what were the precedents which suggested its use in the sense above outlined. The problem has not yet been thoroughly studied and perhaps we do not possess the material necessary to solve it. It is possible that the history of the four sons of Nizār (cf. above), a popular story the nature and diffusion of which seem to take it back to a very early period and which originally had nothing to do with genealogical tradition, supplied the names on which the *nassābūn* later gave their imagination free play. But this is a pure supposition which would have to be confirmed by definite proofs.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den geneal. Tabellen*, p. 337; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djāmhara al-Ansāb* (MS. British Museum), fol. 3v; Ibn Kūtaiba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 31; Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 7, 49—50; Ibn Sa'd, *I/i*, 30; al-Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab*, ii. 327—328; *Kitāb al-Aghāni*; *Nakā'id*; Ṭabari, index.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

NIZĀR B. AL-MUSTAṢṢIR, Fāṭimid claimant, born 10th Rabi' I 437 (Sept. 26, 1045). On the death of his father, having been displaced by his youngest brother al-Musta'li [q. v.], Nizār fled to Alexandria, took the title of al-Muṣṭafā li-Dīn Allāh, and rose in revolt early in 488 (1095) with the assistance of the governor, Naṣr al-Dawla Aftakin, who was jealous of al-Afḍal, and the population of the city. He was at first successful in driving back al-Afḍal and advanced as far as the outskirts of Cairo, supported by Arab auxiliaries. Al-Afḍal again took the field against him, and after a short siege in Alexandria he surrendered towards the end of the same year, was taken to Cairo, and there immured by order of al-Musta'li.

By the Ismā'īlī organization in Persia [see the art. AL-ḤASAN B. AL-ŠABBĀḤ], Nizār was recognized as the rightful successor of al-Mustaṣṣir, and this, with its offshoots in Syria, formed a new group (*al-da'wa al-djādida*), opposed to the Musta'lian group (*al-da'wa al-ḥadima*), now known as *Khōdjas* [q. v.] and *Bohorās* [q. v.] respectively. A party of the Nizāriya at first held to the belief that Nizār was not dead and would return as the Mahdī or in company with him, but the majority held that the line of Nizār was continued by the Grand Masters of Alamūt.

Bibliography: See under AL-MUSTA'LI; also Ibn Khallikān, transl. de Slane, i. 160—161 (from al-Nuwairī); *Sidjillāt... al-Mustaṣṣir bi'llāh*, MS., S. O. S., London, Nrs. 35 and 43 (cf. *B. S. O. S.*, vii. 307 sqq.).

(H. A. R. GIBB)

NOAH. [See NUḤ.]

NOVIBAZAR or YEŇI BAZAR is the name of a former (down to 1912) Turkish sandjak in what was once the wilāyet of Kosovo; it now belongs to Jugo-Slavia. The district through which the river Lim flows and which is therefore also called the Lim district (area 7,350 sq. km. with 168,000 inhabitants of whom $\frac{3}{4}$ are Christian Serbs and $\frac{1}{4}$ Muhammadan Albanians), was bounded on the north by Bosnia and separated Serbia from

Montenegro. The importance of Novibazar was for military reasons as it secured communications between Bosnia and Rumelia and at the same time prevented communication between Serbia and Montenegro. By art. 85 of the Treaty of Berlin, Austria-Hungary held the western part of the sandjak (the Lim district) from Sept. 1879 to 1908, namely the towns of Plevlje (Turk. Tashlīdja), Prijepolje and Bjelopolje with a garrison of some 3,000 men, while the southern part, the kaṣā of Mitrovica, was returned to the Turks. After it was handed over in 1908, Novibazar formed a bone of contention between Turkey, Serbia and Montenegro. In 1912 the sandjak was conquered by Montenegro (Bjelopolje Oct. 12, Tusi Oct. 14, Berane Oct. 16, Gusinje Oct. 20, Plevlje Oct. 28) and Serbia (Novibazar Oct. 23, Sjenica Oct. 24) and in 1913 divided between the two countries.

The district forms with Zeta the ancestral home of former Serbia and roughly corresponds to the ancient Rascia. The chief town Novibazar (in the official spelling Novipazar) 1800 feet above sea-level on the Rashka, is now an impoverished place of 11,000 inhabitants with miserable houses and poor streets. In the middle ages however, it was of considerable importance as the imposing remains of churches monasteries and baths around it show. Not far from it lie the ruins of the town of Ras, of importance in the time of the old Serbian Kingdom and already mentioned in Byzantine history in the ixth century ('Párov), where the Nemanjid prince Stephen held his court for a time. The settlement of Pazarište or Trgoviste there was called by the Turks Eski Bazar, "Old Market". A *subaṣhi* is mentioned as being there in 1459 after the conquest of the land by the Turks (1456) and in 1461 a *kaḍi*. The Turks then founded a New Market not far away, YeŇi Bazar, which soon became the capital of the whole district. The Ragusa historian Lucari says the founder of Novibazar was Eŝe, i. e. undoubtedly İsa-Beg (1444—c. 1460, from 1453 governor of Sarajevo), son of İshāk-Beg (1414—1444), both of whom were governors in Üsküb (Skoplje) and were among the most important Turkish leaders of the time. The foundation of Novibazar must have taken place about 1460 for a year later we find mention for the first time in the archives of Ragusa of Ragusan merchants in Novibazar. In 1467 we already find a *kaḍi* and a *subaṣhi* in Novibazar. The town from the end of the xvth century was frequently visited and described by western travellers as it lay on the old trade route from Ragusa (Dubrovnik) to Niš. The knight Arnold v. Harff mentions Novibazar about 1499 as Nuewemarschet, Jean Chesneau (cf. *Le voyage de Monsieur d'Aramon*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1887, p. 11) describes Novibazar as *ville non fermée, assez marchande*. While these and other travellers of the xvth century like Benedict Kuripešić (1530; cf. Benedikt Curipeschitz, *Itinerarium der Botschaftsreise des Jos. v. Lamberg*, etc., ed. by Eleonore Gräfin Lamberg-Schwarzenburg, Innsbruck 1910, p. 41 sq.), Catarino Zeno (1550, in his *Descrizione del viazo de Constantinopoli*, 1550 in the *Starine* of the Yugoslav Academy of Agram, vol. x.) and Melchior v. Seydlitz (1555, in his *Gründlichen Beschreibung der Wallfahrt*, Görlitz 1580) were very little impressed by Novibazar, Paolo Contarini (1580, in his *Diario del viaggio da Venezia a Constantinopoli*, Venice 1856: *nozze Grimani-Francanzoni*) and the Sieur de

Stochove (c. 1630, cf. *Voyage du Sieur de Stochove fait es années 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633*, Brussels 1643, p. 30: at second hand and not from his own observation) and also Louis de Hayes, Sieur de Courmenin (1621, in his *Voiage de Levant Fait par le commandement du Roy en l'année 1621 par Le Sieur D[e] C[ourmenin]*, Paris 1624) devote far more attention to it. P. Contarini spent a day of rest in the caravanserai of Novibazar (*Novo Bazar*) which he found was a town with 6,000 Turkish and 100 Christian houses. He mentions the Ragusan settlement and the 16 mosques, the very long bazaar in which artisans of all kinds offered their wares for sale (mostly articles of iron from the adjoining Gluhavica in the S. E. of Novibazar which was as early as 1396 the seat of an Ottoman judge and had a customs house). The Sieur de Stochove describes *La ville de Geni Basar, qui en Turc veut dire nouveau marché, elle est située sur la petite rivière de Rasca en un lieu hault et bas, ce qui en rend la veüe fort agreable, son circuit est de demy lieue sans estre enfermé de murailles, cest la ville la plus considerable que l'on trouve depuis la frontiere* (i. e. the Dalmatian-Bosnian frontier). Louis de Hayes in 1621 found İgni Bazar (i. e. Yeñi Bazar) a pleasant place with one storey houses. It was under the governor of Bosnia and had a judge who was under the Chief Kādi of Sarajevo [q. v.]. The description given by the traveller Ewliya Çelebi [q. v.] of his visit to Novibazar (1660) (v. 544 sqq.) is as usual full of exaggerations. He says there were 45 quarters in Novibazar, 23 large and 11 small mosques, 5 medreses and 2 monasteries. Of the mosques he mentions the Altun mosque and the mosque of Ghāzī 'Isā-Beg formerly a church, and the Taşköprü mosque and mosque of "Hādjī-i mühterem" (?). The bazaar had 1,110 shops, and there were 7 churches of the "Serbs, Bulgars and Latins" in Novibazar. He particularly praises the white unmixed bread and 48 kinds of apples and 35 of pears. Among the notabilities of the time Hādjī-i İbrāhīm Efendi, who had "cleansed" the roads to Bosnia and Herzegovina and erected bridges and rest-houses, and Dhu 'l-Fiḳār-Zāde Maḥmūd Agha receive words of praise. Both had palaces (*serāy*) in Novibazar.

In consequence of its exceedingly important military position and as the key to Bosnia for Turkey in Europe (cf. F. Kanitz, *Serbien*, Leipzig 1868, p. 200 sq.) Novibazar has frequently played a part in military history. In 1689 it was occupied under the Margrave of Baden; but the Christian inhabitants, disillusioned by the tyrannical attitude of the garrison, the excesses of the imperial armies, the heavy taxation, the intolerance shown the orthodox clergy and the partisanship for the Roman Catholic church, soon turned against their new masters and very soon Novibazar with the whole of Old Serbia again passed to the Ottomans. In 1737 Novibazar was again occupied for a few months by the imperial forces, but as a result of the careless leadership of the generals fell with Nish again into Turkish hands and this settled the disastrous result of the war for Austria (cf. F. Kanitz, *op. cit.*, p. 203 sq. and the Turkish description of the Bosnian campaign, from the pen of the kādi of Novi, 'Omar Efendi [q. v.], e. g. in the German version by J. N. v. Dubsky, Vienna 1879, p. 134 sqq. or the English by C. Fraser, London 1830, p. 49 sqq.). It is remarkable that the defences of Novibazar in the Turkish period were never

what the strategic importance of the place demanded (cf. the description in A. Boué, *Die Europäische Türkei*, vol. i., Vienna 1889, p. 549). In view of the stubborn defiance and steady opposition of the people, the Ottoman authorities — Novibazar was the seat of a ka'im-makām [q. v.] — had a difficult time. General Hasan Pasha who was to carry out the disarming in 1880, was killed in the street in a rising and those guilty were never brought to book. Unpopular officials were as a rule simply driven out. As the Porte feared continuous fighting with the rebellious population of the sandjak it never decided to undertake a regular military expedition against them. The result was that all branches of administration, trade, agriculture and industry gradually went to pieces. From the xviiith century therefore Novibazar was always a place of little importance. Nor did it revive under the semi-independent feudal lords of the family of Ferhadagić (*Ferhād-oghullar?*). Of the remains of Muslim times in Novibazar may be mentioned the fortress (*ka'a*) built in 1103 (1690) in the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad II. The surrounding buildings as a rule date only from the time of 'Abd al-Ḥamid II. Historically most interesting is the Altun 'Alem Mosque built by Ghāzī 'Isā-Beg (see above), the founder of Novibazar. Behind it lie the wretched ruins of the extensive konağ of the erstwhile feudal lord of Novibazar, Aiyūb Pasha (d. 1243 = 1821). Of other Muslim houses of prayer may be mentioned the mosques of Muşliḥ al-Din Efendi, first mu'eddhin of the conqueror Meḥmed II, of Ghāzī Sinān-Beg and of Aiyūb Pasha. — The capital of the sandjak of Novibazar in modern times was the little town of Sjenica (cf. K. Oestreich, *Reisen im Vilajet Kosovo*, in the *Verhandlungen der Gesellsch. für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, vol. xxvi., 1899, p. 319).

Bibliography: G. Muir Mackenzie and A. P. Irby, *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe*³, London 1877, i. 265—284 (condition of Novibazar about 1875); A. Steinhauser, *Das Sandschak Novibazar*, Vienna 1879; Ewliya Çelebi, *Siyāhetnāme*, v. 544 sqq.; K. J. Jireček, *Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*, Prague 1879, p. 77; [Theodor Ippen], *Novibazar und Kosovo (Das alte Rascien)*, Vienna 1892; K. J. Jireček, *Staat und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Serbien*, part iv., Vienna 1919 = *Denkschriften der Ak. der Wiss. in Wien*, vol. 64, fasc. 2, p. 11 sq.; J. Kosančić, "The Sandjak Novipazar and its ethnological Problem" (*Serbien-Belgrade* 1912); K. N. Kostić, *Naši novi gradovi*, 4: *Novipazar*, in *Delo*, Year xix., fasc. 70, March 1914, p. 390—397; Fr. Babinger, *Führer durch Südserbien* (Belgrade n. d. = 1931), p. 23 sq. (FRANZ BABINGER)

NÜBA, name of a country [and people?] to the South of Egypt. The names Nubia, Nubian, Nūba are commonly used without scientific precision and it is only in the linguistic sense that they have an unambiguous meaning. The frontier separating Nubia from Egypt proper is well defined as the first cataract of the Nile in the neighbourhood of Aswān, and the area where Nubian is spoken nowadays ends in the vicinity of the 18th parallel, but the southern limit of Nubia is sometimes placed as far south as the junction of the Atbara and the Nile or even the confluence of the two Niles. Nubia is often sub-divided into Lower Nubia

from Aswān to Wādī Halfa and Upper Nubia from Wādī Halfa southwards, but neither term has any political or administrative significance.

The medieval Arabic writers are equally vague about the southern extent of Nubia: the region immediately bordering on Egypt, which bore the name of Maris, seems to have been regarded as Nubia *par excellence*; to the south of it lay Muḳarra with its capital at Dongola (Dunḳula, Dumḳula), and beyond this the kingdom of 'Alwa the capital of which was Sōba, near the site of the modern Kharṭūm. According to the tenth-century author 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Salīm (Sulaimī, quoted by Maḳrīzī) Maris and Muḳarra had distinct languages, and the frontier between them was situated three post-stations (*barīd*) to the south of the Third Cataract; politically, however, Maris formed part of Muḳarra and this probably accounts for the fact that Ibn Salīm immediately afterwards places the commencement of Muḳarra at a day's journey from Aswān. The frontier between Muḳarra and 'Alwa was the district of al-Abwāb, a name still in use for the country round Kabūshiya in Berber province. 'Alwa is generally placed outside Nubia, and the preamble to the treaty which governed the political relations between Nubians and Arabs makes its provisions incumbent on "the chief of the Nubians and all people of his dominions . . . from the frontier of Aswān to the frontier of 'Alwa"; yet Mas'ūdi speaks of 'Alwa as part of Nubia and states that it is under the political suzerainty of Muḳarra. According to Yāqūt, Nubia extends along the Nile a distance of eighty days journey, Dongola being situated halfway at forty days distance from Aswān; of 'Alwa he speaks, with obvious exaggeration of the distance, as a people beyond Nubia three months' journey from the king of the Nūba, whose official title is "king of Muḳarra and Nūba".

The modern conventional division of the population of the northern Sūdān into Nubian, Bedja, and Arab is in the main a linguistic one and does not correspond to any clearly-marked racial divisions. The "Nubian" type, itself a hybrid one, which dates back to the age of pre-dynastic Egypt, is most purely preserved in the Kenūz, Maḥas, and Sukkot, who between them compose the so-called Barābra, though even here a considerable element of alien admixture must be recognised. The Nubian-speaking Danāḡla (Danāḡila), on the other hand, are scarcely distinguishable from the rest of the Danāḡla-Dja'liyyīn-group (see MacMichael, *History*, i. 197 *sqq.*) which includes a number of Arabic-speaking tribes extending from Dongola province to the neighbourhood of Kharṭūm; the origin of this group must be sought in a fusion of the original Nubian element with the Arabs who poured into the Sūdān in the middle ages and eventually brought about the fall of the Christian kingdoms of Dongola and 'Alwa. The numerous Danāḡla colonies on the Blue and White Niles have given up their language in favour of Arabic, and the same applies to a branch of the Maḥas, settled since the sixteenth century in the neighbourhood of Kharṭūm, who now claim to be descended from the Khazraḡ of Arabia. Throughout the northern Sūdān the original Nubian stratum has coalesced with the Arabs to such an extent that it is no longer possible to separate the two strains. This fusion has also affected the groups which still speak Nubian, though the Barābra may

be said to have maintained a separate identity and to have absorbed the foreign elements rather than the reverse. The Danāḡla repudiate the appellation Nubian, and the term Barābra is used only by Egyptians and other foreigners, while the people themselves prefer to call themselves by their tribal names (Kenūz, Maḥas, Sukkot). It is only in recent times that they have begun to develop a national sentiment as Nubians and to make occasional use of the name.

Language. The Nubian language can scarcely be indigenous to the Nile Valley, and it is in no way connected with the language of the Meroitic inscriptions which preceded it in that area. The problem of its linguistic grouping has not been satisfactorily solved: both Hamitic and Sudānic features are present, and L. Reinisch (*Die sprachliche Stellung des Nuba*, Vienna 1911) regards it as a connecting link between the two groups. G. W. Murray (*Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. iii.) suggests the conclusion that in the remote past Dinka-Shilluk, Bari-Masai, and Nubian had a common origin, and that they all have to a greater or lesser degree been permeated by Hamitic influence. W. Meinhof (*Eine Studienfahrt nach Kordofan*) definitely classes Nubian as a Hamitic language.

The following branches are distinguished:

a. Nilotic Nubian (the language of the Barābra and Danāḡla) with three dialects: Kenzī, Maḥasī, and Dongolāwī; the first and the third, though separated geographically, form a single dialect group. A fourth dialect distinguished by Reinisch (Fadidja, Fadikḳa) is stated by Lepsius to be only a variety of Maḥasī.

ḡ. Hill Nubian spoken by a number of negroid tribes in the present province of Kordofan. The area in question is inhabited by a medley of tribes of different linguistic and racial stocks, and it is only in the case of the Nubian-speaking groups (mainly in the north) that the appellation Nūba is justified. The best known dialect is that of Dilling (Delen). A form of Hill Nubian is also spoken by the people of Djebel Midōb in northern Dārḡūr.

On the problem of the racial and historical connexion between Hill Nuba and Nilotic Nubians, see below.

c. The isolated dialect of the Birked tribe in Dārḡūr designated by Zyhlarz as South-West Nubian.

d. Old Nubian, the literary language of medieval Nubia. The examples which have survived belong to the viiith—xith centuries and consist of homiletic and edifying pieces intended for the common people, as distinct from strictly theological literature for which Greek was employed. The language of these texts approximates most closely to modern Maḥasī, although the provenance of the existing remains is the northernmost part of Nubia where Kenzī is spoken. Scanty remains from Upper Nubia justify the conclusion that Nubian (perhaps in a form more closely connected with the Hill dialects) was also used for literary purposes in the kingdom of 'Alwa.

Modern Nubian has no literature apart from biblical translations produced under European influence. The Danāḡla and Barābra use only Arabic for written communications and for literary purposes.

History. In speaking of the early history of the country the name Nubia is misleading, as there is no evidence of its use in ancient Egypt as a tribal or geographical name. To the Egyptians Lower Nubia was known as Wawat, and Upper

Nubia as *Kash* (the Biblical *Kush*) which corresponds to the classical Ethiopia. From the earliest times there existed relations of trade, conquest, and cultural influence between Egypt and its southern neighbour, and under the Middle Empire the Egyptian penetration of what is now Dongola province led to the development of a special local civilisation based on the culture of Egypt, but deeply affected by local forms, materials and customs. Under the New Empire Wawat and *Kash* were governed by Egyptian viceroys, and Napata (Djebel Barkal) became an important centre of the cult of Amon-Ra. Later Napata was the capital of an independent Ethiopian kingdom which, in its turn, conquered Egypt, and five kings of Napata sat on the throne of the Pharaohs (the 25th dynasty, B. C. 730–663). Subsequently the centre of gravity shifted southwards and Meroë, about 130 miles north of *Khartūm*, was the capital of a kingdom which still preserved the elements of a civilisation based on that of Egypt, though the isolation of the country, which was now almost complete, led to a rapid decline. In circumstances of which we have no detailed knowledge, the character of the population was modified owing to the pressure of negroid elements from Kordofan and the *Djazira*, and cultural contact with the north diminished to such an extent that to the Hellenistic-Roman world Ethiopia was but vaguely known, as indeed was the case of medieval Nubia in its relation to the Muslim world. Byzantine missionaries, however, introduced Christianity in the sixth century, at which period the two kingdoms of *Mukarra* and 'Alwa were already in existence: the *Maccurritae*, we are told by the chronicler, became Christians in 569 and the *Alo-daeans* in 580, and an embassy of the *Maccurritae* visited Constantinople in 573.

The name Nubian appears for the first time in the Hellenistic-Roman age and the earliest occurrence seems to be in Eratosthenes (quoted by Strabo, xvii.) who speaks of the *Noubai* as "a great race living in Lybia on the left side of the course of the Nile extending from Meroë to the bends of the river". In this passage, as well as in other references in Greek and Latin writers, Nubians are clearly distinguished from Lybians, Ethiopians, and other Meroitic folk, and as late as ca. 550 A. D. a kinglet of Lower Nubia speaks of himself as βασιλίσκος Νουβιδων και θλων των Αιθιοπων. It is not until the Muslim period that Nubia is found to have replaced Ethiopia as the name for the whole of the riverain country to the south of Egypt.

Of the events which brought about this change of name (no doubt signifying a change in language and in the ethnical character of the people) there is no historical record. From the linguistic evidence it is probable enough that the name originally belongs to the negroids of Kordofan, and that the *Noubai* (*Noubades*, *Nobatae*) of the classical writers were immigrants from the southwest who, as a result of political ascendancy, imposed their language on the Ethiopians of the Nile valley. The fact, however, cannot be disregarded that the modern Hill Nuba are strikingly dissimilar in physical character and culture to the mainly Hamitic *Barābra*-*Danāgla*, and on this ground the possibility of a racial connexion of the two groups has been challenged by C. G. Seligman and H. A. MacMichael (see esp. MacMichael, *History*, i.

14 sq.). Yet it is certain that the separation of the dialects must have taken place at a comparatively early date (before Christianity); the presence of "Nubian" speech in Kordofan can therefore not be explained as the result of *Danāgla* settlement in recent times. For a discussion of this vexed question see Ernst Zyhlarz, *Zur Stellung des Darfur-Nubischen*, in *WZKM*, vol. xxxv; and S. Hillelson, *Nubian Origins*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. xiii. (1930). What can be said with certainty is that the Arab conquerors of Egypt found on their southern frontier a population mainly Hamitic in the north, but containing negroid elements which increased in importance in the south. These people were Jacobite Christians, and they used Nubian as the language of government and letters.

Yāqūt quotes two sayings ascribed to the prophet in which Nubians are praised as faithful friends and useful slaves, but there can hardly have been any contact between Arabs and Nubians before the two invasions (A. D. 641–642 and 651–652) the second of which carried the Arabs as far as Dongola [q. v.]. As a result of these raids the relations between Muslims and Nubians were regulated by a treaty which ordained a system of mutual tolerance and non-interference; the tribute of slaves (*baḳṭ* [q. v.] from *πάκτοι*) which the Nubians undertook to pay annually was not so much a sign of submission as the basis for an exchange of commodities. Intercourse between the two countries, whether commercial or political, remained very restricted, and the interests of the Arabs to the south of Egypt were in the main confined to the exploitation of the mines of al-'Allāḳī, which affected the *Beḳja* rather than the Nubians. An invasion of Upper Egypt, said to have been undertaken by the Nubian king Kyriakos in A. D. 737 (or between 744 and 750) is recorded only on the doubtful evidence of Christian writers and ignored by Muslim historians. Minor raids occurred from time to time, and the "tribute" was occasionally withheld, but on the whole relations were peaceful. Muslims began to penetrate into Nubia at an early date, presumably for purposes of trade, and as early as the tenth century they are said to have had a special lodging-place (*rabaḳ*) in the capital of 'Alwa. According to a Syrian writer (quoted by Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, p. 32), Nubians resident in the lands of the caliphate remitted taxes to their own king and enjoyed the privilege of an autonomous jurisdiction. Further evidence of friendly relations is found in an account of an embassy to Baghdād in the time of al-Mutawakkil when a Nubian prince was honourably entertained.

Of internal conditions in Nubia we know very little; there are no native sources of information and Muslim accounts throw light only on special periods and occasional contacts. The fullest descriptive accounts, both dating from the tenth century A. D., are those of Mas'ūdi (ii. 362; iii. 31–34, 39–43) and Ibn Salīm (Sulaim?) who wrote an account of "Nubia, *Mukarra*, 'Alwa, the *Budja*, and the Nile", of which extensive fragments are extant in the *Khīṭaṭ* of Maḳrīzī (ed. Wiet, vol. iii., ch. xxx. sqq.).

During the reign of Saladin Nubian affairs come into some prominence owing to the support given by the semi-Nubian Banū Kanz (on whom see below) to a Fāṭimid pretender, and Lower Nubia was

invaded by Saladin's brother Tūrān-Shāh (1172—1173) who pillaged Ibrim and took many captives, but reported unfavourably on the resources of the country with the result that a planned annexation was not proceeded with. Soon afterwards (about 1208), the Armenian Abū Šālih composed his account of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt (ed. and translated by B. T. A. Evetts and A. J. Butler, Oxford 1895) which contains some interesting details about Maris, Muḡarra, and 'Alwa, but must be used with caution owing to the confusion in the writer's mind between Nubia and Abyssinia and his uncritical use of older authorities.

The factors which brought about the disintegration of the Nubian kingdom and the islāmisation of the country were the immigration of Arab tribes, the rise of the Banū Kanz, and the intervention in Nubian affairs of the Mamlūk rulers of Egypt, especially during the reigns of al-Ẓāhir Baibars [q. v.] and al-Manṣūr Ḳalā'ūn [q. v.].

The Banū Kanz are first heard of in 1020 when the Fātimid caliph al-Ḥākim, as a reward for services rendered, conferred the hereditary title of *Kanz al-Dawla* on Abū Makārim Hibat-Allāh, a chief of the Rabi'a Arabs who had settled on the borderland between Egypt and the Sūdān. Already in the tenth century the Rabi'a had gained control of the mines of al-'Allāḳi and imposed their rule on the Bedja with whom they allied themselves by intermarriage. Another section, settled near Aswān, fraternized with the local Nubians, and the tribe, formed by this amalgamation and ruled by the Kanz al-Dawla dynasty, came to be known as the Banū Kanz; they are represented by the Kenūz of the present day. During the reign of the Mamlūks they were virtually in independent control of Upper Egypt, alternately in alliance with or in revolt against the Mamlūk government, and though repressed at times with a heavy hand, they remained a powerful tribe until the Ottoman conquest of Egypt. Before this event, however, they had played their part, together with nomad Arabs and Mamlūk troops, in the destruction of Nubian independence.

The Bahrite Mamlūks, for reasons not apparent in our sources, departed from the traditional policy of Muslim Egypt, and actively intervened in Nubian affairs. The pretext for the expeditions undertaken by the generals of Baibars and Ḳalā'ūn were non-payment of the tribute and, more frequently, the championship of Nubian pretenders who had solicited Egyptian support in order to gain the throne. On several occasions such protégés of the Mamlūk government were installed in Dongola only to lose the throne again as soon as the Egyptian troops withdrew [see the article DONGOLA]. A formal treaty concluded with one of these kings virtually established an Egyptian protectorate. Meanwhile the disintegration of the kingdom went on under the pressure of Arab immigration, and Arab chiefs who married into the royal house took advantage of the matrilinear line of succession to grasp at the throne. The age-long Christianity of Nubia was gradually undermined and in the ninth century Muslim kings begin to appear: the first king to bear a Muslim name was 'Abd Allāh b. Sanbū who was installed in 1316 and after a short reign lost the throne to a Kanz al-Dawla. From the *Kitāb al-Ta'rif* of Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Faḍl Allāh, written some time between 1340 and 1349, we learn that at this date Christian kings

still alternated with Muslims, and Ibn Baṭṭūta in 1352 (iv. 396) speaks of the Nubians as Christians, but mentions a Muslim king (Ibn Kanz al-Din). Of the conversion of the common people we have no details; no doubt it was brought about by the absorption of the native inhabitants, or those who survived, in the Arab tribes.

The immigration itself has left little trace in the pages of the historians, though the outlines of the process can be reconstructed from occasional references and from oral tradition. The nomads who had entered Egypt in the wake of the first conquest can never have found that country congenial to their mode of life, and the rise of non-Arab dynasties tended to make conditions still less attractive, while the Sūdān seemed to offer all the advantages, from the nomads' point of view, that Egypt denied. For a long time the kingdom of Dongola formed an effective barrier to southward expansion, but a gradual infiltration of Arabs must have begun at a comparatively early date, even though the end of the process was not accomplished for several centuries.

The early stages of the movement are seen in the conditions depicted in the story of Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Umari, the events of which are laid in the reign of Ibn Ṭulūn (Maḡrīzi's *Kitāb al-Muḡaffā*, quoted by Quatremère, ii. 59–80). Arabs of Rabi'a and Djuhaina, led into the Sūdān by that adventurous prince, have fraternized with the Bedja and exploit the mines of the Eastern Desert, but the Nile is forbidden them and Nubia is too strong to be attempted by force of arms. A fratricidal struggle in the Nubian royal house provides an opportunity for an alliance between the Arabs and a princely pretender to the throne. Acts of unblushing treachery are committed on both sides and in the end the Arabs have the worst of the encounter. The end of the process is seen in the fourteenth century. "The kingdom of Nubia had now to all intents and purposes ceased to exist and such kings as reigned in name were puppets of the Arab tribes. . . . It is from this period, the early years of the fourteenth century, that the immigration of most of the camel-owning nomads of the Sūdān dates. Generally speaking, it seems, the Djuhaina and their allies, most of whom we may be sure were Fezāra, loosed their hordes southwards and westwards, leaving the Bani Kanz and Ikrima in northern Nubia and Upper Egypt" (MacMichael, *loc. cit.*, p. 187).

Of 'Alwa nothing is heard at this period, but no doubt the course of events was similar to that in the northern kingdom, and already in the time of Ibn Ḳaldūn (1332–1406) we hear of branches of Djuhaina "close to the Abyssinians", that is to say no doubt on the upper reaches of the Blue Nile in the southern Djaḡira. The kingdom of 'Alwa nevertheless lingered on precariously and Nubian Christianity was still a living memory in the time of the Portuguese Alvarez (1520–1527), but about the year 1500 Sōba fell to an alliance of Ḳawāsma Arabs (a branch of Rufā'a-Djuhaina) and the negroid Fundj [q. v.] who here for the first time appear in history.

The fifteenth century is almost completely barren of records relating to Nubia, and the historical memory of the present inhabitants remembers little of pre-Fundj days. With the coming of the Fundj, who soon extended their influence to Dongola, the history of Nubia is merged in that of the

Sūdān, and the Nubians, now Muslims and deeply affected by racial mixture with their conquerors, survive only as a linguistic minority on the northern fringe of their ancient kingdom.

Lower Nubia, however, was politically separated from the Fundj kingdom by Selim I who annexed the country south of Aswān as far as the neighbourhood of the Third Cataract, and garrisoned it with Turkish and Bosnian mercenaries (called Ghuzz by the people of the Sūdān). From these, many of the modern Barābra claim to be descended.

The Barābra-Danāgla of the present day (in the Egyptian province of Aswān and the Sūdān provinces of Halfa and Dongola) are a peaceful race of cultivators and skilful boatmen of the Nile. Owing to the poverty of their country and aided by an enterprising disposition, large numbers seek their livelihood in Egypt and the Sūdān where they are found everywhere engaged in various forms of menial employment. The Danāgla have also spread all over the Sūdān as traders, and in the nineteenth century they played an important part, together with their rivals, the Dja'liyin, in the opening-up of the Upper Nile and the Bahr al-Ghazāl where they adventured as slave-traders, sailors, and mercenary troops.

The men are generally bilingual in Nubian and Arabic which latter they speak ungrammatically and with an accent of their own. Those in foreign employment show themselves remarkably adaptable to alien ideas, at the same time they are tenacious of their own customs and clannish to a degree. Under modern conditions they are keen to take advantage of educational facilities, and show an aptitude for the educated professions. In the past they have made no important contribution to the intellectual and spiritual life of Islām and produced no scholars of note. *Dhu 'l-Nūn* the mystic [q. v.] is said to have been of Nubian origin, but he is generally called "the Egyptian". The most remarkable figure of their race is Muḥammad Aḥmad [q. v.], the Mahdi of the Sūdān (died 1885), who was a Dongolāwī, though his family claim to be sharifs. The Barābra and Danāgla are generally devout Muslims, and most of them belong to the Mirghaniya (*Khatmiya*) *ṭariqa*.

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(S. HILLELSON)

NŪBANDADJĀN. [See *SHULISTĀN.*]

NŪBĀR PASHA (1825-1899), an Egyptian statesman, who played a most prominent part in Egyptian politics in the sixteenth century. Summoned by his uncle Boghos Bey, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Commerce under Muḥammad 'Alī, he came to Egypt in 1842 at the age of 17 and entered the government service as second secretary to the Viceroy. In 1848 he accompanied Ibrāhīm Pasha to Europe as secretary and interpreter. Under Sa'īd, Nūbār began to play a part in public life. His independent spirit, his methodical and precise mind were revealed in the organisation of the Egyptian railways which he put in order in the space of six months (1857).

But it was under Ismā'īl that he fully revealed his gifts as a negotiator and diplomatist. He was however not called upon to play a national part because of his Armenian origin and his ignorance of the language of the country. Raised to the rank of Pasha at the beginning of the reign (1863) he hastened to take advantage of the support and advanced views of the Viceroy to carry through a great scheme: to encourage externally the independence of Egypt and its development not in Asia — this was Ibrāhīm's idea — but in Africa where her destinies summoned her, and at home the regeneration of Egypt with the help of Europe. From the first Nūbār Pasha grasped the great truths of the Egyptian question. But if the conception was grandiose, the execution of the scheme proved difficult on account of the confusion of interests and the European jealousies. These inherent difficulties in the Egyptian problem proved impediments to many solutions and the policy of reform frequently had to twist its way round obstacles of all kinds.

On the smallest matters Egypt had to wage an unequal struggle with Europe. Nūbār conducted the struggle on three fronts at the same time, on three fundamental questions.

The question of the Suez Canal. On Ismā'īl's accession the Company formed a state within the state and constituted in the very heart of Egypt a kind of colony, as a result of the lands it had obtained along the sea canal and the fresh water canals which were linked up with it. Nūbār conducted negotiations in Constantinople and in Paris with the object of securing the territorial sovereignty of Egypt. His activity ended in the famous decision of the Emperor Napoleon III on July 6, 1864, who ordered Egypt to pay the Company 84,000,000 francs to regain her rights. This enormous indemnity was nevertheless far from bringing about a final settlement.

The question of judicial reforms. Nubār used often to say: "Give Egypt water and justice and the country will be happy and prosperous". But in order to place justice on a sound footing so that it could protect the native against the government and the European who was exploiting him and particularly against the arbitrary decisions of the consuls, each of whom laid down his own law to the governed and governors alike, Nubār thought of organising a mixed system of justice composed of Egyptian and European elements and thus establishing uniformity of jurisdiction, legislation and executive action. As a result of the systematic opposition of France and of certain powers interested in maintaining the "privileges", the mixed tribunals were not established till 1875 after ten years of striving and of waiting endured by the government.

The question of autonomy. The territorial servitudes inflicted by the Suez Canal and the system of capitulations did not prevent Nubār from remembering the political restrictions imposed by Turkey, the suzerain power. From 1863 to 1873 Nubār endeavoured to extract from Constantinople by negotiation and bribery privileges which would enable the work of progress to develop freely. After the firmans of 1866 and 1867, Egypt obtained the famous firman of 1873 which constituted a new charter conferring on the viceroy the title of Khedive [q. v.], hereditary succession to the throne in direct line from father to son, an increase in the army — limited to 18,000 in 1840 — and lastly the right to conclude loans and commercial treaties with the Powers.

But the error made by Nubār and the Khedive was to consolidate Egyptian independence in theory but not in practice. Nubār was anxious for the introduction of capital and European enterprise: a beneficial idea but also dangerous because the Khedive, encouraged by his minister, became involved without due consideration in a disastrous series of loans. The various enterprises which arose with the rapid development of the resources of the country had to be put in the hands of companies like the Steam Navigation Company, the Sudan Company, the Agricultural and the Trading Companies, in which Nubār, Oppenheim, Dervieu and others were the chief directors. The failures of the companies were liquidated by Egypt which made good all losses. The collaboration of Nubār with these financiers brought an atmosphere of suspicion into the good understanding between the minister and the Khedive, as did the negotiations conducted by him to conclude loans in Paris and elsewhere.

But the tragic side of the question lay in the accumulation of a debt of £90,000,000 which opened the gates of the Delta to foreign control. There is no doubt that Nubār had always resolutely opposed any foreign interference. Down to 1875, during the little time that he was actually in Egypt — he was often on missions to Europe — Nubār endeavoured to act as a check on absolute rule and to oppose all European interference from wherever it came. He was not popular either in England or France. He was rightly distrusted in the entourage of the Khedive also.

Towards the end of 1875 an event took place which modified his attitude. England having taken the unusual step of intervening in Egypt to defend the private interests of some of her capitalists and

sending a mission under Mr. Cave to conduct an enquiry in the country, Nubār, with his remarkable political instinct, felt the immediate danger of such interference and resolved to oppose it by all means. He was able to provoke the intervention of the consuls-general of Russia and Germany, who offered the Khedive the support of their governments. Ismā'il declined this offer, which was a grave political error. He went further and communicated with the English consul and did not scruple to sacrifice his minister.

Nubār had to hand in his resignation on Jan. 5, 1876 and to leave Egypt on March 21. Henceforth he swore a bitter feud against his master and his attitude gradually changed and inclined to England. In deciding to undermine the personal authority of the ruler, and allying himself with the foreigner, without being able to fix in advance how far the alliance was to go, in a word in wishing to humble his sovereign, Nubār weakened his country for the benefit of England. For it was to the government of England that he appealed in 1876 to intervene, acting on the pretext that intervention was here inevitable as a result of the enormous debts contracted by Egypt and that England's action would be of more benefit to Egypt than that of any other power. The result was that England finally imposed on the Khedive both Nubār and her complete control by extorting from him the rescript of Aug. 28, 1878 which established a "responsible ministry" presided over nominally by Nubār but in effect by Rivers Wilson as Minister of Finance and de Blignières as Minister of Public Works. This dangerous innovation — the formation of a European ministry not responsible to the Khedive whose authority was now negligible, and installed in the heart of the country to support European policy and high finance — aroused the Egyptians from their lethargy and created general discontent. The Khedive became at once popular and his cause was identified with that of the nation. The result was the outbreak of Feb. 18, 1879 which removed Nubār from power. A new European ministry presided over by the crown prince was formed but the evil remained. Finally Ismā'il, emboldened by public opinion, dismissed the European ministers (April 7) and formed a national ministry under Sharif Pasha. But the Powers — and Nubār's doings in Europe were not without influence on their decision — decided on the ruin of the Khedive and succeeded with the help of Turkey in deposing him (June 26).

Two years after the English occupation, Nubār returned to Egypt to form a ministry after the resignation of Sharif Pasha as a protest against the evacuation of the Sūdān by Egypt, dictated by England. Nubār endeavoured in vain to come to terms with England and to put a check on her policy of practically depriving Egypt of her territory in Africa (Jan. 1884—June 1888).

He again formed a ministry (April 16, 1894) but he soon had to submit to the control of the English councillor in the Ministry of the Interior, and seeing himself powerless against Lord Cromer's policy which aimed at controlling the whole of the administration he had quickly to retire from the scene (Nov. 1895).

Nubār then went to Europe to compile his memoirs — still unpublished — and peacefully await his end. He was, to sum up, a great minister, a statesman who made mistakes, it is true, but

the fates were against him: 1875 marks the final blocking of his great policy. We must not however forget the early struggles in which he extorted from Europe and from Turkey piece by piece rights and privileges which constituted a great boon to his country.

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NUBUWWA. [See NABI.]

NŪḤ, the Noah of the Bible, is a particularly popular figure in the Qur'an and in Muslim legend. Tha'labi gives 15 virtues by which Nūḥ is distinguished among the prophets. The Bible does not regard Noah as a prophet. In the Qur'an Nūḥ is the first prophet of punishment, who is followed by Hūd, Šāliḥ, Iṭṭ, Šu'aib and Mūsā. Ibrāhīm is one of his following (*Šif'a*) (Sūra xxxvii. 81). He is the perspicuous admonisher (*nadhīr muḥim*, xi. 27; lxxi. 2), the *rasūl amīn* "the true messenger of God" (xxvi. 107), the '*abd šakūr*', "the grateful servant of God" (xvii. 3). Allāh enters into a covenant with Nūḥ just as with Muḥammad, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā and 'Isā (xxxiii. 7). Peace and blessings are promised him (xi. 50). Muḥammad is fond of seeing himself reflected in the earlier prophets. In the case of Nūḥ, the Muslim Qur'an exegetes have already noticed this (see Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 90). Muḥammad puts into the mouth of Nūḥ things that he would himself like to say and into the mouths of his opponents what he himself has heard from his. Nūḥ is reproached with being only one of the people (x. 72—74). God should rather have sent an angel (xxiii. 24). Nūḥ is wrong (vii. 58), is lying, deceiving (vii. 62), is possessed by *djinn* (liv. 9), only the lowest join him (xi. 29; xxvi. 111). When Nūḥ replies: "it is grievous to you that I live among you, I seek no reward, my reward is with Allāh (x. 72—74; xi. 31); I do not claim to possess Allāh's treasures, to know his secrets, to be an angel and I cannot say to those whom ye despise, God shall not give you any good" (xi. 31—33), we have here an echo of Muḥammad's defence and embarrassment about many of his followers. Muḥammad pictures events as follows: Allāh sends Nūḥ to the sinful people. Sūra lxxi. which bears his name, gives one of these sermons threatening punishment for which other analogies can be found. The people scorn him. Allāh commands him to build an ark by divine inspiration. Then the "chaldron boils" (xi. 42; xxiii. 27). The waters drown everything; only two of every kind of living creature are saved and the believers whom Nūḥ takes into the ark with him. But there were very few who believed. Nūḥ appeals even to his son in vain; the latter takes refuge on a mountain but is drowned. When Nūḥ bids the waters be still, the ark lands on mount *Djūdī* (q. v.; xi. 27—51). Not only Noah's son but also his wife (with Lūt's wife) are sinners (lxvi. 10). From the *Haggada* is developed, as Geiger shows, the following elements of this Qur'anic legend of Nūḥ: 1. Nūḥ appears as a prophet and admonisher; 2. his people laugh at the ark; 3. his family is punished with hot water (main passages:

Talm. Sanhedrin, 108^{ab}; *Gen. Rabba*, xxix.—xxxvi.).

The post-Qur'anic legend of Nūḥ as in other cases fills up the gaps, gives the names of those not mentioned in the Qur'an, makes many links e. g. connects Nūḥ with Feridūn of the Persian epic although it is pointed out that the Magi (Persians) do not know the story of the flood. Nūḥ's wife is called Waliya and her sin is that she described Nūḥ to his people as *maḍjūn*. The names of Nūḥ's sons, Sām, Hām, Yāfiṭh are known to Qur'an exegesis from the Bible but it also gives the name of Nūḥ's sinful son who perished in the flood: Kana'an, "whom the Arabs call Yām". Muḥammad's statement that Nūḥ was 950 years of age at the time of the flood (*ṭūf'ān*) (xxix. 13, 14) is probably based on Gen. ix. 39 which says Nūḥ lived 950 years in all, but on the other hand, it serves as a basis for calculations which make Nūḥ the first *mu'ammār*; according to the *Kitāb al-Mu'ammārīn* of Abū Ḥatīm al-Sidjīstānī (ed. Goldziher, p. 1), who begins his book with Nūḥ, he lived 1,450 years. Yet in his dying hour he describes his life as a house with two doors in which one goes in through one to the other. Muslim legend knows the Biblical story of Nūḥ, his times and his sons, but embellishes it greatly and in al-Kisā'ī it becomes a romance. From the union of Kābil's and Sheth's descendants arises a sinful people which rejects Nūḥ's warnings. He therefore at God's command builds the ark from trees which he has himself planted. As he is hammering and building the people mock him: "once a prophet, now a carpenter?", "a ship for the mainland?". The ark had a head and tail like a cock, a body like a bird (Tha'labi). How was the ark built? At the wish of the apostles, Jesus arouses Sām (or Hām) b. Nūḥ from the dead and he describes the ark and its arrangements: in the lower storey were the quadrupeds, in the next the human beings and in the top the birds. Nūḥ brought the ant into the ark first and the ass last, it was slow because Iblīs was clinging to his tail. Nūḥ called out impatiently: "come in even if Satan is with thee"; so Iblīs also had to be taken in. The pig arose out of the tail of the elephant and the cat from the lion. How could the goat exist alongside of the wolf, or the dove beside the birds of prey? God tamed their instincts. The number of human beings in the ark varies in legend between seven and eighty. 'Udj b. 'Anāk was also saved along with the believers. Kābil's race was drowned. Nūḥ also took Adam's body with him which was used to separate the women from the men. For in the ark continence was ordered, for man and beast. Only Hām transgressed and for this was punished with a black skin. The whole world was covered with water and only the Harām (in al-Kisā'ī, also the site of the sanctuary in Jerusalem) was spared; the Ka'ba was taken up into heaven and Djibril concealed the Black Stone (according to al-Kisā'ī the stone was snow white until the Flood). Nūḥ sent out the raven but finding some carrion it forgot Nūḥ; then he sent the dove which brought back an olive leaf in its bill and mud on its feet; as a reward it was given its collar and became a domestic bird. On the day of 'Āshūrā' every one came out of the ark, men and beasts fasted and gave thanks to Allāh.

There are many contacts with the *Haggada*: the

(different, it is true) partitioning of the ark, Nūh's anxiety about the animals, Hām's sin and punishment (*Sanhedrin*, 108a b). The story that the giant 'Ūg escaped the Flood is also taken from the *Haggada* [see 'Uḏ B. 'ANAK]. But Muslim legend goes farther than the Bible and Haggada, like Muḥammad who sees himself in Nūh.

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(BERNHARD HELLER)

NÜH, the name of two Sāmānids. 1. ABŪ MUḤAMMAD NÜH I b. NAṢR b. AḤMAD, called al-Amīr al-Hamīd, succeeded his father [see NAṢR]; but the real ruler was the pious theologian Abū 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Sulamī. The latter long refused to take the title of "wazīr" but finally succumbed to Nūh's pressing representations, and took much less interest in the business of government than in his devotional exercises and theological studies which earned him the name of "al-Hākim al-Shahīd". There were also by this time unmistakable symptoms of decline. In 332 (943–944) 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ashkām rebelled in Khwārizm and Nūh set out with an army from Bukhārā towards Merw. But when 'Abd Allāh placed himself under the protection of the ruler of the Turks, whose son was a prisoner in Bukhārā, peace was restored by the release of the Turkish prince and the surrender of 'Abd Allāh who was pardoned by Nūh. Much more trouble was caused to the Sāmānid dynasty by the rebel governor of Khurāsān, Abū 'Alī b. Muḥtāj. Shortly after his accession Nūh had sent him with an army against al-Rayī to take this town from the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla. A section of his troops deserted him on the way however and when he encountered Rukn al-Dawla three farsakhs from al-Rayī the majority of his Kurd troops went over to the enemy. Abū 'Alī was defeated and had to return to Naisābūr. In Djumādā II 333 (January–February 945), he again advanced against Rayī by order of Nūh; on this occasion Rukn al-Dawla did not meet him but took to flight, and in Ramaḍān (April–May) Abū 'Alī took the town and the surrounding country. In the meanwhile his enemies in Khurāsān took advantage of his absence to libel him to Nūh, whereupon the latter replaced him by Ibrāhīm b. Sīmdjūr; but Abū 'Alī was not inclined to let this happen and on account of financial difficulties the government could not enforce its orders. As the troops were not paid regularly they blamed the vizier and said he was in collusion with Abū 'Alī. In the end the discontent increased to such a degree that Nūh was unable to protect the vizier and in Djumādā I 335 (Nov.–Dec. 946) he was put to death. As early as

Ramaḍān 334 (April–May 946) Abū 'Alī had summoned Nūh's uncle Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad from al-Mawṣil and when Abū 'Alī approached Merw, the government troops went over to him, while Nūh fled to Bukhārā. In Djumādā I 335 (Nov.–Dec. 946) Abū 'Alī entered Merw and in the following month Bukhārā, where the people paid homage to Ibrāhīm as their ruler, after Nūh had fled to Samarḳand. But Abū 'Alī did not remain long in Bukhārā. Under pretext of going to Samarḳand, he left the town and made his way to Ṣaghāniyān; which he entered in Sha'bān (Feb.–March, 947). After Ibrāhīm, who with a brother of Nūh's, Abū Dja'far Muḥammad, had remained in Bukhārā, had begun negotiations with Nūh or, according to another story, had been defeated in open battle by him, Nūh entered Bukhārā in Ramaḍān of the same year (March–April 947) where he put to death one of the leading personalities, the chamberlain Toḡhān, and blinded Ibrāhīm along with two of his own brothers, Abū Dja'far Muḥammad and Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad. But the details are variously given; cf. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil*, viii. 348, where it is said after a very full description of events based on the Khurāsān historians: "The 'Irākīs give a different version", followed by a brief account of the same events from the 'Irākī point of view; cf. also Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 247.

Manṣūr I b. Qarategin was then appointed governor of Khurāsān and sent with an army against Merw, where a follower of Abū 'Alī named Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Qazwīnī was in control. The latter submitted on Manṣūr's approach and was brought to Bukhārā. Here Nūh at first received him kindly but when he discovered that he could not rely on al-Qazwīnī he had him put to death. Peace between the government and the ambitious Abū 'Alī did not last long. When the latter learned that Nūh was preparing for war he left Ṣaghāniyān and went to Balkh; he then advanced against Bukhārā once again. A battle was fought at Khardjang in Djumādā I 336 (Nov.–Dec. 947); Abū 'Alī was defeated and returned to Ṣaghāniyān. After some time a rumour spread that Nūh intended to attack him once more, whereupon Abū 'Alī again mobilized his followers. Balkh and Tokhārīstān fell into his hands; in Rabi' I 337 (Sept.–Oct. 948) however, he came into conflict with the government troops and suffered a defeat. The latter sacked Ṣaghāniyān but when they were cut off from communication with Bukhārā, Nūh had to open negotiations for peace and in Djumādā II of the same year (Dec. 948–Jan. 949) peace was made. The Oriental sources give no details of the terms of the treaty; at any rate, Abū 'Alī's son Abū 'l-Muza'far 'Abd Allāh was sent to Bukhārā as a hostage and there received with great distinction while Abū 'Alī remained in Ṣaghāniyān. Since Manṣūr b. Qarategin could not maintain discipline among the troops in Khurāsān he repeatedly asked Nūh to relieve him of his office. The latter therefore promised Abū 'Alī to restore him to his old post and when Manṣūr died in Rabi' I 340 (Aug.–Sept. 951) Abū 'Alī was appointed his successor. In Ramaḍān (Jan.–Feb. 952) he left Ṣaghāniyān, the administration of which he gave to his son Abū Manṣūr Naṣr b. Aḥmad, then went to Merw and arrived at Naisābūr in Dhu 'l-Hijja (April–May 952). He restored order in Khurāsān, but when by Nūh's orders he attacked the Būyid Rukn

al-Dawla and his achievements did not come up to expectations, he was dismissed and Abū Saʿīd Bakr b. Mālīk al-Farḡānī appointed his successor, whereupon Abū ʿAlī sought refuge with Rukn al-Dawla. On Nūḥ's dealings with the Būyids see the article WAṢḤMĠŪR B. ZIYĀR. Nūḥ died in Rabiʿ II 343 (Aug. 954), and his son ʿAbd al-Malik succeeded him.

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2. NŪḤ II B. MAṆṢŪR B. NŪḤ, called al-Manṣūr or al-Raḍī, ascended the throne at the age of 13 after the death of his father in Shawwāl 366 (June 977). The government was at first in the hands of his mother and the able vizier Abū ʿl-Ḥusain ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-ʿUtbi, who assumed office in Rabiʿ II 367 (Nov.—Dec. 977). In 371 (981—982) the powerful Sipahsālār in Khurāsān Abū ʿl-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Simḍjūr, who according to Ibn al-Aṭṭār's description of him "only obeyed when he pleased" (*lā yuṭī illā fī-mā yurīd*), was dismissed and Ḥusām al-Dawla Abū ʿl-ʿAbbās Tāsh, a devoted servant of the vizier, put in his place. But the rule of the vizier did not last long; the Sāmānid armies were defeated by the Būyids and the vizier himself murdered at the instigation of Ibn Simḍjūr. When Tāsh went to Bukhārā in order to restore order there, Ibn Simḍjūr joined forces with the former Mamlūk Fāʾik, who had taken part in the war against the Būyids and offered him his assistance in the conquest of Khurāsān; they then met in Naisābūr and seized the country around it. When Tāsh heard of this he went to Merw and entered into negotiations with the two allies with the result that it was agreed that Tāsh should retain the supreme command along with Naisābūr while Fāʾik was to get Balkh and Ibn Simḍjūr's son Abū ʿAlī was to receive Herāt. After some time, in 373 (983—984) or 376 (986), ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUzair was appointed vizier. The latter was hostile to the ʿUtbi family and at once dismissed Tāsh and restored Ibn Simḍjūr to the supreme command in Khurāsān. Some officers indeed appealed for Tāsh but their representations were of no avail with the vizier, who was supported by Nūḥ's mother. Equally unsuccessful were the efforts of the former Sipahsālār to enforce his claims by force of arms against Ibn Simḍjūr and Fāʾik, although he was supported by the two Būyids, Fakhr al-Dawla and Sharaf al-Dawla b. ʿAḍud al-Dawla. Tāsh was defeated and fled to Djurdjān where he died in 377 (987—988) of the plague or, according to another statement, of poison. In Dhū ʿl-Hijja 378 (March 990) Ibn Simḍjūr also died and was succeeded by his son Abū ʿAlī, who was jealous of Fāʾik and wished to get him out of the way. When he resorted to arms Fāʾik could not resist him but fled to Merwarrūdḥ. Abū ʿAlī then was recognised as governor of all

the provinces south of the Amū-Daryā and soon made himself independent of the central government in Bukhārā while Fāʾik took possession of Balkh. The amīr Abū ʿl-Ḥārith Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Farīḡhūn, whom Nūḥ sent against him, was defeated and joined Fāʾik against the lord of Ṣaghāniyān, Tāhir b. Faḍl. The latter could not resist the combined forces of the allies; he himself was slain and his army scattered. In addition, there was the intervention of foreign rulers in the domestic affairs of the kingdom. Abū ʿAlī turned to the Qarakhānid Bughrā-Khān and arranged with him for a partition of the Sāmānid kingdom by which Bughrā-Khān was to have Transoxania and Abū ʿAlī Khurāsān. As a result Bughrā-Khān appeared in Bukhārā in Rabiʿ I 382 (May 992) but soon withdrew and died on the way back to Turkestan [cf. the article BUGHRA-KHĀN]. After Nūḥ, who had had to evacuate his capital, had returned, Fāʾik again appeared on the scene. On the approach of Bughrā-Khān he had been sent against him, but, as we are told, presumably correctly, deliberately allowed himself to be defeated, whereupon he submitted and was rewarded by Bughrā-Khān with the governorship of Tirmidh and Balkh. After the return of Nūḥ he made an alliance with Abū ʿAlī whereupon the helpless Sāmānid decided to appeal for help to the Ghaznawid Sabuktegin [cf. the article SĀMĀNIDS]. After a time Abū ʿAlī and Fāʾik, who had taken refuge with the Būyid Fakhr al-Dawla in Djurdjān, wished to return to Khurāsān (386 = 995). At first they had some success but when they encountered Sabuktegin near Tūs, they suffered a decisive defeat and fled to Āmul. They then sent messengers to Bukhārā to appeal for pardon. The authorities turned a deaf ear to Fāʾik's appeal but declared themselves ready to restore Abū ʿAlī to favour. Fāʾik therefore fled to the Qarakhānids, while Abū ʿAlī after many vicissitudes finally made his peace with the authorities in Bukhārā through the intervention of the amīr Abū ʿl-ʿAbbās Maʾmūn b. Muḥammad in Gurgāndj. He was at first received very kindly but later thrown into prison with several of his brothers and officers. At the same time, a raid by the Qarakhānids forced Nūḥ again to appeal to Sabuktegin who was then in Balkh. The latter at once invaded Transoxania with a large army; but when he demanded that Nūḥ should join forces with him, Nūḥ refused on the advice of the vizier ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUzair. Sabuktegin was not at all pleased and Nūḥ had not only to give in but also to hand over the vizier and Abū ʿAlī, whereupon the vizierate was given to Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abi Zaid. Sabuktegin imprisoned Abū ʿAlī and Ibn ʿUzair in Gardiz. The former died in 387 (997) in prison while the vizier was afterwards released. At the conclusion of peace, Sabuktegin and the Qarakhānids agreed that the steppe of Kaṭwān should be the frontier between the Sāmānids and the Qarakhānids. Fāʾik was also recognised as governor of Samarḳand. Sabuktegin ruled as an independent sovereign in Khurāsān; in Transoxania the vizier Abū Naṣr endeavoured to restore order by force but after a few months he was murdered and Nūḥ appointed as his successor Abū ʿl-Muzaḥfar Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Barghashī. Nūḥ died in Raddjab 387 (July 997) and was succeeded by his son Abū ʿl-Ḥārith Maṅṣūr.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṭṭār, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, viii. 495; ix. 7—9, 19 sq., 67, 69,

72, 75 sq., 91; Gardizi, *Zain al-Akhbār*, ed. Muḥammad Nāzim, p. 48 sq., 53–60; *Description topographique et historique de Boukhara par Mohammed Nerchakhy*, ed. Schefer, *passim*; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi-ī Qazwīnī, *Ta'rikh-i Guzida*, ed. Browne, i. 350, 353, 385–390, 393, 421; Amedroz and Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, see index; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*², in *G.M.S.*, p. 9, 252–254, 258–264.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

NUḤ B. MUṢṬAFĀ, an Ottoman theologian and translator, was born in Anatolia but migrated while still quite young to Cairo where he studied all branches of theology and attained a high reputation. He died there in 1070 (1659). He wrote a series of theological treatises, some of which are detailed by Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 314. His most important work however is his free translation and edition of *Shahrasṭānī's* celebrated work on the sects, *Terdjeme-i Milāl we-Niḥāl* which he prepared at the suggestion of a prominent Cairo citizen named Yūsuf Efendi. It exists in manuscript in Berlin (cf. Pertsch, *Kat.*, p. 157 sq.), Gotha (Pertsch, *Kat.*, p. 76), London (cf. Rieu, *Cat.*, p. 35 sq.), Upsala (cf. Tornberg, *Codices*, p. 213), Vienna (cf. Flügel, *Kat.*, ii. 199) etc. and was printed in Cairo in 1263. On the considerable differences between this Turkish translation and the original Arabic cf. Rieu in the British Museum Catalogue, p. 35b. In his *Mémoire sur deux coffrets gnostiques du moyen âge, du Cabinet de M. le Duc de Blacas* (Paris 1832), p. 28 sqq., J. v. Hammer gave some extracts from the latter part of the work. He also wrote on it in the *Wiener Jahrbücher*, lxxi., p. 50 and ci. 4.

In 1150 (1741) a certain Yūsuf Efendi wrote a life of Nuḥ b. Muṣṭafā which exists in MS. in Cairo (*Cat.*, vii. 364).

Bibliography: The catalogues of MSS. above mentioned and also Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 314 and Muḥammad al-Muḥibbi, *Ta'rikh Khulāṣat al-Athar*, Cairo 1868, iv. 458.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

AL-NUKHAILA, a town in the 'Irāk, near al-Kūfa. It is known mainly from the accounts of the battle of Qādisiyya. From the statements collected by Yāqūt regarding its position it appears that two different places of this name had later to be distinguished, namely one near Kūfa on the road to Syria, which is several times mentioned in the time of the Caliphs 'Alī and Mu'āwiya and another, a watering station between al-Mughitha and al-'Aqaba, 3 mil from al-Hufair, to the right of the road to Mecca. Several encounters took place there during the second battle of Qādisiyya. According to al-Khalīl in al-Bakrī, this al-Nukhaila was in the Syrian steppe (al-Bādiya); Ibn al-Faḥīh also seems to be thinking of this region. Caetani assumes that the reference in both cases is to the same place on the edge of the desert. According to Musil, it perhaps corresponds to the modern Khān Ibn Nkhaila about 14 miles S. S. E. of Kerbelā and 40 miles N. N. W. of al-Kūfa.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 771 sq.; Ibn al-Faḥīh, *B. G. A.*, v. 163; al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 577; Yā'kūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Houtsma, ii. 162; al-Tabarī, de Goeje, i. 2201 sq., 3259, 3345; ii. 545; al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 245, 253 sq., 256; Ibn Miskawaih, *Tadjarīb*, ed.

Caetani, p. 571; al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, iv. 205 sq.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, III/i., 1910, p. 156, 254, 258, 261, A. H. 13, § 168, note 2b, A. H. 14, § 11, 14^a (with note 3), 20; Massignon, in *M.I.F.A. O.*, xxvii. 34^b, 51, 53; Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1928, p. 39, note 31; 41, note 32, 247, 329. (E. HONIGMANN)

AL-NUKRA, a plain west of the Djebel Ḥawrān on the border of Trachonitis in Transjordan. The name *al-Nukra* ("the cavity") is quite modern. It is applied to an area, which includes the two districts of al-Baḥṭaniya (with its chief town Adhri'āt) and Ḥawrān (west of the hills of the same name), i. e. the whole northern half of Transjordan. In the wider sense al-Nukra includes all the country from al-Ledjā', Djaidūr and al-Balkā' to the foot of the Djebel Ḥawrān, in the narrower sense only the southern part of this; in any case it stretches from al-Ṣanamēn to the Djebel al-Durūz (Ḥawrān). To al-Nukra belong Mu'atbin or Mu'tabin, Tubnā (now Tibne), al-Maḥadīdja, Obṭā', 'Olmā, al-Musaifira and al-Faddain already mentioned in Syriac texts of the pre-Muslim period.

Bibliography: Nöldeke, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxix. 431, note 1; Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina*, Freiburg i. B. and Leipzig 1896, p. 15, 43 sq., 84; Dussaud, *Topographie de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, p. 323. (E. HONIGMANN)

NUMAIR B. 'AMIR B. ṢAṢA'A, an Arab tribe (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, F 15) inhabiting the western heights of al-Yamāma and those between this region and al-Ḥimā Dāriya: a bare and difficult country the nature of which explains the rude and savage character of the Numair. Their name like that of Namr and Anmār borne by other ethnic groups (there are also in the list of Arab tribes a number of other clans with the name Numair: among the Asad, the Tamīm, the Dju'fi, the Hamdān etc.) is no doubt connected with *nimr*, the Arabian panther; we know the deductions made by Robertson Smith from this fact and from other similar cases, to prove the existence of a system of totemism among the early Arabs (*Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*, second ed., p. 234). His theory is now abandoned.

The geographical dictionaries of al-Bakrī and Yāqūt mention a large number of places in the land of the Numair, especially their wells, and often even record a change of ownership from one tribe to another (e. g. Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 802: the well of Ghisl, which formerly belonged to the Tamīmī clans of the Kulaib b. Yarbū', later passed to Numair); this wealth of references does not however mean that the Numair played an important part in the history of Arabia. It is only due to the fact that the country of the Numair is typically Beduin in its scenery and lends itself to description by poets. The Numair besides were much intermixed with the neighbouring tribes (especially the Tamīm, Bāhila and Qushair) and the boundaries of their territory were rather vague.

The Numair, a poor tribe without natural wealth, have always been brigands. The part they took in the pre-Islamic wars was a very modest one and they appear very rarely alongside of the other groups of the great tribe of 'Amir b. Ṣaṣa'a (they hardly played any part in the battle of Fai al-Riḥ against the Banu 'l-Hārith b. Ka'b and their allies, *Nakẓ'id*, ed. Bevan, p. 469–472). It is to

this isolation that they owe the privilege of being known as one of the *Djamarāt al-ʿArab*, i. e. a tribe which never allied itself with others (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 372; *Naḳāʾid*, p. 946; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, p. 841; on the different tribes to which this title is given, cf. *Tādī al-Arūs*, iii. 107); the other designation of the Numair "the *Aḥmās* of the Banū ʿĀmir", also gives them a special place within the great tribe from which they sprang; it indicates that they were thought not to have the same mother as the other clans of the Banū ʿĀmir (*Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, p. 259, 12-15 = 771, 2-4; the source is the *Djāmharā* of Ibn al-Kalbī, Brit. Mus. MSS., fol. 120^b—121^a). Neither during the life of the Prophet, nor at the beginning of the caliphate did the Numair make any stir; they appear neither as partisans nor as enemies of Islām. It is only from the Umayyad period that the name begins to appear in histories, but only to record their insubordination to the central power or their exploits as brigands; in the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik their refusal to pay tribute brought a punitive expedition against them (al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, p. 139; cf. *Aghānī*, xvii. 112—113; xix. 120—121). Another expedition of the same kind but on a larger scale was that sent against them under the famous general of the caliph al-Mutawakkil, Bughā al-Kābir, in 232 (846) to put an end to their systematic plundering; it ended in the complete dispersal of the tribe (Ṭabarī, iii. 1357—1363); a most interesting account of Beduin customs including on p. 1361 a detailed list of the Numair clans only one of which, the Banū ʿĀmir b. Numair, devoted itself to agriculture and grazing, while the others lived only by brigandage). It appears however that the Numair soon resumed their old habits and another expedition was sent against them with the same object as the earlier ones in the ivth century A. H. by the Ḥamdānid Saif al-Dawla (Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv. 378).

An event of little importance in itself has given the Numair considerable fame in literary history, although little flattering to them: this is the satire directed against them by the poet *Djarir* which is one of the most famous examples of the invective of the *ḥidjāʾ* (especially the hemistich: "Cast down thine eyes: thou belongest to the Numair"). The occasion of it was the unfortunate intervention of the Numairi poet al-Rāʾī in favour of al-Farazdaq in the celebrated feud between him and *Djarir* (*Naḳāʾid*, p. 427—451, N^o. 53; *Aghānī*, vii. 49—50; xx. 169—171 etc.). The memory of this quarrel survived for a very long time. It was probably no accident that the man who urged the emir Bughā to the expedition against the Numair was the great-grandson of *Djarir*, the poet ʿUmāra b. ʿAḳil b. Bilāl b. *Djarir*; the Numair moreover had slain four of his uncles (Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Shiʿr*, ed. de Goeje, p. 284, where we must read B. Dinna [b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Numair] in place of B. Dabba). The enmity between the family of *Djarir* and the Numair was probably revived by the proximity of the latter to the tribe of the poet, the Banū Kulāib b. Yarbūʿ.

To the Numair belonged notable poets — in addition to al-Rāʾī and his son *Djandal* — like Abū Ḥaiya (in the early ʿAbbāsīd period) and *Djirān* al-ʿAwd whose *Diwān* was recently published (Cairo 1350 = 1931, publications of the Egyptian Library).

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den*

geneal. Tabellen, p. 340; Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishṭiqāq*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 178—179; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 42; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djāmharat al-Ansāb*, British Museum MS, fol. 147^b—150^a.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

AL-NU'MĀN B. BASHĪR AL-ANŠĀRĪ, governor of al-Kūfa and Ḥims. According to some Muslim authorities, al-Nu'mān was the first *anšārī* to be born after the *Hidjra*. His father Bashīr b. Sa'd [q. v.] was one of the most distinguished of the Companions of the Prophet, and his mother, ʿAmra bint Rawāḥa, was the sister of the much respected ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa [q. v.]. After the assassination of ʿOthmān, Nu'mān, who was devoted to him, refused to pay homage to ʿAlī. According to some stories which seem rather apocryphal, he brought the bloodstained shirt of the Caliph, according to others, the fingers cut from the hand of his wife Nāʾila to Damascus and these relics were exhibited by Mu'āwiya in the mosque. In the battle of Ṣiffin [q. v.] he faithfully stood by Mu'āwiya and he was always a favourite with him while the other *anšār* were kept at a suitable distance from the Umayyad court. In the year 39 (659—660) al-Nu'mān by order of Mu'āwiya undertook an expedition against Mālik b. Ka'b al-Arḥabī, who had occupied in ʿAlī's name ʿAin al-Tamr on the frontier between Syria and Mesopotamia and began to besiege it but had to retire without accomplishing anything. Twenty years later he was given the governorship of al-Kūfa. He was not really fitted for this post, because his pronounced antipathy to ʿAlī and his followers did not suit the *Shiʿī* population of the town. In addition he did not conceal his sympathy with the *anšār*, who were attacked by Yazid b. Mu'āwiya's favourite al-Akḥṭal [q. v.], but freely expressed his opinion on the insult offered to his fellow tribesmen. After Yazid had come to the throne in 60 (April 680), he nevertheless left al-Nu'mān in office; but the latter did not long remain there. Al-Nu'mān is described as an ascetic and he knew the teachings of the *Qurʾān* thoroughly. But his asceticism was not of the strictest type, and his interest in musical entertainments was regarded as evidence of lack of dignity. In policy he proved very tolerant so long as it did not come to an open rising. When Muslim b. ʿAḳil, Ḥusain's partisan, appeared in al-Kūfa to ascertain the feelings of the people and found a number who were ready to pay homage to Ḥusain, al-Nu'mān adopted a neutral attitude and took no steps to check the vigorous propaganda. As a result the followers of the Umayyads in al-Kūfa wrote to the Caliph and called his attention to the fact that the threatening situation demanded a man of vigour who would be able to carry out the government's orders, while al-Nu'mān out of real or feigned weakness was letting things take their course and only urging people to keep calm. When al-Yazid was discussing this with his councillors, notably the influential Ibn Sarḍūn, the latter showed him a document signed by Mu'āwiya shortly before his death, containing the appointment of the then governor of al-Basra ʿUbad Allāh b. Ziyād [q. v.] to the same office in al-Kūfa. In spite of his antipathy to the proposal, Yazid carried out his father's wish and made ʿUbad Allāh governor of al-Kūfa without removing him from his post in al-Basra, whereupon al-Nu'mān hastened back to Syria. When the people of Medina rebelled

at the beginning of the year 63 (682) and drove all the Umayyads out of the town, Yazīd wished to see what tact would do before resorting to arms and sent a mission to Medīna under al-Nu'mān to show the people the futility of armed resistance and to bring them to their senses. The mission was also instructed to go on to Mecca to induce the stubborn 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair to pay homage. Al-Nu'mān's warnings and threats had no effect on his countrymen however and there was nothing left for the Caliph but to subdue the rebels in the two holy cities [see the article YAZĪD B. MU'AWIYA] by force of arms. After the death of Yazīd in Rabi' I 64 (Nov. 683) al-Nu'mān who had in the meanwhile become governor of Ḥimṣ declared openly for 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair. In Dhū 'l-Ḥijja of the same year (July–Aug. 684) or in Muḥarram 65 (Aug.–Sept. 684) however, the latter's leading follower al-Daḥḥāk b. Ḳais al-Fihrī [q. v.] was defeated at Mardj Rāhiṭ [q. v.] and thus the fate of al-Nu'mān was also decided. He attempted to save himself by flight but was overtaken and killed. According to the Arab historians, the town of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān takes its name from Nu'mān b. Bashīr.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, vi. 35; Tabari, ed. de Goeje, see index; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, i. 514; ii. 85, 303, 382; iii. 154, 228, 315, 430; iv. 9, 15, 17, 19, 75, 88, 120, 123–125; Ya'qūbi, ed. Houtsma, ii. 219, 228, 278, 301, 304 sq.; al-Dīnawari, *al-Aḥbār al-ḥiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, p. 239 sq., 245, 247, 273; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Paris, iv. 296 sq.; v. 128, 134, 204, 227–229; Abu 'l-Fida', ed. Reiske, i. 77, 385, 393, 405, 407; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, viii. 325; ix. 233, 355; x. 275 sqq., see also index; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, p. 47, 82, 94, 96, 110; Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omayyade Mo'awia Ier*, p. 43, 45, 58, 110, 116, 407; do., *Le califat de Yazīd Ier*, p. 119 sqq., 137, 140, 142, 207, 215, 221, 228. (K. V. ZETTERSTEEN)

AL-NU'MĀN B. AL-MUNDHIR (with the kunya Abū Ḳābūs or Abū Ḳubais) was the last "king" of the house of the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra [cf. LAKHM]. He is certainly the best known to the Arabs but not by any means therefore the most important of the dynasty. He is often mentioned by the poets, according to circumstances a subject of panegyrics or of lampoons. His best known court poet was al-Nābigha al-Dhubayānī [q. v.]; on his relationship with 'Adī b. Zaid al-'Ibādī see below.

His fame among the Arabs does not mean that we know a great deal about his life and activities. What we can get from the poetry is of very little historical value and what the historians tell us about him is of almost less value. Arab tradition about the house of Lakhmids is generally speaking of the same nature as that of the partly contemporary houses of Ḡhassān and Kinda. In addition there is the complication produced by the frequent confusion of different people of the same name in the stories. What is to be found in non-Arab sources, although more reliable, is too trifling and accidental to build a historical narrative upon. The material has been collected by Nöldeke in his *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* and G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der*

Lahmiden in al-Ḥīra and critically studied as far as possible.

The "kings" of al-Ḥīra were vassals of the Persian Great Kings and were installed by them, and given the task of keeping together the Arab population of the marches and the desert Arabs, their dependents, and thus to protect the empire against raids and plunder by the Beduins. Al-Nu'mān is said to have reigned 580–602 A. D. or perhaps a little later. His father was al-Mundhir b. Hind, one of the three sons of the famous princess of the house of Kinda, who came to the throne in succession. His mother however was of humble origin; she was, it is said, the daughter of a goldsmith near Medīna, a fact which the enemies of the king made good play within their lampoons on him. After the death of his father al-Mundhir, the Great King (Hormizd IV) is said to have hesitated for a time to fill the throne. Al-Nu'mān's final appointment is said only to have been made through the influence and cunning of the Arab poet 'Adī b. Zaid al-'Ibādī [q. v.] who was secretary for Arab affairs to the Great King and whose family were devoted to al-Nu'mān.

No really important events are known of the reign of al-Nu'mān. Mention is made of hostilities with Arab tribes and anecdotes of his life recorded. At first a pagan, like all his male ancestors, he was baptised which did not prevent him remaining a polygamist. But there had previously been Christians in his family. His grandmother Hind above mentioned founded a monastery [cf. AL-ḤĪRA] and his sister of the same name (others say daughter) was a nun. Towards the end of his life he had the poet 'Adī b. Zaid put to death as his enemies had poisoned him against him. But he is said to have helped a son of the poet to obtain the same influential position with the Great King (Khusraw II) as his father had held. He himself was not long afterwards made prisoner by the Great King — it is said as a result of the machinations of this son of 'Adī — and died in prison. There are all sorts of legends giving details of his end.

Bibliography: Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 347, note 1, and Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lahmiden*, p. 107–120, where the rest of the literature is given.

(A. MOBERG)

AL-NU'MĀN B. THĀBIT. [See ABU ḤANĪFA.] AL-NU'MĀN B. ABĪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. MANṢŪR B. AḤMAD B. ḤAIYŪN AL-TAMĪMĪ AL-ISMA'ĪLĪ AL-MAGHRIBĪ ABU ḤANĪFA, the greatest of Ismā'īlī jurists and a protagonist of the early Fātimids in Egypt. Nu'mān appears to have been derived from a Mālikī stock in Ḳairawān, adopting the Ismā'īlī faith early in life. The exact date of his birth is not known, but it is probable that he was born in the last decades of the third century of the Hījra. He began his service of the Fātimids by entering the service of al-Mahdī (first Fātimid caliph), and served him for the last nine years of his life, i. e., 313–322 A. H. Thereafter he continued to serve al-Ḳā'im (second Fātimid caliph) for the whole of his life. During this time al-Nu'mān was concerned chiefly with the study of history, philosophy and jurisprudence, and the composition of his numerous works. Just prior to al-Ḳā'im's death, which occurred in 335 (946), he was appointed a *ḳāḍī*. His rank rose during the time of Manṣūr (third Fātimid caliph) and he reached his

zenith in the time of the fourth Fātimid caliph, al-Mu'izz (died 365 = 976), whom he predeceased by two years. Officially he does not seem to have been appointed *qāḍī 'l-kuḍāt*, a designation given for the first time to al-Nu'mān's elder son 'Alī; but during the reign of al-Mu'izz, al-Nu'mān acquired great power and was in effect the highest judicial functionary of the realm, and one of the most important figures in the hierarchy of the *Da'wa* (pronounced *Da'wat* by the Ismā'īlis).

Qāḍī al-Nu'mān was a man of great talent, learning and accomplishments: learned as a scholar, prolific as an author, upright as a judge. Not many external facts of his life are known. Possibly he was a recluse immersed in juristic and philosophical studies, and engaged in the composition of his numerous works. He was the founder of and is rightly regarded as the greatest exponent of Ismā'īli jurisprudence. According to the Ismā'īli tradition, he wrote nothing without consulting the Imāms who were his contemporaries; and his greatest work, the *Da'ā'im al-Islām* (The Pillars of Islām), is regarded as almost the joint work of Imām al-Mu'izz and Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, and therefore of the highest authority. It was the official *corpus juris* after the time of al-Mu'izz throughout the Fātimid empire. In addition to being a jurist, some of his other works are also considered as standard works by the Ismā'īli doctors and are still eagerly studied, for example, *Asās al-Ta'wīl* and *Ta'wīl al-Da'ā'im* (*ta'wīl*), *Sharḥ al-Akḥbār* and *Ifṭitāḥ al-Da'wa* (*akḥbār*), and *al-Madǧālis wa 'l-Musāyārāt* (*wa'z*).

Al-Nu'mān was the founder of a distinguished family of *qāḍīs*, and both of his sons, 'Alī and Muḥammad, attained the rank of chief *qāḍīs*, *qāḍī 'l-kuḍāt*.

Qāḍī al-Nu'mān died at Old-Cairo (Miṣr) on Friday, the 29th of Djumādā II, 363 (March 27, 974).

Al-Nu'mān was a prolific and versatile author, and the names of 44 of his works have come down to us. Out of these, 22 are totally lost; 18 are wholly, and 4 partially, preserved by the Western Ismā'īlis of India. Instead of giving a complete list of his works, which may be found elsewhere, I am only classifying them according to subjects, mentioning the most important of them: A. Fikḥ: 14 works (*Kitāb al-Idāḥ*, *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, *Mukhtaṣar al-Āṭḥār*); B. Munāẓara: 5 works; C. Ta'wīl (Allegorical Interpretation): 3 works (*Asās al-Ta'wīl*, *Ta'wīl al-Da'ā'im*); D. Ḥaḳā'iq (Esoteric Philosophy): 4 works; E. 'Aḳā'id (Dogmatics): 6 works (*al-Ḳaṣida al-mukḥṭara*); F. Akḥbār al-Sira: 3 works (*Sharḥ al-Akḥbār*); G. Ta'riḳḥ: 2 works (*Ifṭitāḥ al-Da'wa*); H. Wa'z: 3 works (*al-Madǧālis wa 'l-Musāyārāt*); I. Miscellaneous: 4 works.

Bibliography: An account of the life and works of Qāḍī al-Nu'mān may be found in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1934, January number, p. 1—32. Brief accounts may also be found in A. A. Fyzee, *Ismaili Law of Wills* (Oxford 1933), p. 9—14, and Ivanow, *Guide to Ismaili Literature* (Royal Asiatic Society, London 1933), p. 37—40.

(FYZEE)

NŪN, the twenty-fifth letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value of 50, belonging to the group of liquids (*al-hurūf al-dhālqiya*), and as such subject to numerous changes and assimilations; cf. the *Bibliography*.

On the palaeographic history of the character, cf. ARABIA, plate i.

Bibliography: W. Wright, *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Cambridge 1890, p. 67; H. Zimmern, *Vergl. Grammatik der sem. Sprachen*, Leipzig 1898, p. 31—32; Brockelmann, *Précis de linguistique sémitique*, transl. by W. Marçais and M. Cohen, Paris 1910, p. 74, 87; do., *Grundriss d. vergl. Grammatik d. sem. Sprachen*, i. 136—137, 173 sq., 202 sq., 220 sq.; A. Schaade, *Sibawaihi's Lautlehre*, Leyden 1911, index, s. v. (A. J. WENSINCK)

NŪR (A.), light, synonym *ḡaww*, also *ḡu'* and *ḡiyā'* (the latter sometimes used in the plural). According to some authors, *ḡaww* (*ḡiyā'*) has a more intensive meaning than *nūr* (cf. Lane, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, s. v. *ḡaww*); this idea has its foundation in *Qur'ān* x. 5, where the sun is called *ḡiyā'* and the moon *nūr*. The further deduction from this passage that *ḡiyā'* is used for the light of light producing bodies (sun) and *nūr* on the other hand for the reflected light in bodies which do not emit light (moon), is not correct, if we remember the primitive knowledge of natural science possessed by the Arabs in the time of Muḥammad, nor is there any proof of it in later literature. The works on natural science and cosmology of the Arabs in the best period of the middle ages (Ibn al-Haiṭham, Ḳazwīnī and later writers) in the great majority of cases use the term *ḡaww* and it therefore seems justified to claim this word as a technical term in mathematics and physics.

Besides dealing with the subject in his *Optics* (*Kitāb al-Manāẓir*) Ibn al-Haiṭham devoted a special treatise to it entitled *Ḳawl al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Haiṭham fi 'l-Ḍaw'* which has been published with a German translation by J. Baermann in the *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxvi. [1882], 195—237, from which we take the following details:

As regards light, two kinds of bodies are distinguished, luminous (including the stars and fire) and non-luminous (dark); the non-luminous are again divided into opaque and transparent, the latter again into such as are transparent in all parts like air, water, glass, crystal etc. and such as only admit the light partly but the material of which is really opaque, such as thin cloth.

The light of luminous bodies is an essential quality of the body, the reflected light of a body in itself dark on the other hand is an accidental quality of the body.

In the opinion of mathematicians all the phenomena of light are of one and the same character; they consist of a heat from fire which is in the luminous bodies themselves. This is evident from the fact that one can concentrate rays of light from the brightest luminous body, the sun, by means of a burning-glass on one point and thus set all inflammable bodies alight and that the air and other bodies affected by the light of the sun become warm. Light and heat are thus identified or regarded as equivalent. The intensity of light, like that of heat, diminishes as the distance from the source increases.

Every luminous body whether its light is one of its essential qualities (direct) or accidental (reflected), illuminates any body placed opposite it, i. e. it sends its light out in all directions. All bodies whether transparent or opaque possess the power of absorbing light, the former have further

the power of transmitting it again; that a transparent body (air,¹ water, etc.) also has the power of absorbing light is evident from the fact that the light becomes visible in it if it is cut with an opaque body: the light must therefore have already been in it.

The penetration of light into a transparent body takes place along straight lines (proof: the sun's rays in the dust-filled air of a dark room). This transmission of light in straight lines is an essential feature of light itself, not of the transparent body, for otherwise there must be in the latter specially marked lines along which the light travels; such a hypothesis is however disproved by admitting two or more rays of light at the same time into a dark room and watching them.

The ray is defined as light travelling along a straight line. The early mathematicians were of the opinion that the process of seeing consisted in the transmission of a ray from the eye of the observer to the object seen and the reflection from it back to the eye. Opposed to this is Ibn al-Haiṭham's view that the body seen — luminous or opaque — sends out rays in all directions from all points of which those going towards the eye of the observer collect in it and are perceived as the image of the body (cf. *Optics*, book i. 23: "Visio non fit radiis a visu emissis" and also book ii. 23).

There is no absolutely transparent body; on the contrary, every body even the transparent reflects a part of the light which strikes it (explanation of the phenomena of twilight). According to Aristotle, the heavens possess the highest and most perfect degree of transparency. Ibn al-Haiṭham challenges this statement and shows from a use of the theory of the mathematician Abū Sa'd al-'Alā b. Suhail, which is based on the well known rules of the fraction of light in passing through media of different densities, that the transparency has no limits and that for every transparent body an even more transparent one can be found.

An explanation of the origin of the halo around the moon, of the rainbow, its shape and its colours, and of the rainbow to be seen at night in the steamladen atmosphere of the bath, is given by Kaẓwīnī in his *Cosmography*, i. (*ʿAdāib al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1849, p. 100 sq.; transl. Ethé, Leipzig 1868, p. 205 sqq.). Kaẓwīnī in his discussion replaces the raindrops by small looking-glasses; Ibn al-Haiṭham, on the other hand, deals with the problem in a much more conclusive fashion by assuming a single or double reflection of light in spheres (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Wied. Ann.*, vol. xxxix., 1890, p. 575).

Bibliography: References given in the article. (WILLY HARTNER)

The doctrine that God is light and reveals himself as such in the world and to man is very old and widely disseminated in Oriental religions as well as in Hellenistic gnosis and philosophy. We cannot here go into the early history; it will be sufficient to refer to some parallels in the Old and New Testaments, e.g. Gen. i. 3; Isaiah, lx. 1, 19; Zech., iv.; John, i. 4—9; iii. 19; v. 35; viii. 12; xii. 35 and Rev., xxi. 23 sq.

How Muḥammad became acquainted with this teaching we do not know, but the Qurʾān has its "light" verses [notably Sūra xxiv. 35, the "light verse" proper; cf. with it Sūra xxxiii. 45 (Muḥammad as lamp); lxi. 8 sq. (Allāh's light); lxiv.

8 (the light sent down = revelation)]. The light verse runs (as translated by Goldziher, in *Koran-auslegung*, p. 183 sq.): "Allāh is the light of the heavens and of the earth; his light is like a niche in which there is a lamp; the lamp is in a glass and the glass is like a shining star; it is lit from a blessed tree, an olive-tree, neither an eastern nor a western one; its oil almost shines alone even if no fire touches it; light upon light. Allāh leads to his light whom he will, and Allāh creates allegories for man, and Allāh knows all things".

From the context it is clear that we have to think of the light of religious knowledge, of the truth which Allāh communicates through his Prophet to his creatures especially the believers (cf. also Sūra xxiii. 40). It is pure light, light upon light, which has nothing to do with fire (*nār*), which is lit from an olive tree, perhaps not of this world (cf. however A. J. Wensinck, *Tree and Bird as cosmological Symbols in Western Asia*, in *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, 1921, p. 27 sq.). Lastly it is Allāh as the all-knowing who instructs men and leads them to the light of his revelation (cf. Sūra lxiv. 8). It is clear that we have here traces of gnostic imagery but those rationalist theologians, who — whether to avoid any comparison of the creature with God or to oppose the fantastic mystics — interpreted the light of Allāh as a symbol of his good guidance probably diverged less from the sense of the Qurʾān than most of the metaphysicians of light. Passages are very frequent in the Qurʾān in which Allāh appears as the Knowing (*ʿalīm*) and the Guiding (*hādī*). One did not need to look far for an exegesis on these lines. As Aṣḥ'arī observes (*Maḳālāt*, ed. Ritter, ii. 534) the Mu'tazilī al-Ḥusain al-Naǧīdār interpreted the light verse to mean that God guides the inhabitants of heaven and earth. The Zaidīs also interpreted the light as Allāh's good guidance [cf. the article *SHI'Ā*].

From ca. 100 A. H. we find references to a prophetic doctrine of *nūr*, and gradually to a more general metaphysics of light, i. e. the doctrine that God is essentially light, the prime light and as such the source of all being, all life and all knowledge. Especially among the mystics in whose emotional thinking, being, name and image coalesced, this speculation developed. Meditation on the Qurʾān, Persian stimuli, gnostic-Hermetic writings, lastly and most tenaciously, Hellenistic philosophy provided the material for new ideas. Ḳumait (d. 743) had already sung of the light emanating through Adam via Muḥammad into the family of 'Alī [cf. the article *SHI'Ā*]. The doctrine of light was dialectically expounded by Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 896) (see also Massignon, *Textes ind.*, p. 39 and the article *SAHL AL-TUSTARĪ*).

The first representatives of a metaphysics of light in Islām readily fell under the suspicion of Manichaeism, i. e. of the dualism of *nūr* and *zulma* (darkness) as the eternal principles. The tradition of Tirmidhī that Allāh created in darkness [cf. the article *KHALĪQ*] must have aroused misgivings. The physician Rāzī (d. 923 or 932), although a Hellenistic philosopher, adopted ideas from Persia and was for this refuted or cursed by various theologians and philosophers. Many mystics also (e.g. Ḥallādj; according to Massignon, *Passion*, p. 150 sq. wrongly) were accused of this dualism.

But the speculations about *nūr* found a powerful support from the ninth century in the monistic doctrine of light of the Neo-Platonists (we do not

know of any Persian monism of light) which was compatible with the monism of Islām. The father of this doctrine is Plato, who in his *Politeia*, 506 D sqq. compares the idea of the good in the supersensual world with Helios as the light of the physical world. The contrast is not therefore between light and darkness but between the world of ideas or mind and its copy, the physical world of bodies, in the upper world pure light, in the lower world light more or less mixed with darkness. Among the Neo-Platonists the idea of the good = the highest God = pure light. This identification was also facilitated by the fact that according to Aristotle's conception light is nothing corporeal (*De anima*, ii. 7, 418^b: [φῶς]... οὐτε πῦρ οὐδ' ἀέρας σῶμα οὐδ' ἀπορροή σώματος). From the context which is however not all clear, it appears that Aristotle regarded light as an effective force (ἐνεργεῖα). This is however of no importance here. Many Aristotelian forces and Platonic ideas are described by Neo-Pythagoreans and Neo-Platonists sometimes as forces and sometimes as substances (spiritual). With Aristotle σκότος (darkness) was conceived not as something positive but as στέρσις (privatio, the absence of light).

From this developed the doctrine which we find in the Arabic "Theology of Aristotle". Not far from the beginning (ed. Dieterici, p. 3) it is said: the power of light (*ḥuwwa nūriya*) is communicated by the prime cause, the creator, to the 'aql and by the 'aql to the world soul, then from the 'aql through the world soul to nature and from the world soul through nature to things which originate and decay. The whole process of this creative development proceeds without movement and timelessly. But God who causes the force of light to pour forth is also light (*nūr*; occasional synonyms: *ḥusn*, *baḥā*), the "prime light" (p. 51) or (p. 44) the "light of lights". Light (p. 51) is essentially in God, not a quality (*ṣifa*) for God has no qualities but works through his being (*ḥuwwa*) alone. The light flows through the whole world, particularly the world of men. From the supersensual original (p. 150), the first man (*insān 'aqlī*), it flows over the second man (*insān nafsānī*) and from him to the third (*insān dīsmānī*). These are the originals of the so-called real men. Light is of course found in its purest form in the souls of the wise and the good (p. 51). It should be noted also that *nūr* as a spiritual force (*rūḥānī*, 'aqlī) is distinguished from fire (*nār*) which is said to be only a force in matter with definite quality (p. 85). Fire of course like everything else has its supersensual original. But this is more connected with life than with light.

The elevation of the soul to the divine world of light corresponds to the creative descent of light (p. 8). When the soul has passed on its return beyond the world of the 'aql, it sees there the pure light and the beauty of God, the goal of all mystics.

Although the author of the *Liber de causis* is of the opinion that nothing can be predicated regarding God, yet he has to call him the prime cause and more exactly pure light (§ 5, ed. Bardenheuer, p. 69) and as such the origin of all being and all knowledge (in God is *wudūd* = *ma'rifa*; see § 23, p. 103).

The light emanated by God may, if it is regarded as an independent entity, be placed at various parts of the system. Most philosophers and theologians connect it with the *rūḥ* or 'aql or identify

it with them, sometimes also with life (*ḥayāt*), but this must be more closely investigated.

The great philosophers in Islām, Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, connected the doctrine of light with the 'aql in metaphysics as well as in psychology. Fārābī is fond of using many synonyms for the light of God and the 'aql (*baḥā*) etc.; see e. g. *Der Mustersaat*, ed. Dieterici, p. 13 sqq.). In the biography of Fārābī in Ibn Abī Uṣāibi'a (*'Uyūn*, ed. Müller, ii. 134—140) a prayer is attributed to him in which God is invoked as the "prime cause of things and light of the earth and of heaven". Ibn Sīnā like Fārābī takes up the doctrine of light in theology and further develops it. In his psychological writings he regards the light as a link of the soul and body (cf. Sahl al-Tustarī who places *nūr* between *rūḥ* and *fin* in the four elements of man). In the *Kitāb al-Iṣḥārāt* (ed. Forget, Leyden 1892, p. 126 sq.) he even reads the whole metaphysical doctrine of the 'aql of the Aristotelians into the light verse of the Qur'an. Light is the 'aql bi 'l-'iḥ, fire the 'aql fa'āl and so on. Allāh's *nūr* is therefore like the *nous* of Aristotle! This discovery of Ibn Sīnā's was incorporated in the pious reflections of Ghāzālī (in *Ma'āridī al-Kuds fī Mad'aridī Ma'rifat al-Nafs*, Cairo 1927, p. 58 sq.).

The best expositions of the further developments of speculation on *nūr*, especially among the gnostics and mystics, are in Massignon's articles KARMAṬIANS and TAṢAWWUF.

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NÜR ALLĀH AL-SAIYID B. AL-SAIYID SHARIF AL-MAR'ASHI AL-HUSAINI AL-SHUSHUTARI, commonly called Qāḍī Nūr Allāh, was born in 956 (1549). He was descended from an illustrious family of the Mar'ashī Saiyids and settled in Shushutar. He left his native place for India and settled in Lāhore where he attracted the notice of Ḥakīm Abu 'l-Faṭḥ (d. 997 = 1588) and through his presentation to Emperor Akbar (963—1014 = 1556—1605), he was appointed Qāḍī of Lāhore in lieu of al-Shaikh Mu'in (d. 995 = 1586). 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī, iii. 137, says that he was, "although a Shī'ah, a just, pious and learned man. He was flogged to death in 1019 (1610), on account of his religious opinions, by the order of the Emperor Djahāngīr (1014—1037 = 1605—1628). He is regarded as *al-Shahīd al-Thālith*, "the third martyr", by the Shī'is and his tomb in Akbarābād is visited by numerous Shī'as from all parts of India.

He is the author of innumerable works of which the following may be quoted: 1. *Ḥāshiyā 'ala 'l-Baidāwī*, a supercommentary to al-Baidāwī's commentary on the Qur'an, entitled *Anwār al-Tanzīl*: Asiatic Society of Bengal MSS., *List of the Government Collection*, p. 16; 2. *Ḥāshiyā Sharḥ Djadīd 'ala 'l-Tadwīd*, glosses to Kūshdjī's commentary on Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's Compendium of metaphysics and theology, entitled *Tadwīd al-Kalām*: Loth, Ind. Off., N^o. 471, xv.; 3. *Iḥkāk al-Ḥaḥḥ wa-l-ḥaḥ al-Baṭīl*, a polemical work against Sunnism written in reply to Faḍl b. Rūzbahān's work entitled *Ibḥāl al-Baṭīl*, a treatise in refutation

of the *Kashf al-Haḡḡ wa-Nahḡ al-Ṣiḡḡ* by Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī al-Ḥallī: Bankipore Library, *Khudā Bakhsh* Cat. vol. 14, p. 172. Ferangī Maḥall Library, Lucknow, f. 108; Rāmpūr Library, p. 281; Asiatic Society of Bengal (List of Arabic MSS., p. 23); 4. *Maḡālis al-Muʿminin*, biographies of famous *Shiʿas* from the beginning of Islām to the rise of the Ṣafawī dynasty in Persian: Bankipore Library Cat., p. 766; Asiatic Society of Bengal Cat., p. 59; Ethé, Ind. Off., No. 704 and Rieu, *Cat. of Persian MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 337^a. Printed in Tiḥrān 1268.

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NÜR AL-DAWLA. [See DUBAIS.]

NÜR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD, an Ortoḡid. He was the son and successor of Fakhr al-Dīn Karā-Arslān, lord of Ḥiṣn Kaifā and of a considerable part of Diyār Bakr (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xi. 217) who, according to Ibn al-Athīr (xi. 207), died in 562 (1166—1167) but according to the numismatic evidence may have lived till 570 or 571 (van Berchem, *Abh. Ges. Wiss. Gött.*, N. F., vol. IX/iii., 1907, p. 143, note 3). Nūr al-Dīn married the daughter of Sulṭān Ḳīlḡdj Arslān but when he treated her disgracefully, his father-in-law was very angry and threatened him with war. In consequence Nūr al-Dīn appealed for help to Ṣalāḡ al-Dīn who after fruitless negotiations took the field against Ḳīlḡdj Arslān in 576. Nūr al-Dīn came to him in his camp on the Gök-şū (this should be the reading in Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 356) and was received by him with great honour. Soon afterwards his father-in-law made peace with him and with Ṣalāḡ al-Dīn. When the latter in 578 took the field against ʿIzz al-Dīn of al-Mawṣil, Nūr al-Dīn showed himself at once ready to pay homage to him and assist him at the siege of al-Mawṣil. The powerful Aiyūbid rewarded him with the important town of ʿAmid, which he took in the following year (579) and gave him (Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 324). Of all the wealth collected in this town Ṣalāḡ al-Dīn only took for himself the 1,040,000 volumes which its library is said to have contained (Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, p. 362). In the following year (580), Nūr al-Dīn took part in the unsuccessful siege of al-Karak (Barhebraeus, p. 364). When Saladin in 581 (1185—1186) again advanced against al-Mawṣil, in place of Nūr al-Dīn who was ill, his brother ʿImād al-Dīn accompanied him. Nūr al-Dīn died soon afterwards and left to his son Kuṭb al-Dīn Sukmān II rule over Ḥiṣn Kaifā and ʿAmid. ʿImād al-Dīn on hearing of his brother's death hurried from Ṣalāḡ al-Dīn's camp before al-Mawṣil to Ḥiṣn Kaifā but found his nephew already fully installed here. He therefore seized the fortress of Khartabirt where he became the founder of a branch of the Ortoḡids.

Bibliography: see the article ORTOḢIDS.

(E. HONIGMANN)

NÜR AL-DĪN ABU ʿL-ḲĀSIM MAḤMŪD B. ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN ZENGĪ, called AL-MĀLIK AL-ʿĀDIL, a tābeg of Ḥalab and Damascus. Nūr al-Dīn was born in Shawwāl 511 (Febr. 1118) and took part

under his father in the siege of Ḳalʿat Djaʿbar where the latter was murdered in Rabīʿ II 541 (Sept. 1146). His kingdom was then divided between his two sons, Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī [q. v.] who took possession of al-Mawṣil, and Nūr al-Dīn who established himself in Ḥalab. Scarcely had the news of ʿImād al-Dīn's death reached Joscelin II who lived in Tell Bāshir [q. v.] than the latter entered into negotiations with the people of Edessa, mainly Armenians, the chief stronghold of the Crusaders, which ʿImād al-Dīn had taken shortly before and assured himself of their cooperation in his proposed attack on the city. He was thus able to occupy the city without difficulty and its Muslim garrison took refuge in the citadel. When Nūr al-Dīn heard this he hurried thither by forced marches; Joscelin fled and Edessa fell into the hands of Nūr al-Dīn who wreaked a terrible vengeance on the treacherous Christians, laid the city completely waste and left only a few citizens in it. In the following year he invaded the district of Ḥalab and took from the Christians Artāḡ and Kafarlāthā and several other places. The news of the fall of Edessa in 539 (1144) made a tremendous impression in Europe and induced the Pope Eugenius III on Dec. 1, 1145 to send a letter to Louis VII and the knights of France in which he demanded a new crusade and in the spring of 1146 to send St. Bernard of Clairvaux to preach the crusade. He was listened to with enthusiasm; on receiving the Pope's message Louis had already declared himself ready to take the crusader's vow and finally the Hohenstaufen Conrad III was also won over. In the first half of the year 1147 the two kings set out and after great difficulties and considerable losses through starvation, epidemics and enemy attacks, the European armies joined one another in Palestine in the spring of 1148. It was decided to attack Damascus which was then nominally in the power of the Burid Muḡjir al-Dīn Abaḡ b. Muḥammad although the real ruler was one of his Mamlūks named Muʿin al-Dīn Anar. In Rabīʿ I 543 (July 1148) the Christians began the siege of the town from the southwest. The first few days were spent in heavy fighting with great losses on both sides. In the meanwhile Muʿin al-Dīn had appealed for assistance to Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī. The latter set out with a large army and was joined on the way by his brother Nūr al-Dīn. Before giving the hard pressed Muʿin al-Dīn the assistance he desired he sent him a letter in which he demanded the surrender of the town to his deputy in order to have a base in case of a defeat; but if he was victorious he would leave the town at once. But as Muʿin al-Dīn did not trust him completely he endeavoured instead to frighten the Christians by threats and declared that if they did not retreat he would hand over the town to Saif al-Dīn who would certainly drive the invaders completely out of Syria. These representations, supported by the gold of Damascus, did not fail to influence the eastern leaders who were able to appreciate the situation much better than their European allies. But as they had not the courage to propose that the siege should be at once abandoned, they suggested in the council of war held in the night of the July 26—27, 1148 that the camp should be moved from west to east because, they said, the walls on this side were not so strong and the attack would not be impeded by gardens. The besiegers followed the

advice of those possessing local knowledge but soon saw that they had been deceived because the terrain on the east side offered even greater difficulties in every respect and there was therefore nothing left for them but to withdraw in order to resume the siege another time. When Bertrand, the son of Count Alfonso of Toulouse who had just died, took the fortress of al-ʿArma and threatened the district of Tripoli Count Raymond of Tripoli appealed to Nūr al-Dīn and Muʿīn al-Dīn who had joined one another in Baalbek; the two Muslim leaders supported by a contingent sent by Saif al-Dīn hurried to his help. Bertrand had to surrender; the fortress was destroyed and he himself taken prisoner. The Christians then prepared to invade the district of Ḥalab; Nūr al-Dīn however anticipated them, defeated them at Yaḡhrā taking much booty, which he divided among his brother Saif al-Dīn, the caliph al-Muḥtafi and the Saldjūk sultān Masʿūd. At the beginning of the following year (May 1149) Nūr al-Dīn invaded the region of Antākīya, laid waste the country with the suburb of Ḥārim and laid siege to the fortress of Innib. Prince Raymond of Antioch hastened up with a small army to attack Nūr al-Dīn but was enticed into an ambush and fell in the fight. Nūr al-Dīn then went with his victorious forces doing great damage as he went, close up to Antioch in order to inspire the inhabitants with terror, and on his way back took Ḥārim and forced the strong fortress of Fāmiya (Apamea) near Ḥamāt to surrender. About the same time Saif al-Dīn died and his brother and successor Kutb al-Dīn Mawdūd prepared to fight Nūr al-Dīn, but the dispute was settled amicably [cf. the article MAWDŪD]. Soon afterwards (545 = 1151 or 546 = 1151-1152) Nūr al-Dīn succeeded in capturing his enemy Joscelin II of Edessa. The latter had previously won a victory over Nūr al-Dīn and treated him very scornfully. When one night he was travelling with only a few followers to Antioch he was surprised by a troop of Turkomans in the pay of Nūr al-Dīn and brought to Ḥalab where he remained a prisoner till his death, while Nūr al-Dīn gradually took all the fortresses belonging to the country of Edessa. In order to split up the Christian forces and to bring some relief to the Muslims besieged in ʿAṣkalān, he made an agreement with his enemy, the prince of Damascus, Muḍjir al-Dīn Abaḳ, and in Ṣafar 548 (May 1153) they both appeared before the walls of Bāniyās [q. v.]. But when the irresolute Muḍjir al-Dīn would undertake no serious steps against the Christians, they soon abandoned the siege and separated without having achieved anything. When ʿAṣkalān, was forced to capitulate after an eight months siege the Christians began to cast covetous eyes on the great and wealthy city of Damascus, especially as Muḍjir al-Dīn acted almost as if he were their vassal. In order to thwart their plans, Nūr al-Dīn endeavoured to gain over Muḍjir al-Dīn by pretended friendship and by making false charges against them persuaded him to get rid of his chief emīrs so that Muḍjir al-Dīn thus lost his most reliable friends. When Nūr al-Dīn suddenly appeared before the gates of the city they were opened to him by his friends in Damascus as had been prearranged. Muḍjir al-Dīn took refuge in the citadel and summoned the Christians to his assistance but surrendered the city before help arrived (Ṣafar 549 = April 1154). In compensation he received Ḥimṣ. There he

began to intrigue against Nūr al-Dīn and the latter offered him Bālis instead; Muḍjir al-Dīn however was not satisfied, but settled in Baghdād where he remained till his death as a protégé of the caliph al-Muḥtafi. In 551 (1156) Nūr al-Dīn made a peace with Baldwin III of Jerusalem, whereby the latter gave up the annual tribute which Damascus had had to pay him since the time of Muḍjir al-Dīn and ceded the half of the lands of Ḥārim. In spite of this about the end of the year 551 (Feb. 1157) Baldwin fell upon a defenceless encampment of Arabs and Turkomans in the neighbourhood of Bāniyās, took the men prisoners and carried off their cattle. As a result the war broke out again and the Christians were defeated, some on the Euphrates by the governor of Damascus, Asad al-Dīn Shirkūh, some in the vicinity of Damascus by Nūr al-Dīn's brother, the emīr Nāṣir al-Dīn. Many prisoners were brought to Damascus and put to death by Nūr al-Dīn's orders in revenge for the Muslims killed at Bāniyās. Nūr al-Dīn then attacked Bāniyās and destroyed the town but could not take the citadel; he retired on the approach of Baldwin. The latter rebuilt the ruined town, dismissed a number of his troops and intended to return to Tiberias, but was surprised on the way by Nūr al-Dīn and suffered a disastrous defeat (Djumādā I 552 = end of June 1157). Another attempt by Nūr al-Dīn to take the town was also unsuccessful; he again raised the siege on the approach of Baldwin. Very soon afterwards he fell very ill and a rumour spread that he had died. The Christians thereupon attacked Shaizar [q. v.] which had been severely damaged by an earthquake, and had along with Baalbek shortly before fallen into the hands of Nūr al-Dīn. The attack failed however owing to the jealousies among the Frankish leaders. On the other hand, they were successful after two months siege in taking Ḥārim in the following year and in inflicting a severe defeat on Nūr al-Dīn on the Jordan (Djumādā 553 = July 1158). About the same time the emperor Manuel I Comnenos appeared in Syria to chastise the rebel governor of Cilicia and prince Raynald of Antioch who had undertaken an expedition against Cyprus. After receiving the submission of the princes, the emperor resolved to join Baldwin in an attack on Ḥalab at the beginning of 1159. Nūr al-Dīn however escaped the danger which threatened him by releasing the Christian prisoners. He then concluded a truce for four months with Baldwin, took Ḥarrān and al-Raḳqa from his brother Nāṣir al-Dīn and invaded the lands of sultān Kīlīdī Arslān II [q. v.]; but when Baldwin began to lay waste Nūr al-Dīn's territory, the latter hurried back to Ḥalab and Baldwin retired. About this time conditions in Egypt began to attract the attention of Nūr al-Dīn and from the year 556 (1161) his history is so closely bound up with that of Saladin that it is sufficient to refer to the article on the latter for the main facts. Only the following need be added here. In 558 (1163) Nūr al-Dīn had planned an invasion of the county of Tripoli and encamped before Ḥiṣn al-Akrād [q. v.] and was preparing to storm it when he was suddenly attacked by the Christians. His troops who were quite unprepared were scattered and Nūr al-Dīn himself only escaped with difficulty. Nevertheless he succeeded by exerting all his efforts in raising a new army in a short time with which he again advanced on Ḥārim. After

winning a decisive victory over the Christian relief force, he took Hārim by storm (Ramaḍān 558 = Aug. 1163) and a few months later also forced Bāniyās to surrender. When the atābeg of Mawṣil, Nūr al-Dīn's brother Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mawḍūd, at the end of 565 (Sept. 1170) died and his younger son Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī was chosen successor by the emīrs, Nūr al-Dīn went there and said that Saif al-Dīn should have al-Mawṣil but was to give Sindjār to his elder brother 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī. In 568 (1173) he invaded Asia Minor and took several towns; on his relations with the Saldjūk sultān there see the article *KLIPJ ARSLĀN II*. While he was still on this expedition, an envoy arrived from the 'Abbāsīd caliph of Baghdād bearing a diploma recognising Nūr al-Dīn as lord of al-Mawṣil, al-Djazīra, Irbil, Khilāt, Syria, Egypt and Ḳonya. He died on 11th Shawwāl 569 (May 15, 1174) in Damascus of a disease of the larynx (*'illat al-khawwānīk*) and was buried in the citadel; his body was later brought to the madrasa founded by him at the entrance to the Sūḳ Khawwāṣīn.

With reference to Nūr al-Dīn, Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xi. 265 says: "I have studied the careers of the rulers of the past but from the time of the legitimate caliphs and 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz I have found none who led a purer life or had greater enthusiasm for righteousness". As a pious Muslim convinced of the truth of the Prophet's mission, he was always eager to follow out in exact detail the many prescriptions of the Ḳur'ān and the Sunna regarding the conduct of believers in private and public life. He was distinguished by a remarkable love of justice which was seen for example in the fact that he would never punish on mere suspicion alone and was able to check any arbitrariness on the part of the lower courts also, and avarice and selfishness were entirely foreign to his character. He never gave way to the temptation always at hand to enrich himself at the expense of the treasury; on the contrary, he applied the proceeds of the booty taken in war to pious foundations and public works for the benefit of Islām. Among the important cities of Syria the fortifications of which were renovated by him, Ibn al-Aṭhīr mentions (xi. 267) the following: Damascus, Ḥims, Ḥamāt, Ḥalab, Shaizar and Baalbek, and mosques, schools, hospitals and caravanserais were built everywhere. On his great activity as a builder cf. the article DAMASCUS; cf. also Fleischer, *Miḥā'il Miṣāka's Cultur-Statistik von Damascus* (Kleinere Schriften, iii. 306 sqq.). He was also a generous patron of scholars in whom he took great interest; on the battlefield he earned the admiration of his soldiers by his personal bravery, which was coupled with unusual talent as a general. If on the other hand he was guilty of acts which are not quite compatible with humane warfare, like the massacre in Edessa on the recapture of the town and the slaughter of the Christian prisoners in Damascus after Baldwin's attack on the defenceless Muslims at Bāniyās, it should be remembered that this was no breach of the practice of war of the time. The constant aim of his efforts was the expulsion of the Christians from Syria and Palestine and to this object he remained faithful throughout his life. In the political history of Syria and Mesopotamia, Nūr al-Dīn played an unusually important part and laid a firm foundation on which Saladin was later able to build.

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NŪR AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ḤARITH ARSLĀN SHĀH B. MAS'UD B. MAWḌUD B. ZANGĪ, called AL-MALIK AL-'ĀDIL, lord of al-Mawṣil. After the death of his father [q. v.] in Sha'bān 589 (Aug. 1193) Nūr al-Dīn succeeded him; the real ruler however in the early years of his tenure of office was the governor of the citadel, the eunuch Muḍjahid al-Dīn Ḳaimaz al-Zainī, who is described not only as a pious and learned man but as an official much concerned with the welfare of the people. He died in Rabi' I 595 (Jan. 1199) or, according to another statement, in Ṣafar of the same year (Dec. 1198). Many buildings, such as mosques, monasteries, schools and bridges, which the city of al-Mawṣil owes to him, are evidence of his interest in the welfare of the community. When the officials of Nūr al-Dīn's uncle, the lord of Sindjār, 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī b. Mawḍūd, seized several places in the neighbourhood of Naṣībīn, but really belonging to the territory of al-Mawṣil, Nūr al-Dīn after long and fruitless negotiations decided to seize the town of Naṣībīn. 'Imād al-Dīn then died and was succeeded by his son Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad. The change in the throne caused Nūr al-Dīn to hasten; in Djumādā I 594 (March–April 1198) he set out with a large army. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was defeated and turned to the Aiyūbid al-'Ādil [q. v.] with an appeal for help while Nūr al-Dīn established himself in Naṣībīn; but his army melted away through sickness and death and on the approach of al-'Ādil he evacuated the town and returned to al-Mawṣil (Ramaḍān 594 = July–Aug. 1198) whereupon al-'Ādil laid siege to Mārdīn. In Muḥarram 595 (Nov. 1198) the ruler of Egypt al-'Azīz died and when his successor al-Aḫḫāl recalled al-'Ādil's Egyptian troops and also made an alliance with Nūr al-Dīn, al-'Ādil had to withdraw and leave the conduct of the siege of Mārdīn to his son al-Kāmil [q. v.]. Nūr al-Dīn then took the field and along with his two cousins Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad and Sindjār Shāh b. Ghāzī, lord of Djazīrat b. 'Omar, encamped before Dunaisir [q. v.]. After two months there they moved their camp to Ḥarzam between Dunaisir and Mārdīn. In the meanwhile, the inhabitants of Mārdīn had exhausted their supplies; in addition devastating epidemics

broke out which still further reduced the ranks of the defenders; the commander therefore sent a message to al-Kāmil and declared himself ready to surrender the town within a definite period on condition that he was allowed to import sufficient food. Al-Kāmil agreed but with the arrival of Nūr al-Dīn the people of Mārdīn plucked up their courage and resolved to continue the struggle. Al-Kāmil might almost have taken the town by treachery; although Ẓuṭb al-Dīn pretended to be devoted to Nūr al-Dīn he was really secretly attached to al-Kāmil and had promised him to take to flight at once in case of an encounter. When the troops were drawn up for battle he was placed in such a position however that there was no possibility of escape on the narrow battlefield. Al-Kāmil was defeated and fled to Damascus to his father (Shawwāl 595 = Aug. 1199). As to Nūr al-Dīn, he fell sick and could not follow up his victory but returned to al-Mawṣil. After he had recovered from his illness, he went in Sha'bān 597 (May-June 1201) with Ẓuṭb al-Dīn to Ḥarrān to resume the struggle with al-ʿĀdil. When he reached Ra's al-ʿAin, envoys came to him from al-Malik al-Fa'iz b. al-ʿĀdil who lived in Ḥarrān to seek peace and as he knew that the other Aiyūbids wished to make peace with al-ʿĀdil and deadly epidemics had broken out among his troops, he granted their request for a return to the *status quo* and returned to al-Mawṣil. In the year 600 (1203-1204), Ẓuṭb al-Dīn openly paid homage to al-ʿĀdil and had the *khutba* read in his name; Nūr al-Dīn could not permit this and took possession of Naṣībīn except the citadel. This also would probably have fallen into his hands if the news that the lord of Irbīl, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbūri [q. v.], had invaded the territory of al-Mawṣil in his absence and had wrought great havoc, had not forced him to return. After he had ascertained that the accounts that had reached him were much exaggerated he turned his attention to Tell A'far which belonged to Sindjār and laid siege to it. But fortune did not favour him. It is true that he succeeded in taking Tell A'far; then a number of Mesopotamian princes allied themselves with Ẓuṭb al-Dīn and Nūr al-Dīn could not face their combined strength. When it came to a battle he was completely routed and had to surrender Tell A'far and make peace (beg. 601 = late summer 1204). The relations between Nūr al-Dīn and Ẓuṭb al-Dīn had never been particularly friendly and matters did not improve when Nūr al-Dīn gave his daughter in marriage to one of al-ʿĀdil's sons. On the occasion of this union of the two dynasties, Nūr al-Dīn's viziers proposed to him to conclude an alliance with al-ʿĀdil so that he might himself take possession of Djazīrat Ibn ʿOmar which was under the rule of Mu'izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Sindjār Shāh and that al-ʿĀdil should occupy Ẓuṭb al-Dīn's territory. This plan which was entirely in keeping with Nūr al-Dīn's desires was also approved by al-ʿĀdil and the latter undertook a campaign against the east. On this campaign in a short time he took al-Khābūr and Naṣībīn and besieged Sindjār. While Ẓuṭb al-Dīn was preparing to fight to defend his capital, Nūr al-Dīn equipped an army which was to join al-ʿĀdil's. Then a sudden change took place in the political situation. The lord of Irbīl, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbūri, who had promised Ẓuṭb al-Dīn to intervene with al-ʿĀdil on his behalf but had been unsuccessful, now proposed to Nūr al-Dīn to

join him against al-ʿĀdil. Nūr al-Dīn agreed and when the Aiyūbid ruler of Ḥalab al-Malik al-Ẓāhir and the Saldjūk Sultān of Konya Kaikhusraw I b. Kılıç Arslan [q. v.] joined the alliance and al-ʿĀdil was further ordered by the ʿAbbāsīd caliph al-Nāṣir [q. v.] to abandon his hostile plans, he had finally to yield, especially as his emirs had no inclination to continue the campaign. In the end Ẓuṭb al-Dīn was left in possession of Sindjār and al-ʿĀdil returned to Ḥarrān. Nūr al-Dīn died at the end of Radjab 607 (Jan. 1211) and was succeeded by his son al-Malik al-Ḳāhir ʿIzz al-Dīn Mas'ūd.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

NÜR DJAHĀN, name given to Mihr al-Nisāʾ, the famous queen of Djahāngīr, the Mughal Emperor. She was born at Kandahār in 1577 when her father, Ghiyāth Beg, was migrating from Persia to Hindustān (*Maʿāthir al-Umarāʾ*, i. 129). In the reign of Akbar she was married to ʿAlī Kulī Beg, a Persian who had rendered distinguished military service to the Emperor and who, because of his bravery, was known as Shīr Afgan. The assassination of her first husband will always remain a matter of controversy, some regarding it as a repetition of the story of David and Uriah, others holding the view that he had been suspected of disloyalty. It was not however until four years later, in 1611, that she became, at the age of thirty-four, the wife of Djahāngīr. In the eleventh year of that monarch's reign her name was changed from Nūr Maḥall to Nūr Djahān (*Tuzuk-i Djahāngīr*, ed. Rogers and Beveridge, i. 319).

An extraordinarily beautiful woman, well-versed in Persian literature in an age when few women were cultured, ambitious and masterful, she entirely dominated her husband, until eventually Djahāngīr was king in name only. The chroniclers record that she sometimes sat in the *jharokā*, that coins were struck in her name, and that she even dared to issue *farmāns* (*Iqbāl-nāma*, p. 54-57). She became the leader of fashion and is said to have invented the *ʿatr-i Djahāngīrī*, a special kind of rose-water. Her style in gowns, veils, brocade, lace, and her *farsh-i ʿandamī* (carpets of sandalwood colour) were known throughout the length and breadth of Hindustān.

Ablly assisted in political affairs by her father, now known as ʿItimād al-Dawla, and her brother, Āsaf Khān, she dispensed all patronage thus falling foul of the older nobility led by Mahābat Khān. The history of the last years of Djahāngīr's reign is the history of Nūr Djahān's efforts at paving the way for the succession of her son-in-law, Prince Shahriyār. But the death of her father, combined with the fact that Āsaf Khān was supporting the claim of his own son-in-law, Prince Khurram, considerably weakened her power. On the death of Djahāngīr, in 1627, she was completely outwitted by Āsaf Khān, her candidate was defeated, and Prince Khurram ascended the throne as Shāh Djahān. The last eighteen years

of this remarkable woman's life during the reign of Shāh Djahān are unimportant to the historian of Mughal India.

Bibliography: Mu'tamid Khān, *Iqbāl-nāma Djahāngīrī*, Calcutta 1865; Shāhnawāz Khān, *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, in *Bibliotheca Indica*, i. 127-134; Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, 1922. (C. COLLIN DAVIES)

NŪR MUHAMMADĪ, the technical term for the pre-existence of the soul of the Prophet Muḥammad; the predestined essence of the last of the prophets is said to have been created first of all, in the form of a dense and luminous point; all the predestined souls are said to have emanated from this.

Among the Sunnīs, the idea first appears among the mystics in the third century A.H., then gradually begins to dominate popular worship (cf. Sahl Tustarī and Ḥakīm Tirmidhī, in our *Recueil* . . . , 1929, p. 34, N^o. 39 and p. 39); Abū Bakr Wasiṭī, whose *Hā Mim al-Kidām* should be identified with ch. i. of the *Tawāsin* of Ḥallādj (cf. our *Passion*, p. 830-840) expounds it. According to Kilānī, Muḥammad is "the image in the pupil which is in the centre of the eye of creation" (*insān 'ain al-wuḍūd*); this is what Ibn 'Arabī calls the *ḥaḳīqa muḥammadiya* the pre-eternal conception of which is celebrated by the poets Ṣaṣārī, Witri and the mystic Djazūlī; hence Muḥammad's immaculate pedigree since Adam (cf. the poems on the *Mawlid*). Orthodoxy has always carefully placed the doctrine of the uncreated Kur'ān above this cult. Popular legend among the *Ḥashwīya* has reduced and materialised this devotion: in showing the model of the body of the Prophet kneaded from a handful of earth from Paradise with from the spring Tasnīm which makes it shine like a white pearl. But it is certain that it is a question here primarily of a gnostic pre-existence, an intellectual substance of the nature of the angels as is evident from the antiquity of the equation *nūr* = *ʿaql*, borrowed by Tirmidhī from the Ismāʿīlīs [cf. *ʿAQL*].

Among the Shīʿīs, this doctrine appears earlier and with more logical coherence; among the extremists, who explain this "prophetic light", either as a "spirit" transmitted from age to age and from elect to elect, or as spermatric germ (Traducianism) inherited from male to male. At the beginning of the second century Mughira and Djābir taught the primogeniture of the luminous shadow (*zill*, opposed to *shabāḥ* "dark body") of Muḥammad. It is a fundamental dogma of Ismāʿīlism from its beginning (*al-sābiq nūr maḥd* = *al-mīm*); it is found again extended through solidarity to all the 'Alids or to all the Ṭālibīs with the gift of sinlessness among the Nusairīs and even among many pious Imāmī writers (Kulīnī, *Kūfī*, p. 116).

The authors of this doctrine derive it from the Kur'ān (*āyat al-nūr*: xxiv. 35; the *taṣliya*; the connexion between the two terms of the *shahāda*) effectively interpreted by the old ḥadīths (*durra baiḍā*; *lawlāka*) as proving that Muḥammad is "the first (by *taḳdīr*, *waṣla*, *khālīk*) and the last" (by *idjād*, *nubuwwa*, *ba'ṭh*). But it certainly required for its development the stimulus of Christian gnostic and Manichæan antecedents.

Bibliography: Goldziher, *Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente im Ḥadīth*, in *Z. A.*, xxii. (1908), p. 317-344; T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads* . . . , 1917, p. 313-326; V. Ivanow, *l'Ummu l-kitāb*, in *R. E. I.*, 1932, p. 444-451. (LOUIS MASSIGNON)

NŪRBAKHSHĪYA, religious sect or order called after Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, called Nūrbakhsh (795-869 A.H.).

1. Life of the founder. Of this person there is a detailed biography in the work *Madjālis al-Mu'minin* of Nūr Allāh al-Shustarī (Bodleian MS., Ous. 366; see also Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Persian MSS.), chiefly based on a work (*taḥkīra*) by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Samarḳandī. His father was born in Kaṭīf, and his grandfather in al-Hass, whence in some *ghazals* he styles himself Laḥsawī. His father migrated to Kā'in in Kūhistān, where his son was born. The latter became a disciple of Ishāq al-Khutlānī, himself a disciple of Saiyid 'Alī al-Hamadḥānī (whose biography is published in *Khasinat al-Asfiya*, Lucknow 1322, ii. 293). Ishāq in obedience to a dream gave his pupil the name Nūrbakhsh ("light-gift"), and conferred on him the *khirka* of 'Alī al-Hamadḥānī. In virtue of his supposed descent from the Imām Mūsā al-Kāzīm he received the title Mahdī, and was proclaimed Caliph by a number of followers; indeed in the heading of his *Ghazals* (Brit. Mus. Add. 16,779) he is styled "Imām and Caliph over all the Muslims". In a letter to a disciple (Brit. Mus. Add. 7,688) he claims mastery of all sciences, religious and secular; he could have taught Plato mathematics, etc. He calls on the people of his time to take pride in such a contemporary and display activity in his cause. These pretensions were taken seriously by the Sultān Shāh-rukh (Timūrid, 807-850), whose viceroy Bāyazīd arrested him at Kuh-Tirī "a fortress in the neighbourhood of Khutlān", whither he had gone in 826; he was sent to Herāt and thence to Shīrāz, where he was released by Ibrāhīm Sultān; after travelling to Baṣra, Hilla, Baghdād and the (Shīʿī) Sanctuaries, he went to Kurdistān, where he was again proclaimed Caliph, and coins were struck in his name. He was again arrested by Shāh-rukh's order, and brought to Ādharbāidjān; he made his escape and after much suffering reached Khalkhāl, where he was recaptured, and sent back to Shāh-rukh, who despatched him to Herāt, where he had to mount the pulpit and abjure the caliphate. In 848 he was released on condition that he confined his activities to teaching; but, having incurred suspicion, he was sent to Tabriz, thence to Shirwān, and thence to Gilān.

After Shāh-rukh's death he was set free, and took up his residence in a village Sulfan in the neighbourhood of Raiy, where he died.

2. His doctrines. In his poems (*ghazal*, *mathnawī* and *rubāʿī*), he insists on his personal importance, but also emphasizes the Shīʿī pantheism, e.g. "We have washed away the impress of other from the tablet of existences; we have seen that the world is qualities and an identical substance". Prose works by him were a *Risāla-i 'Aḳida* probably in Persian, and a treatise on Law, in Arabic, called *al-Fiḥ al-Aḥwaṭ*. Neither of these appears to have reached Europe. The extracts from the latter given in the *Madjālis* are Shīʿī in character. The *imām* besides possessing numerous virtues must be a descendant of 'Alī and Fāṭima; this is sufficient for "the lesser *djihad*", but for "the greater" he must also be a *walī* perfect in the *maḳāmāt* of that dignity. The *mut'a* marriage is lawful, since it was so certainly in the Prophet's time, and the writer had been commanded to abolish innovations and revive the practice of the Prophet's

time. He rejects the expedient called 'awl in dealing with deceased persons' estates, as being neither in the Kur'ān nor the Sunna.

3. Later history of the sect. The *Madjālis* names two successors (*khalīfa*) of Nūrbakhsh: Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-Lahdjānī al-Gilānī, called Asīrī, the author of a *Diwān* of which there is a copy in the Brit. Mus.; this person built a *khanqāh* in Shirāz; and Nūrbakhsh's son Shāh Kāsim Faīdqakhsh, first heard of in 'Irāq, whence by permission of the Āq-Kuyunlu Sultān Ya'qūb (884—896) he was allowed to go to Khurāsān to cure Ḥusain Mirzā, the governor, of an ailment by his *baraka*. His religious opinions won him the favour of Ismā'īl the Safawid (907—930). According to Firīshṭa, who cites the *Zafar-nāme*, a disciple of Shāh Kāsim, named Mir Shams al-Dīn went from 'Irāq to Kashmīr about 902, where he was received with high honour by Fāth Khān, who made over to him the confiscated lands which had formerly fallen to the crown. In a short time many of the Kashmīris, particularly those of the tribe Čuk, became converts to the Nūrbakhshī sect (Firīshṭa, transl. Briggs, Calcutta 1910). The Kashmīris had previously been Sunnī of the Ḥanafī rite according to Mirzā Ḥusain (author of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, transl. E. D. Ross, London 1895, p. 435), who when he came into possession of the country asked the opinion of the 'ulamā of Hindustān about *al-Fīkh al-Aḥwaṭ*; as they condemned it as heretical, he persecuted and endeavoured to extirpate the sect (about 950). His confused and fanatical account of it has misled some European writers. It survived his persecution, and according to J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh* (Calcutta 1880) it numbers over 20,000 followers, most of whom are to be found in Shigar and Khapolor of Baltistān. A few of the sect, he adds, are now to be found in Kishtwar, to which place they were deported by Golab Sing when he conquered Baltistān.

The work last cited contains some details about their practices; its account is, however, mixed with fables, and without access to the *Fīkh Aḥwaṭ* it is difficult to estimate the justice of the assertion that the system is "an attempt to form a *via media* between Shī'ī and Sunnī doctrines".

Bibliography: references are given above.
(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

NŪRĪ, a common name in the Near East for a member of certain Gipsy tribes. A more correct vocalization would perhaps be *Nawarī* (so Hava, Steingass, etc.), with plural *Nawar*. Minor sky [above, iii. 38] gives *Nawara*. By displacement of accent we also find the plural form as *Nawār* (e.g. in Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes*, p. 90, and British Admiralty's *Handbooks, Syria* [1919], p. 196, *Arabia* [1916], p. 92, 94). In Persia the current name for Gipsy is *Lōrī*, *Lūrī*, or *Lūlī* [q.v.]. It is not unlikely that by a natural phonetic transformation the form *nūrī* derives from *lūrī*, which, it has been suggested, originally denoted an inhabitant of the town of al-Rūr (or Arūr) in Sind. Quatremère advanced the theory (*Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, I./ii., note 5) that the name *nūrī* arose

from the Arabic *nūr* (fire) [he gives the form نور] because these vagrants were usually seen carrying a brazier or a lantern. Even to-day many of the *Nawar* earn their living as itinerant smiths. But it is more probable that the correct etymology is

to be found in some Sanskrit dialect of N. W. India, the original home of the Gipsy tribes.

In the various countries of the Orient in which Gipsy families are located, we find several designations for them used. The older name, now much restricted in use, was *Zuṭṭ* [see *zoṭṭ*] or *Jatt*. The Turkish name Čingana passed into European languages under such forms as Σινάβος, Tzigane, Zingaro, Czigany, Zigeuner, etc. Dozy (*Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, i. 605), quoting Caussin de Perceval, records the occasional use of the name *Zandjiya*, but this is inexact [cf. art. *ZANDJ*]. The commonest names, apart from those already mentioned, seem to be *Nawar* and *Kurbat* or *Ghurbat* (particularly in N. Syria and Persia), *Ghagar* and *Halab* (especially in Egypt and N. Africa) and *Dūman* (in Mesopotamia). For other sub-divisions reference may be made to the bibliography, and particularly to E. Littmann's *Zigeuner-Arabisch*, which is an excellent summary of the whole subject, particularly on the linguistic side.

The collecting of data regarding the Gipsy tribes of the Orient is by no means easy. Even experienced orientalists and travellers have reached different conclusions regarding them. For example Lane (in his *Modern Egyptians*, London 1836, ii. 108) in spite of his profound knowledge of Egypt, asserted that there were few Gipsies in the land, while numbers of well-educated natives to-day, are still unaware of the presence of these tribes in their midst. The statistics of Massignon's *Annuaire musulman* (Paris 1925, p. 115) however, gives the number of Gipsies in Egypt as two per cent of the population, consisting, namely, of two tribes of *Ghagar* and *Nawar* respectively, and four tribes of *Halab*.

The Gipsies as a rule seem, chameleon-like, to take their creed, such as it is, from their surroundings. In Muslim countries these tribes usually profess Islām, in so far as they may be said to profess any religious views, many of them, indeed, being very superstitious and reported to be scoundrels and vagabonds. The same applies to the Muslim Gipsies of what was formerly European Turkey (Admiralty's *Handbook of Turkey in Europe* [1917], p. 62). In the Balkans many of them are Greek-Orthodox.

Persian and Arabic writers preserve for us the tradition that tribes of *Jats* (or *Zuṭṭ*) from the Punjab were conveyed westwards by command of the Sāsānian monarch Bahram Gūr (420—438 A.D.) and their descendants proved a troublesome problem some centuries later for the Caliph of Baghdād. Once more numbers of them were dispersed to the borders of Syria, where many of them were captured by the Byzantines, and thus found their way into the Eastern Roman Empire, thence to continue their migrations to other ends of the East and West. Many of them are even said to have risen to high rank, e.g. al-Sarī b. al-Ḥakam b. Yūsuf al-Zuṭṭī, governor of Egypt (200—205 A.H.), while it has been supposed that the famous Barmecide family at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd were of similar Gipsy origin. The name *Barāmika* is actually the designation in Egypt of a class of public dancers (*Ghawāzī*) of low moral character and conduct who have been regarded as of Gipsy blood. The question, however, is doubtful (see L. Bouvat, *Les Barmecides d'après les historiens arabes et persans*, Paris 1912, p. 110, 125).

The German traveller Seetzen and the American

missionary Eli Smith gathered valuable material in the Near East regarding those nomadic peoples which proved useful to later scholars. They were followed by Capt. Newbold (1856) on the Gypsies of Egypt, Syria and Persia; von Kremer, Austrian Consul at Cairo, on the Egyptian Gypsies (1863); Sykes (1902) dealt with the Persian Gypsies, while an excellent treatise appeared in 1914 from the pen of R. A. S. Macalister on the Language of the Nawar or Zutt, the Nomad Smiths of Palestine. Macalister in this work had the rather difficult task of reducing to writing a language almost completely unknown, and interpreting and analysing the Nūrī stories and folk-elements recounted to him by members of the Nūrī settlement north of the Damascus Gate in Jerusalem. He employed several of these Nawar in the course of his excavations there. A small Syrian Gypsy vocabulary received by Miss G. G. Everest of Bairūt from a friend at Damascus was also published in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Soc.*, Jan. 1890, in an article by F. H. Groome. The philological aspect of the question has received, in recent years, the attention of scholars such as E. Galtier and E. Littmann (see *Bibliography*).

In Egypt the Halab (sing. Ḥalabī) are to be found mostly in Lower Egypt carrying on their special occupations at the various markets and *mawālīd*, as traders in camels, horses and cattle. Their womenfolk are noted seeresses and medicine-women, practicing all the arts of sorcery (*sihr*): sand-divination (*ḡarb al-raml*), shell-divination (*ḡarb al-saḡ'a*), bibliomancy (*fath al-Kitāb*) etc. Their tribal subdivisions are variously given by Galtier (p. 7) and Newbold (p. 291). Their name suggests some connection with Aleppo (Ḥalab), but they themselves proudly claim a South Arabian ancestry their tribal chronicle being the popular broad-sheet production, *Ta'rikh Zir Sālim*.

The Ghagar Gypsy tribe, however, have a rather unsavoury reputation, a fact that is reflected in the modern Egyptian Arabic verb *ghaggar* "to be abusive". Their speech has fewer foreign ingredients and Galtier is of the opinion that they are more recent arrivals in the Nile Valley, probably wanderers from Constantinople. The argot of the Egyptian Gypsies is called *al-Sim*, and in modern colloquial Arabic in Egypt "to speak in enigmas" is *yatakallim bi 'l-Sim*.

The word Nūrī in Egypt is almost synonymous with thief, and their thieving propensities are libellously associated in a popular proverb with the inhabitants of Damanhūr [q. v.] (*alf Nūrī wa-lā Damanhūrī*). According to the age-old policy of setting a thief to catch a thief, the Nawar are often recruited as estate watchmen (*ghuffār*).

Their pursuits and proclivities are varied in the extreme. Besides the myriad occupations of enchanters, amulet-sellers, quack-doctors, snake-eaters and astrologers many of them travel about as hawkers, metal-workers, animal-trainers, professional tumblers, rope-dancers, acrobats, monkey-leaders, musicians and ballad-singers, while some are employed to circumcise Muslim girls, to tattoo lips and chins, and to bore ears and nostrils.

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NUṢAIRĪ, the name of an extreme Shī'a sect in Syria.

I. The etymology of the name is disputed: *a.* contemptuous diminutive from *naṣrānī* "Christian", in allusion to certain ritual similarities (Renan); *b.* corruption of *naserīnī*, Latin name in Pliny for a Syrian tetrarchy of the first century near Edessa (but the name is still found uncorrupted *in situ*: it is the *Djār'at al-Nāṣirān*, which is crossed in going from Tell Kallākh to Homṣ, between the bridge called "Achan Keupru" and the lake of Homṣ; cf. British G. S. map of 1/250,000, *Homs-Beirut sheet*, 1918); *c.* *nisba* from a village near Kūfa, Naṣurāyā (Barhebraeus; cf. de Sacy, *Druzes*, i., p. clxxvii. and Ṭabarī, iii. 2128); *nisba* from an eponym: a fictitious Shī'ī martyr, son of 'Alī (according to the 'Alī-Ilāhis), or a freedman of 'Alī's or vizier of Mu'āwiya (Dussaud, p. 10); or rather Ibn Nuṣair, i.e. Muḥammad b. Nuṣair Namīrī 'Abdī (= of the 'Abd al-Kais, a Bakr clan), whom we shall find below as the first theologian of the sect.

As a matter of fact this name adopted from the time of Khaṣībī (d. 346 A.H.) by these sectarians, previously called *Namīriya* (Nawbakhtī, *Firaḡ*, p. 78; Ash'arī, *Maḡ*, i. 15) and who called themselves *mu'minūn*, has been applied since Sam'ānī (s.v.) and 'Umāra (ed. Derenbourg, p. 145, 286) not to a district only partly converted in the north of Syria, but to an extreme Shī'a sect also found in Egypt and along the Euphrates. This etymology, that of all the Muslim heresiographers, from the

Shi'ī Ibn al-Ghāḍā'irī (d. 411 A.H.) and the Sunni Ibn Ḥazm, has been and is the most probable.

II. The term has three acceptations: administrative, social and religious.

a. Administration: it is the "mountain of the Ansariye" of Syria (formerly Djabal Lukkām), the former *liwā* of Latakia to the east of the Orontes which has been extended to the south and since 1920 has become the state of the Alawīs (6,500 sq. km.; 334,173 inhabitants end of 1933 of whom 213,066 are Nuṣairīs, 61,817 Sunnīs in the north of Ṣahyūn and at Bāniyās, 5,669 Ismā'īlīs at Qadmūs and Maṣyaf, 53,604 Christians, mainly Orthodox at al-Ḥiṣn and to the north of Ṭarṭūs), capital Latakia (22,000): divided into two sandjaks and 8 qazās: Latakia, Ṣahyūn (Haffa), Djabala, Ṭarṭūs, Marḳab (Banias), 'Imrāniya (Tell Kallakh), Ṣāfiṭā, al-Ḥiṣn (Maṣyaf); a country of patient and industrious agriculturalists (tobacco, silkworms). Its place-names studied by M. Hartmann (*Z.D.P.V.*, xiv. [1891], 151—255) for the north (villages, not cantons of which there is a list in [Delattre] *Répertoire alphabétique*, Latakia [Raghā'ib press], Dec. 1933), show an old stratum of names, in part Aramaic and later vocational Arabic without any definite local religious traits except for modern Shi'a influences, beneath which one can hardly see the pagan or Christian culture of the substratum (cf. on the contrary, Lebanon). The study of the district from the point of view of ethnology and folklore has hardly begun; certain prohibitions regarding food have been noted (Niebuhr, *loc. cit.*; Dupont, in *J.A.P.*, 1824, p. 134; *Bākūra*, p. 57), some general (camels, hares, eels and catfish) and others special to the *Ṣamsiya* (female or maimed animals, gazelles, pig, crab, shellfish, pumpkins, *bāmiya*, tomatoes). The only domestic art is basket-making.

b. Socially, the name covers tribes of different origins, almost all speaking Arabic, who have adopted the Nuṣairī teaching:

1. in the state of the Alawīs (213,000): the nucleus seems to be descended from Yemen clans of Hamdān and Kinda (Ya'qūbī, in *B.G.A.*, vii. 324), Ghassān, Bahrā and Tanūkh (Hamdānī, *Ṣīfa*, p. 132) early converted to the Shi'a, from the Tiberiad and the Djabal 'Amīl (where there are still Metwalīs) to Aleppo, increased by immigrants from Taiy (end of the ninth century) and from Ghassān who at the time the Crusaders were being driven back came with their emir Ḥasan b. Makzūn (d. 638 = 1240, ancestor of the Ḥaddādīn), from Mount Sindjār, and imposed on the district their ruling families, their clans and ethnical structure (M. E. Ghālib, *Tawīl*, p. 356). The following is the present day list of the principal clans (*ashkā'ir*) (map in *R.M.M.*, xlix. 6; cf. *ibid.*, xxxvi. 278; and *Tawīl*, p. 349—52) grouped in 4 confederations: Kalbiya (at Qardāha; with Nawāṣira, Karāhila, Djullaiqiya, Rashāwina, Shalāhima, Rasālina, Djurdiya, Bait al-Shilf, Bait Muḥammad and Darāwisa); Khaiyāṭīn (at Marḳab: with Ṣarāmita, Makḥālisa, Faḳāwira, 'Amāmira [mixed with 'Abd al-Kais]); Ḥaddādīn (clan of the emir Ḥasan b. Makzūn: with Mahālība, Banī 'Alī, Yashūṭiya, 'Atāriya, Mashālība); and Matāwira (with Numailiyya, Sawārik of Aleppo, Ṣawārima, Maḥāriza who claim to be Hāshimīs, and Bashā-righa). From the xiii century their political history has been a series of persecutions by invaders (the Crusades; Baibars who covered the country with mosques; legend of Durrat al-Ṣadaf, daughter of

Sa'īd al-Anṣār [tomb at Aleppo] who instigated Timūr to sack Damascus; massacres under Selim I) and civil wars, both among the clans themselves and against the Ismā'īlīs of Qadmūs (lost, and retaken for a brief period in 1808 by the Maḥāriza) and of Maṣyaf, allied with the Turks;

2. in the sandjak of Alexandretta (58,000: at Antioch 1/3), Djuwaidiye, Suwaidiye, 'Aidiye, Djililiye; with two deputies in Parliament;

3. in the State of Syria (29,693): at Ḥamāh and at Ḥomṣ with one deputy; in two quarters of Aleppo; near Djisr, and to the north of lake Hule ('Ain Fit: 3,060);

4. in Palestine (2,000): to the north of Nablus; 5. in Cilicia from the xvth century (at Tarsus and Adana: 80,000 in 1921 now turkicised);

6. along the Euphrates. In Kurdistān and in Persia, there are ultra-Shi'a elements who have similar views and are called Nuṣairīs (among the 'Alī-lāhīs or Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ; q.v.);

7. in Lebanon, there were some down to the xvth century (in Kisrawān).

III. c. Religion: it is the religious teaching of the Nuṣairī sect that we have to study more particularly here.

Cosmogony and eschatology. According to the Nuṣairīs there is immediately below the ineffable divinity a spiritual world of heavenly beings (or stars), which emanates from him in the following hierarchy: *Ism*, *Bāb* and other *Ahl al-Marātīb* (of the first seven classes); it is the "great luminous world" (*'ālam kabīr nūrānī*); when they appear here below it is to lead back gradually to heaven the "little luminous world", fallen beings, half materialized, imprisoned in the bodies which are their tombs; this operation revives them and brings them back to heaven to form the seven last classes of the *Ahl al-Marātīb* (119,000 out of a total of 124,000 = the traditional number of the prophets); next comes the "little world of darkness" (*ḡulmānī*), extinguished lights, souls that damnation materializes (*kuṃṣān al-masūkhīya*) in the bodies of women and animals; and lastly the "great world of darkness" composed of all the "adversaries" (*aḍḍād*) of the great luminous world; demons, who after innumerable metamorphoses in corpses of murdered men or slaughtered animals still quivering after death, are reduced to inert or passive matter (forged metals etc.). Just as the fall takes place through seven stages (doubts about divine appearances), so does the return to the heaven of the elect go through seven cycles or *adwār* of divine emanations.

Theory of revelation. The pure divinity (*ghaib*), the object of adoration, being ineffable his first emanation is the Name (*Ism*), the articulating prophetic voice (*Nāṭiq*), the signification (*Ma'nā*) of divine authority; such was the primitive teaching, that of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, the common teacher of the Ismā'īlīs and the Nuṣairīs. But his disciple Maimūn Qaddāh, thinking that the enunciation by the divinity of an object which manifests him, is of greater importance than its signification which is a mute idea, detached the *Ma'nā* from pure divinity, identified it with the *Ṣamit* (the "silent" imām; opposed to *Nāṭiq*) and placed it as a mere accident, below the substance, the *Ism*. Then, by reaction, other Khaṭṭābiya like Bashshār, Sha'irī, retaining the equation *Ma'nā* = *Ṣamit*, reestablished the *Ma'nā* before the *Ism*. And, as Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb had taught that in the Muḥammadiya cycle, the

signification (*ma'nawīya*) of the ineffable divinity was expressed through five privileged *Asmā'* (Muḥammad, 'Alī, Fāṭim [=the masculine form of Fāṭima, for as we have seen women have no souls; this explains why they may form part of the offering of hospitality among initiates], Ḥasan and Ḥusain, announcing equivalently its mysterious Unity), this group of Five equals, in which we recognise the Five of the *mubāhala* (q.v.; cf. our, *Salmān Pāk*, N^o. 7 of the *Soc. des Etudes Iraniennes*, 1933, p. 40—42) became in the hands of his pupil Maimūn a descending series of five terrestrial terms (symmetrical with the five spiritual terms, and inferior to them, the Druzes say): *Nāṭik* (= *Mīm*), *Asās* (= *Ain*), *Dā'i*, *Ma'dhūm*, *Mukāsir*: whence the *Mīm*, the *Khāridjī* Wardjalānī remarks, has the priority [cf. NUR MUḤAMMAD]. While according to *Bashshār*, the five were equal and became Muḥammad, Fāṭim, Ḥasan, Ḥusain, Muḥ(as)sin; 'Alī being thought to surpass them was identified by hyperdulia and against all logic with the *Ma'nā*. It is this last list that the Nuṣairīs have adopted. And this is the origin of their "god 'Alī" for whom there is no need to seek antecedents in the Syrian pagan pantheon or in a Druze emanation. *Bashshār* and the *Ulyā'iya* (or *'Ainiya*) copied by the Nuṣairīs have simply copied the Ḳarmāṭian list of Maimūn, by inverting the order of priority between *Mīm* and *'Ain*, and making the *Ṣamit* (= *Ma'nā*) the superiors of the *Nāṭik* (= *Ism*). The following is the double list (*Ism* in italics): *a*. in the seven cycles (*adwār*, *qibāb* personified by women among the poets) of the *zuhūrāt dhātīya*: 1. Hābil, *Adam*; 2. Nūh, *Shith* (sic!); 3. Yūsuf, *Ya'qūb*; 4. Yūsha', *Mūsā*; 5. Aṣaf, *Sulaimān*; 6. Shīm'ūn, *'Isā*; 7. 'Alī (= Abū Turāb, Amīr al-Nahl), *Muḥammad*. *Khāṣībī* allows that there were 44 (= 63-19) other *zuhūrāt* (*mithliya*) during these seven cycles; *b*. in the *saṭr al-a'imma* (= the twelve classical imāms substituted for the early list of Ibn Nuṣair [which we shall see later] by *Khāṣībī*) each imām is promoted *ma'nā* after having been the *ism* of his predecessor. The mode of appearance of the two divine emanations localised behind the screen (*taghyīb*, *ihṭidjāb*) of a phantomlike body (*ḥamṣ al-zuhūr*, *ma'din al-ishāra*), is a reality for the faith of the Nuṣairīs; this body is the support of a momentary illumination for the believer; while for the Druze nominalism it is only a mirage (*sarāb*) and for the *Ishākiya*, a real body, transfigured by a gradual sanctification.

Theory of catechesis. Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb had taught that the Five persons of the *Ism* were pointed out to the believers by one or more inspired angelic intermediaries (*asbāb*, *rūḥāniyūn*; of whom the first was Salsal or al-Sīn = Salmān in the Muḥammadiya cycle; cf. our study, p. 36). These initiators became, with his disciple Maimūn, the five spiritual symmetricals of the *Asmā'* (*aḳl* = Salmān; *nafs* = Miḳdād; *djadd* = Abū Dharr; *fath* = ['Uthmān b.] Maẓ'ūn; *khayāl* = ['Ammār] b. Yāsir: corr. thus N^o. 60 of the Druze catechism). While among the Nuṣairīs, these five initiators remained equal and far below the *Ism*, became the five *Aitām* (Miḳdād, Abū Dharr, 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, 'Uthmān b. Maẓ'ūn and Ḳanbar), Salmān being thought to be above them was placed third as *Bāb* after the *Ma'nā* and the *Ism*. Such was the origin of the Nuṣairī triad, *'Ain-Mīm-Sin* (= *Ma'nā-Ism-Bāb*) in which there is no need to see an original pagan Syrian triad of Sun, Moon and Sky; this astrological correspondence, a favourite subject with

Nuṣairī poets, found its way into the *Shī'a* catechism of Kūfa under the influence of the Sabaeans of Ḥarrān; the assimilation, in the spiritual, of the sun to Muḥammad and of the moon to 'Alī (the moon, like the imām, is the regulator of canonical acts; cf. our, *Salmān*, p. 36, N^o. 4) appears at Kūfa with Mughira (d. 119 A.H.). In any case if pagan survivals are at the basis of astral gnosticism, as Dussaud suggests, it is not among the uneducated peasants (*Djabal Lukkām*) but among the town-dwellers in Ḥarrān that they have been able to survive.

The following is a list of the personifications of the *Bāb*: *a*. in the seven cycles (they are really only six, Salmān, the long-lived = Rūzbih): the *maḳāmāt*: 1. Djibrāyil; 2. Yāyil; 3. Ḥām b. Kūsh; 4. Dān b. Aṣhawū; 5. 'Abd Allāh b. Sim'an; 6. Rūzbih. *b*. In the *saṭr al-a'imma* (here are only eleven): the *maṭālīf*: 1. Salmān; 2. Ḳais b. Waraka Riyāḥī (= Safina); 3. Rushaid Hadjarī (d. ca. 58 A.D.); 4. Kankar b. Abī Khālid Kābilī; 5. Yahyā b. Mu'ammār b. Umm al-Ṭawil (d. ca. 83 A.D.); 6. Djābir b. Yazid Dju'fi (d. 128); 7. Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad b. Abī Zainab Miḳlāṣ Asadī Kāhili (d. 138; cf. *Kashī*, p. 191); 8. Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar Dju'fi (d. ca. 170); 9. Muḥammad b. Mufaḍḍal Dju'fi; 10. 'Umar b. al-Furāt (Dju'fi; killed in 203 A.D. by Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdi); 11. Muḥammad b. Nuṣair 'Abdi (*Bāb* ca. 245, d. 270). Beginning with N^o. 7, these individuals have actually played the part of party leaders (Nrs. 9—10 had as rival Muḥammad b. Sinān). A nephew of N^o. 10, grandfather of the vizier Ibn al-Furāt, was the principal supporter of Ibn Nuṣair.

Below the *Bāb* are the Five *Aitām*, whom he associates as lords of the elements (*muwakkalūn bi-maṣāliḥ al-'alam*) with his role of Demiurge engendering souls by initiation. The list of Nuṣairī *aitām* given above should be compared (as well as that of the Druze *ḥudūd* "wise virgins" of Salmān; like the Nuṣairī *aitām* are the *dadjadjāt* of the *Diḳ al-'Arṣh* = Salmān) with the lists of Garmyi (Astarābādī, *Manḥadij*, p. 225) and of the Khattābiya of the Pamirs (*R. E. I.*, 1932, p. 442, transl. Ivanow).

IV. Initiation. This has three degrees (*nadjīb*, *naḳīb*, *imām*); the first consists of a solemn pledge (*'iḳād*, *khiṭāb* with *ṭalāk mu'allak*; cf. SURADJIYA) to reveal nothing of this spiritual marriage (*nikāḥ al-samā'*) in which the word of the initiator fertilizes the soul of the initiate in three seances, the ritual of which is related to that of the other extreme *Shī'a* sects (and of the *futuwwet-nāme*) and through them and the Sabaeans of Ḥarrān to the old mysteries of Central Asia (cf. SHADD; Dussaud, p. 106-119; *Bāk*, p. 2-7, 82). The cup of wine (called *'abd al-nūr*, Cat. N^o. 91), the anticipation of Paradise, is partaken of at it.

The initiatory teaching is essentially an ultra-*Shī'a* symbolism (*ta'wil*) of the seven canonical rites (*da'ā'im*) of Islām which are personified: 1. *ṣalāt*: the five *awḳāt* by Muḥammad (= *zuhr*; same among the *Ishākiya*), Fāṭim, Ḥasan, Ḥusain and Muḥsin (= *fajr*; among the Druzes as among the Khattābiya of the Pamirs by the *nudjabā'*, the *nuḳabā'*, Abū Dharr, Miḳdād, Salmān). Similarly the 17 (then 51) *rak'a*; 2. *ṣawm*: the secret guarded regarding 30 names of men (days) and thirty of women (nights of Ramaḍān); 3. *zakāt*: by Salmān; 4. *ḥajj*: the "sacred land 12 miles around", this is the sect; Bait = the *ism*; the Black

Stone = *Mikdād*; the 7 *ashwāt* = the 7 cycles; 5. *djihad* = the maledictions upon the *addād* (*Bāk.*, p. 44) and the discipline of the mystery; 6. *walāya* = devotion to the 'Alids and hatred of their adversaries; 7. the *shahāda*: referred to the formula '*ain-mim-sin*'. The *Kur'an* is an initiation to devotion to 'Alī; it was Salmān (under the name of *Djibrāyil*) who taught it to Muḥammad.

The annual festivals include: the *Shi'a* lunar festivals: *Fiṭr*, *Adḥā*, *Ghadir*, *Mubāhala*, *Firāsh*, 'Ashūrā, 9th Rabi' I (martyrdom of 'Omar) and 15th *Shahbān* (death of Salmān); then certain solar festivals: *Nawrūz* and *Mihrdjān*, Christmas and Epiphany, 17th *Adḥār*, St. Barbara. Certain liturgies (*ḥuddās*) pertain to these festivals and are wrongly called "masses" (*Ḥuddās al-Ṭib*, *al-Bakhūr*, *al-Ishāra*).

V. History of the Sect. All the initiatory isnaḍs of the sect go back from *Khaṣībī* to Ibn Nušair through two intermediaries, Muḥammad b. *Djunbulā* and Muḥammad al-Djannān al-Djunbulānī. Of Ibn Nušair, a notable of Baṣra, teacher of 'Aiyāshī, we know that in 245 A. H. he proclaimed himself the *bāb* of the tenth *Shi'i* imām 'Alī Naḳī and of his eldest son Muḥammad who died before him in 249, the year of the *ghaiba* of the Mahdi, according to Ibn Nušair (Ibn Bābawaih, *Ghaiba*, p. 62, l. 12, taken from *Nawbakhtī*, *Firaḳ*, p. 77, 83; such was still the belief of the Ḥamdānīd emir Abū Firās, *Diwān*, 1873, p. 39). It is only *Khaṣībī* who says that Ibn Nušair joining the eleventh imām (Nūri, *Nafas*, p. 144) had taken for mahdi his son Muḥammad b. Ḥasan.

Of the two successors of Ibn Nušair we only know that the second, like *Khaṣībī*, belonged to *Djunbulā* between Kūfa and Wāsiṭ, the centre of the Zandj and *Qarmāṭian* rebels (Tabari, iii. 1517, 1925, 2198; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 391), native place of Ibn Waḥshiyya. Ḥusain b. Ḥamdān *Khaṣībī* (vocalisation attested by *Dhahabī*, *Mushtabih*; in Persia and the 'Irāk wrongly now pointed Ḥadīnī) died in 346 (957) or 358 (968) at Aleppo (tomb to the north called *Shaiḫh Bairāk*); he was the real founder of the Nušairis; he lived, like his patrons the Ḥamdānids, between Kūfa (in 344, according to Astarābādī, *loc. cit.*, p. 112) and Aleppo; he dedicated to them his *Hidāya*; cf. his *Risāla Rāstbāshīya* (*Ṭawil*, p. 196 sqq., 240, 257). Among his 51 disciples the best known is Muḥammad b. 'Alī *Djillī* of *Djilliye* near Antioch where the chief of the *Haidaris* still lives. His direct disciple was Sa'īd Maimūn Ṭabarānī (d. 427 = 1035), a prolific polemicist against the chief of the *Ishākiya* of Latakia, Abū Dahība Ismā'il b. *Khallād*. After him mention is made of 'Ismat al-Dawla, Ḥātim Ṭawbānī (c. 700 = 1300; Paris MS. 1450, fol. 112a; *Ṭawil*, p. 315), author of the *Risāla Kubrūsiya*, Ḥasan Adjrūd of 'Ana, died at Latakia in 836 (1432) (*Ṭawil*, p. 317); lastly several heads of parties, the *Qamarī* poet Muḥammad b. Yūnus Kalāzī (1011 = 1602), who lived near Antioch, 'Alī Mākhūsi, Naṣir Naiṣāfi, Yūsuf 'Ubaidī. In this connection we may note that the four alleged Nušairī sects reduce themselves to two; that of the north (*Shamsiyya* because it is *Mimiyya*, *Shamāliyya* = *Haidaris*, from the name of 'Alī Haidarī, its head in the ixth [xvth] century = *Ghaibiyya*) and that of the south (*Kibliyya*, for it is dominant there), which is 'Aniyya, then *Qamarīyya*.

The spiritual organisation is quite distinct from the political among the Nušairis. The four *muḥaddam* mentioned by Niebuhr in 1780 (at Bahlūliye

near Latakia, Simerian-Khwābī, Sāfitā and *Djabal Kalbiye*) were temporal rulers. In 1914, there were two spiritual leaders, the *baghībāshī* (*shamsī*) in Cilicia and the *khādīm ahl al-bait* (*qamarī*) at *Qaradāḥa* (in 1933: Sliman al-Aḥmad of the Numailātiya). From 1920 the *Djāfarī Shi'i* *qādis* of the south have found their way among the Nušairis. In the last ten years a shepherd of the 'Amāmira, Sliman Murshid, has been trying to found a new sect to the north of Maṣyaf.

VI. Bibliography: 1. Nušairī and Muḥammadan sources: there is no canon of the Nušairī initiatory writings, as for the Druzes (cf. de Sacy and Seybold); but Catafago has given a list (*J.A.P.*, 1876) of 40 esoteric works, of which 29 are theological and 11 poetical (specimens translated by Huart, in *J.A.P.*, 1879); we may mention N^o. 20, *Kitāb al-Madīmū* (= 16 liturgical sūras; text in *Bāk.*, p. 7—34 and Dussaud, p. 181—189 with transl.) and N^o. 19, *Kitāb Madīmū al-A'yād* of A. S. M. Ṭabarānī: anal. in *J.A.P.*, 1848 and in *R.M.M.*, xlix. 57—60. This list might be supplemented (apocrypha in Paris MSS. 1449—1450 etc.) for there is a bio-bibliographical collection of the writers of the sect, similar to that of the *Ismā'ili* writers published by Ivanow. Nušairī writers make free use of moderate *Shi'a* works (Mufid is quoted by Ṭabarānī) and have even written some; e.g. the *Hidāya* of *Khaṣībī* which is still read in Persia. Two Nušairī catechisms have been studied: *Ta'lim Diyānat al-Nuṣairiyya*, in 101 questions (Paris MS. 6182; anal. by Wolf, *Z.D.M.G.*, iii. 302—309 where N^o. 88 is lacking), modern, directed against the Christians; and the old formulary by A. Baitār (anal. by Niebuhr, *Reisen*, ii. 440—444). An unimportant disclosure (but not without more or less biased errors) of the Nušairī rites was published in 1863 at Bairūt by a convert to Christianity, Sulaimān of Adana (he was assassinated): the *Bākūra Sulaimāniyya* (119 pp.; part transl. Salisbury, in *J.A.O.S.*, 1868, p. 227—308; cf. *Ṭawil*, p. 386; the first part is taken from an authentic manual used where there is not a lodge of initiation; cf. MS. Taimur, 'Ak., N^o. 564). A popular history, in places containing a good deal of romance but documented (without exact references), was published by Mehmed Emin Ghālib (d. 1932), of the Āl al-Ṭawil of Adana: *Ta'rikh al-'Alawiyyin*, pr. Taraḳkī, Latakia 1343 (1924), 478 pp. Two refutations are well known; a Druze one by Ḥamza (*Risāla dāmigha*, N^o. xvi. of the canon; perhaps refuting N^o. 9 of Catafago's list), and a Sunni by Ibn Taimiyya (*fatwā*, p. 94—102 of the *Madīmū*, Cairo 1323; transl. Guyard, in *J.A.P.*, ser. 6, vol. xviii., 1871, p. 158).

2. Western works: The fundamental work is that of R. Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Nusairis*, Paris 1900, 35 + 213 pp. (cf. Goldziher, in *A.R.W.*, 1901, p. 85—96), the excellent bibliography in which comes down to 1899. There are also important articles by H. Lammens (in *Etudes religieuses*, Paris 1899, p. 461; *R.O.C.*, 1899, p. 572; 1900, p. 99, 303, 423; 1901, p. 33; 1902, p. 442; 1903, p. 149; *J.A.P.*, 1915, p. 139—159; cf. his *Syrie*, 1921, i. 184), a resume of Dussaud by R. Basset (in *Hastings' E.R.E.*, ix. [1917], 417—419), maps, lists and photos, especially by General Nieger, publ. by L. Massignon, in *R.M.M.*, xxxvi. (1920), p. 271—280 and xlix. (1922), p. 1—69; since Dussaud only popular articles have appeared: G. Samné, *La Syrie*, 1921, p. 337—342; J. de la Roche (in "*La Géographie*",

xxxviii. [1922], p. 279, and "Asie française", 1931, p. 166; A. Brun (in "La Géographie", xliii. [1925], p. 153); P. May, *L'Alaouite* (plate, Bairūt, [1931]); Paul Jacquot, *L'Etat des Alaouites* (second ed., 1929, 1931, 264 pp.); Ed. Helsey (articles in "Le Journal", Paris, April 4, 1931 *sqq.*); E. Janot, *Des croisades au mandat*, Lyons 1934. In connection with the present population of Antioch, Weulersse has studied the Nušairi town-dwellers there (*Bull. Inst. fr. Damas*, 1934).

3. In Arabic the only recent studies are: Kurdalī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, vol. vi. (1928), p. 258—268; and Kāmil Ghazṭī, *Nahr al-Dhahab* (Aleppo 1342 A.D., vol. i., p. 204—205); cf. also the Bairūt press (*Ahrār*, Sept. 19, 1930) and that of Damascus (*Aṭṭam*, March 29, 1933). (LOUIS MASSIGNON)

NUŠB, standing stone, especially one which is held sacred. The root is the same as in the Hebrew *maššēba*, Phoenician *nšb* and *mšbt* and South Arabian *nšb*, *mšb*. On the explanation of the Arabic forms the philologists are not agreed. They usually regard *nūšb* as a singular with the plural *anšāb*, but others pronounce it *nūšub* and consider it the plural of *našb* or *nišāb*. In addition to these forms Arabic has also from the same root the substantives *manšab* and *našiba*.

In answer to the much discussed question of the ideas associated with standing stones, Arabia only makes one contribution, in as much as it is evident that the fundamental conception was that of a dwelling place of the deity (*bet-el*). Of several of the old Arab deities we are told that they were rocks or blocks of stone, i. e. that they were incarnate or present in them. Whether this was always so or whether this form of worship developed out of stones placed upon graves (e. g. *Ḥamāsa*, p. 562, l. 8 and the use of *našiba* in the sense of tombstones) where the stones were originally memorials, is a question which cannot be dealt with here. We need only mention that the theory of worship of the dead breaks down if the deity has its abode in a tree, like al-ʿUzzā of Nakhlā in a samura tree (umbrella acacia). Examples of the presence of a deity in a stone are given in the articles *DHU ʿL-SHARĀ*, *AL-LĀT* and *MANĀT*. Other examples are *Dhu ʿl-Khalaṣa*, *al-Fals*, *al-Djalsad*, *Saʿd*. The worship associated with such stones usually consisted in sprinkling them with the blood of sacrifices. Thus Zuhair, 10, 24 speaks of a sacrificial stone, *manšab al-ʿitr*, the top of which was red with blood; a wounded and bleeding man is compared to a red *nūšb* (Ibn Saʿd, iv./1, 162, 4); among forbidden foods, *Sūra* v. 4 includes what is slaughtered 'ala ʿl-nūšb; and al-ʿAṣhā (*Morgenländische Forschungen*, p. 258) warns against worshipping a *dha ʿl-mušubi ʿl-manšūba* (? read *manšūbi*) with sacrifices; cf. also Mutalammis, ed. Vollers, 2, 1. The words of *Sūra* lxx. 43, which say that the resurrected stream out of their graves as if they were running (*yūṣḩūna*) to a *nūšb* (other readings *našb* or *nūšub*) refer to a characteristic feature of the worship. In view of the prominent part played by stones in the worship of the early Arabs, it is natural that Muḥammad should have included *anšāb* among things prohibited to the believers like wine, maisir etc. (*Sūra*, v. 92) for the worship associated with them was one of the principal forms of idolatry.

The smearing of the *anšāb* with blood recalls the well known statement in Herodotos iii. 8 regarding the ancient Arabian ceremony of con-

cluding alliances. There is however an essential difference. In the first place there is no question of any act of worship and further we are told that the participants put their blood on seven stones lying between them, and called upon the two Gods Orotalt and Alilat [q. v.]. The stones were not here conceived to be habitations of the gods but owed their merit to the number seven which was the important thing on taking oaths.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, p. 51; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 101, 141; Baudissin, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lvii. 830; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. 230 *sqq.*

(FR. BUHL)

AL-NÜSHĀDIR, also *nūshādir*, *navushādir*, Sanskrit *navasudara*, Chin. *nao-sha*, sal-ammoniac. The etymology of the word is uncertain; perhaps it comes from the Pahlavi *anōsh-ādar* "immortal fire" as we find the form *anūshādhur* in Syriac.

The oldest references to the occurrence of sal-ammoniac in a natural state are in the reports of Chinese embassies of the vith—vith centuries, which were the subject of very full investigation in connection with a geological problem, the question of volcanoes in Central Asia by H. J. von Klaproth, A. von Humboldt and C. Ritter, in the first third of the xixth century. The reference was to mountains of fire, Pe-Shan on the northern slopes of the Tien-Shan south of Kuldja, Ho-Chou on the south side of the Tien-Shan near Turfan and the sulphur pits of Urumtsi. The mountain Pe-Shan was said to pour forth fire and smoke continually; on one side of it all the stones burn, and are melted and then after flowing some miles solidify again. *Nao-sha* and sulphur were obtained there for medicinal purposes but the stones could only be collected in winter when the cold had cooled the ground. A. von Humboldt and C. Ritter do not accept a reference to the burning of coal by which sal-ammoniac and sulphur are obtained. The statement that the volcanoes of Central Asia produce sal-ammoniac in immense quantities is found in G. Bischof and even G. von Richthofen still held the volcano theory. The botanist and geographer Regel who travelled in these regions about 1879 was the first to dispute the existence of volcanoes. After Nansen, Le Coq and others had been unable to confirm the existence of volcanoes but established the fact that there were large deposits of coal on the surface, the old sources in Central Asia are now generally attributed to the burning of coal.

Almost all the Arab geographers who refer to Central Asia, from al-Masʿūdī, al-Iṣṭakhṛī, Ibn Ḥawḩal, to Yāḩūt and al-Kazwīnī, give fantastic stories about the method by which sal-ammoniac is procured in the Buttam hills east of Samarkand. Here again the details suggest the burning of the earth rather than volcanic exhalations. The Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khushraw however mentions deposits of sal-ammoniac and sulphur at Demāwend and Ibn Ḥawḩal is acquainted with the volcanic sal-ammoniac of Etna; the latter was still exported to Spain in the xiiith century. At an earlier date they had begun to procure sal-ammoniac from the soot of camel dung. This product remained into modern times an important import by the Venetian traders and was only driven from the market by the modern cheap methods of production from gas liquor etc.

The use of sal-ammoniac as a remedy in cases of

inflammation of the throat etc. is already mentioned by Sahl b. Rabbān al-Ṭabarī. Ibn al-Baitār also quotes from other authors all kinds of remarkable uses of it, on which no stress need be laid. Djabir b. Ḥaiyān reckons sal-ammoniac among the poisons, which is true of large doses.

The part played by sal-ammoniac in alchemy is much more important. Djabir b. Ḥaiyān adds it as a fourth to the three πνεύματα of the Greeks, quicksilver, sulphur and sulphide of arsenic (AsS or As₂S₃), and it is used by all Persian-Arab alchemists in countless recipes. The preparation of carbonate of ammonia through distillation of hair, blood and other materials is already fully described in the "Seventy Books" and other works of Djabir. These methods seem to have given the stimulus to the discovery of the Egyptian method of obtaining sal-ammoniac. All these things came with alchemy to Spain and thence into western alchemy.

In the earliest Latin translations sal-ammoniac is still called *nesciador*, *misadir* etc., i. e. transliterations of the Arabic name. The general term *al-ʿUḡāb* is also found in the forms *alocab*, *alocaph* or translated by *aquila*. The identification of this salt with the salt of the oasis of Ammon already mentioned by Herodotus is first found in Syriac authors and lexicographers.

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(J. RUSKA)

NÜSHIRWĀN. [See ANÜSHARWĀN.]

NUṢṬATĀBĪ. [See SİSTĀN.]

AL-NUWĀIRĪ. **SHIHĀB AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. ʿABD AL-WAḤHĀB AL-BAKRĪ AL-KINDĪ AL-ŠHĀFĪʿĪ**, Arab historiographer, born on the 21st Dhu 'l-Ka'da 677 (April 5, 1279) in Upper Egypt (probably in al-Kūs), died on the 21st Ramaḍān 732 (June 17, 1332) in Cairo, author of one of the three best known encyclopædias of the Mamlūk period (the others are by al-Umarī and al-Kāḷashandī). His father before him had been an official (*al-Kātib*) of note (628–699 = 1231–1300); the son filled several offices at the court of Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir (Muḥammad b. Ḳalāʾūn), whose favourite he was. He was for a time *Nāṣir al-Djais̄h* in Tripolis (Syria) and later *Nāṣir al-Diwān* in the Egyptian provinces of al-Dakḡaliya and al-Murtāḡhiya. His monumental work *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* which was dedicated to al-Malik al-Nāṣir was a result of his administrative activities. As he says in the preface, at the beginning of his literary career he was almost exclusively concerned with *kitāba* (i. 2) and only later took up *adab* (i. 3); he wished to sum up in his encyclopædia all the knowledge that was indispensable for a first class *kātib*. The book is divided into five sections called *funūn*, each *fann* has five parts, each *ḡism* has a different number of chapters (*abwāb*) varying from two to fourteen. The first *fann* is devoted to heaven and earth, the second to man, the third to the flora and the fifth to history (full list of con-

tents: vol. i., p. 4–25; also in de Goeje, *Catalogus*², i. 5–14; cf. also Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, ed. Flügel, iv. 397–398, No. 14069). The division is unequal; the last *ḡism* of the fifth *fann*, which is devoted to Muslim history fills almost half the work, which runs to nearly 9,000 printed pages. In addition to the division according to subjects, the book is divided into volumes: the last, the 31st discovered by Aḥmad Zakī Pashā, contains the history of Egypt down to the death of the author in 731. From the dates of the separate parts and volumes it is evident that he devoted no less than twenty years to his book (cf. e. g. de Goeje, *Catalogus*², i. 16 where the year 714 is given; vol. i., p. 416: year 721; vol. v., p. 335: year 722 or Weil, *op. cit.*, xv.: year 725 etc.). In the earlier parts later additions are often found (e. g. vol. i., p. 13, 9–10; 15, 4–5; 20, 6–9). For contemporary history Nuwairī's book is of the first importance; in other parts its value depends on that of his sources. Its extent and mansidedness will only be appreciated when the edition is complete and a study like that of Björkman on al-Kāḷashandī *Ṣubḡ al-Aʿshā* has been undertaken. Al-Nuwairī himself makes no claim to originality; like the majority of Arabic encyclopædists, he expressly says that he follows his predecessors and places the whole responsibility on them (i. 26). Owing to the existence of many manuscripts of separate parts, European scholarship early became acquainted with al-Nuwairī; he is already mentioned by d'Herbelot (1625–1695) in his *Bibliothèque Orientale* (Maestricht 1776, p. 670). In the collections made by Golius and Warner some fine copies came to Leyden (including holographs) (W. M. C. Juynboll, *Zeventiende eeuwse Boefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland*, Utrecht 1931, p. 178; *Catalogus*², i. 5–18, No. 5) and attracted great attention in the xviiith century. One of the first to study him was J. Heyman (d. 1737) whose *Nowairiana* — not too fortunate excerpts and notes — is in manuscript in Leyden (*Catalogus*², i. 18, No. 6; on Heyman see Reiske, *Prodidagmata*, in J. B. Köhler's *Abulfedae Tabula Syriae*, Leipzig 1766, p. 233 and Jan Nat, *De studie van de oostersche Talen in Nederland in de 18e en de 19e eeuw*, Purmerend 1929, p. 25–26). In general in the xviiith and early xixth centuries too much stress was laid on the account of pre-Muḥammadan history in al-Nuwairī (Schultens, *Monumenta*, 1740, *Historia*, 1786; Reiske, *Prodidagmata*, 1766, p. 232–234, *Primae lineae*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 1847; Rasmussen, *Historia praecipuorum arabum regnorum*, Copenhagen 1817, p. 81–124 etc.). Later investigation showed that with the existence of older sources, al-Nuwairī was only of secondary importance (see Mittwoch, *Proelia arabum paganorum*, Berlin 1899, p. 26–30; G. Olinder, *The Kings of Kinda*, Lund 1927, p. 19 etc.). Of considerable importance are the parts which deal with later, especially contemporary, history and historical geography; in the course of the xixth century they were frequently appealed to and excerpts edited or translated by Silvestre de Sacy, de Slane, Deffrémery, v. Hammer, Quatremère, Weil, Tiesenhausen, Amari, etc. One of the latest studies of a section of his work is the two volume *Historia de los musulmanes de España y Africa. Texto árabe y traducción española* de M. Gaspar Remiro (Granada 1917–1919; cf. Angel González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura árabe-española*, Barcelona 1928, p. 162–163). Aḥmad Zakī Pashā

deserves honourable mention for the interest he (died July 5, 1934) has aroused in the study of Nuwairi in modern times. With great industry and perseverance he has collected photographs of all 31 parts of the *Nihāyat al-Arab* frequently from autographs, and these are now deposited in the Royal Library in Cairo. As a result of his efforts, a complete edition was undertaken in 1923 and ten volumes are now available in the handsome and imposing edition of the *Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya*, which affords a sound basis for the general estimation of the value of the book.

Al-Nuwairi was not only an official but also a fine calligrapher: he was able to copy as many as 80 pages a day. He himself made at least four or five copies of his own encyclopædia and sold them at 2,000 dirhems each. He made eight copies of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī at 1,000 dirhems each. He was also famous as a bookbinder.

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1846, p. 358; Ibn Ḥaǧǧar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, see *G. A. L.* and al-Zuruklī, *op. cit.*; al-Makrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, see Quatremère, *op. cit.*; 'Alī al-Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfiḳiyya*, xvii., Cairo 1306, p. 15—16; E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultan-Mamlouks de l'Égypte*, II/ii., Paris 1845, p. 173 and note 23; G. Weil, *Geschichte des Abbassiden chalifats in Aegypten*, i., Stuttgart 1860, xv.; M. Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Ital. transl., i., Turin and Rome 1880, p. lvi.—lvii.; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke*, Göttingen 1882, p. 166—167, No. 399; C. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 139—140, No. 1; A. Zaky, *Mémoire sur les moyens propres à déterminer en Égypte une renaissance des lettres arabes*, Cairo 1910, p. 8—10; Cl. Huart, *Littérature arabe*², Paris 1912, p. 335; Dj. Zaidān, *Ta'rikh Adāb al-Lughā al-arabiyya*, iii., Cairo 1913, p. 225—226; al-Zuruklī, *al-A'lām*, i., Cairo 1927, p. 49; J. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bibliographie arabe*, Cairo (1930), col. 1884—1885. (IGN. KRATSKOWSKY)

NUZHA. [See Mi'ZAF.]

O¹⁾

AL-OBOLLA was in the middle ages a large town in the canal region of the Tigris Delta, east of al-Baṣra. It was situated on the right bank of the Tigris and on the north side of the large canal called Nahr al-Obolla, which was the main waterway from al-Baṣra in a southeastern direction to the Tigris and further to 'Abbādān and the sea. The length of this canal is generally given as four *farsakhs* or two *barīds* (al-Maḳḍisī). Al-Obolla can be identified with 'Απολόγῳ Ἐμπόριον, mentioned in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (*Geogr. Graeci Minores*, i. 285) as lying near the coast. In a story told by al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, iii. 364) there is still a reminiscence of the period before the foundation of al-Baṣra, when al-Obolla was the only seaport in the Tigris estuary. The earlier Arab authors, in discussing the ancient administrative division of lower Babylonia in Sāsānian times and the foundations of towns by the Sāsānian kings, identify al-Obolla with other places, such as Dast-Maisān (Ibn Khurdādhbih, in *B. G. A.*, vi. 7) or Bahman Ardāshīr (Ṭabarī, i. 687), although these provinces must be sought on the opposite bank of the Tigris; Euty chius (in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, iii. 911) likewise makes al-Obolla a foundation of Ardāshīr I (cf. on this question: H. H. Schaefer, in *Isl.*, xiv. 27 sq.). Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 7 quotes an Arabic poem of a contemporary of Muḥammad, where al-Obolla is mentioned. In the story of the conquests the town is reported to have been captured by 'Otba b. Ghazwān in the year 12 (633) and this conqueror described it to the caliph 'Omar as the "port of al-Baḥrain, 'Omān, al-Hind and al-Ṣīn" (al-Balādhurī, p. 341). This conquest enabled the Arabs to seize the opposite bank of the river (Dast-Maisān) and the so-called Euphrates

country. After the rise of al-Baṣra, al-Obolla became of secondary importance, but throughout the 'Abbāsīd caliphate it remained a large town. It was further from the sea than it had been, but still the effects of the tide were perceptible even above al-Obolla. All the great geographical authors of the xth—xiith century give a longer or shorter notice of this place. Its environs are described in very laudatory terms (cf. Yāḳūt, i. 97); the borders of the Nahr al-Obolla were one large garden (Ibn Ḥawḳal, in *B. G. A.*, ii. 160). The part of the Tigris opposite al-Obolla was important for navigation; in earlier 'Abbāsīd times there had been here a dangerous whirlpool, which had been eliminated by sinking a large quantity of stone in the water at the expense of an 'Abbāsīd princess. Here was erected a beacon light which is described by al-Idrīsī (ed. Jaubert, i. 364). Al-Obolla was in this period even larger than al-Baṣra, according to Maḳḍisī (in *B. G. A.*, iii. 118), and the place was noted for linen goods and also, as appears from al-Ya'qūbī (in *B. G. A.*, vii. 360), for its shipbuilding. Naṣīr-i Khusrāw, who visited the place in 443 (1051), gives likewise a vivid description of its beautiful surroundings (Berlin 1341, p. 133). On the other hand, al-Obolla does not seem to have been an important strategical point; occasionally it was occupied, as in 331 (942) by the governor of 'Omān in his action against the Barīdī brothers in Baṣra (cf. Miskawaih, ed. Amedroz, ii. 46), but as the events showed it was far from being an important bulwark of that city. After the xiiith century the general decline of those regions seems to have brought about the gradual disappearance of the place; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 17 sq.) calls it only a village and the *Nushat al-Ḳulūb*

1) See also U.

(p. 38) knows only the Nahr al-Obolla, but does not mention the place itself. About this time it must have disappeared; later mentions (as late as the *Djihan-Gushā* of Hādjdjī Khalifa, p. 453) reproduce only obsolete geographical traditions.

Bibliography: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x. 52, 177, 180; xi. 1025; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 44 sqq.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

OCHIALY, Turkish corsair and admiral in the xvth century. He was born in a village of Calabria called Licastelli, about 1500, as, at the time of his death in 1587, he is said to have been over ninety years old. Ochialy is the name by which he is known in Italian sources of the time; the Turkish sources call him Uludj 'Alī, which name probably was given to him in Northern Africa. It may be the Arabic plural *'ulūdī* (from *'ilādī*), denoting his foreign descent (Hammer, *G.O.R.* 2, ii. 481, 751 gives conflicting statements). After being a captured galley slave, he became a Muḥammadan and entered on a long maritime career in the Mediterranean. According to the *Sidjill-i 'othmānī* (iii. 502), he became Tersāne Kapudānī in 961 (1554). He owed his rise to his connection with the famous admiral Törghud Re'īs, whose lieutenant he was. With Törghud he was at Djerba during Charles V's expedition against this island, and in 1565 both took part in the abortive expedition against Malta, where Törghud was killed. Then, until 1568, he was the latter's successor as viceroy of Tripolis, after which he was appointed in the same capacity to Algiers, as successor of Şāliḥ Pasha. During this time he extended the Algerian territory towards the west and, in 1567, he temporarily took Tunis from the last Ḥafṣid sultān and his Spanish protectors. Cervantes mentions him as king of Algiers in chapter xxxix. of his *Don Quixote*. In the following year Uludj 'Alī took part in maritime expeditions against the Venetians and the Maltese. His chief exploit is connected with the battle of Lepanto [q. v.], in September 1571, where he commanded the left wing of the Ottoman fleet. His success in bringing a part of the fleet safely to Constantinople after the defeat procured him the dignity of Kapudān Pasha, the former grand admiral Mu'eddhin-Zāde 'Alī having perished at Lepanto. On this occasion the name Uludj 'Alī is said to have been changed into Kılıdī 'Alī. He remained in this office until his death and commanded a series of predatory expeditions in the Mediterranean, participating i. a. in the reconquest of Tunis and La Goulette in 1574, along with the *ser'asker* Sinān Pasha [q. v.]. The inner political changes did not affect his favour with government circles. His last official activity was to bring the new Khān of the Crimea to Kaffa to install him in place of the deposed Khān. Ochialy displayed considerable activity in ship-building, especially after the débâcle of Lepanto; in addition he was the builder of the Topkhāne Djāmi'ī at Galata, and of a *ḥammām* in the sultān's palace. When he died unexpectedly in his own mosque (15th Radjab 995 = June 21, 1587) he left an enormous fortune, which fell to the state.

Bibliography: The chief Turkish historical sources are the *Ta'riḫ* of Selanikī, and the *Tuḥfat al-Kibār* by Hādjdjī Khalifa. A contemporary western source is: Pierre de Bourdeille de Brantôme, *Vies des hommes illustres et grands*

capitaines étrangers, 1594. — Further the historical works of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga, and E. Hamilton Currey, *Sea-wolves of the Mediterranean*, London 1910, p. 344 sqq.; Ḥafīz Ḥusain al-Aiwānserāyī, *Ḥadīqat al-Djāwāmi'*, ii. 59. (J. H. KRAMERS)

OCCSONOBA, the old name of the circle (*kūra*) in al-Andalus corresponding to the present Portuguese province of Algarve of which Silves [q. v.; Ar. *Shilb*] was the capital. The geographers and historians transliterate this place name in the forms Ukhūnuba and Ukhshūnuba; we also find the wrong forms Ushkūniya and Ushkūnya, the result of graphic errors. The name Osconoba seems also sometimes to be applied to a town which would be the old Santa Maria de Algarve [q. v.] now Faro. On the authority of an epigraphical reference it has however been identified with Milreu (Estoy) by Hübner (*CIL*, ii. 3—4, 781—785).

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OFEN. [See BUDAPEST.]

OGHUL, a word common to all the Turkish languages, meaning "son", "child", "descendant". In this connection attention may be called to certain formations, such as *odjak oghlu*, "son of good house", *kul oghlu*, which used to be applied to the sons of the Janissaries. *Oghul* is very frequently found in family names where it takes the place of the Persian *zāde* or the Arabic *ibn*, e. g. Ḥekim-oghlu or Ḥekim-zāde for Ibn al-Ḥekim or Ramaḍān-oghul for Ramaḍān-zāde or Ibn Ramaḍān (where it should be remembered that the Arabic *ibn* does not mean exclusively "son" but "descendant"). An incomplete survey of such formations in an early period is to be found in *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 778—812. — The new law on family names will give rise to numerous forms where *oghul* is combined with names and crafts.

Cognate is *oghlan*, "boy", "young man", "servant", a word also found in certain compounds, e. g. *iç oghlan*, "sultān's page" *dil oghlan*, "language-boy", "interpreter". From *oghlan* we also get *uhlan*, the name for light cavalry.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

OHOD, a mountain about three miles north of Medīna, celebrated for the battle fought there in the year 3 which ended unfavourably for Muḥammad. It is a part of the great range of hills which runs from north to south but here spreads to the east over the plain and thus forms an independent group of hills. The rocky walls surmounted by a rectangular plateau — without peaks, Yāqūt says — "which rise like masses of iron" (Burton) above the plain are quite destitute of trees and plants and only the face of the south wall is broken by a ravine which played a decisive part of the battle. The country round is stony and covered with gravel but farther south there are a few cornfields and gardens watered by a brook, but these are sometimes flooded by sudden rainstorms so that the pilgrims coming from the town cannot reach the hill. The Meccans who had

set out to avenge the defeat at Badr were encamped at the already mentioned cornfields at al-ʿIrd or al-Djurf, which were then full of ripe corn and supplied food for their animals. Muḥammad who against his will and against the advice of the elders was forced to leave the town and meet the enemy in the open field, went unhindered past the enemy camp and drew up his troops at the foot of the hill with their backs to it: a strategy no less peculiar than that of the enemy. At first it looked as if the enthusiasm of his followers would secure him a victory like that of Badr. But when the archers, whom the Prophet had placed upon the hill with distinct orders to prevent a flank attack by the enemy and not to leave their positions, were unable to restrain themselves when they saw the Meccan camp being pillaged and hurried up to see what they could get, Khālīd b. al-Walīd's quick eye at once saw the weak spot and when he attacked it, the tables were quickly turned. When the rumour spread that Muḥammad had fallen, the Muslims began to give way, and finally the flight became general. In reality the Prophet was only wounded, and some of his followers succeeded in concealing him in the ravine. Fortunately the Meccans, little experienced in warfare, did not know how to follow up their victory and began to go home. The Prophet was in this way saved from the worst but he had to lament the loss of many of his followers, including his uncle Ḥamza [q. v.], a loss which he felt particularly. It is not easy to get a clear idea of the treatment of the fallen as the traditions differ very much. It is said that the Medinese at first brought their dead to Medina but the Prophet soon forbade this; some mention a common grave in which those who knew the Qurʾān were put in the first row; but according to others the martyrs were buried singly or in twos and threes and some authorities say that the alleged common graves of the martyrs of Ohod are really those of beduins who died of hunger in the reign of ʿOmar (Wākīdī, transl. Wellhausen, p. 143). All accounts however agree in their tendency to glorify Ḥamza. The Prophet is said to have uttered the *takbīr* over him first; the bodies of the other dead are said to have been placed beside him one by one and Muḥammad prayed over him 70 times, as he included him in the prayer with each new corpse. Every year afterwards the Prophet went to Ohod, to visit his and the other graves and the early caliphs did so also. Muḥammad is said to have ordered that the women in lamenting the death of every Anṣārī should begin with a lament for Ḥamza. In this way Ohod became one of the most prominent places of pilgrimage of the Muḥammadans. A mosque was built over Ḥamza's tomb and it is mentioned by Muḥaddasī; it lay behind a well near the graves of the other martyrs. We have a brief description by Ibn Džubair in the viith (xiith) century. He mentions first of all Ḥamza's mosque on the south side of the hill 3 miles north of Medina; a mosque is built at his grave with the grave in an open space to the north of it. Opposite lay the other graves of martyrs and opposite them again was the cave where the Prophet took shelter on the lower part of the hill. Around the graves of the martyrs is a low wall of red earth ascribed to Ḥamza at which the people seek a blessing. The best modern

description is that of Burckhardt who visited the place in 1814 after its devastation by the Wahhābīs. From his description we may quote the following: "About one mile from the town stands a ruined edifice of stones and bricks, where a short prayer is recited in remembrance of Muḥammad having here put on his coat of mail, when he went to engage the enemy. Farther on is a large stone, upon which it is said that Muḥammad leaned for a few minutes on his way to Ohod.... To the east of this torrent, the ground leading towards the mountain is barren, stony, with a mound, on the slope of which stands a mosque, surrounded by about a dozen ruined houses, once the pleasure villas of wealthy towns-people; near them is a cistern, filled by rain water. The mosque is a square solid edifice of small dimensions. Its dome was thrown down by the Wahhābīs but they spared the tomb. The mosque encloses the tomb of Ḥamza and those of his principal men who were slain in the battle; namely, Muṣʿab b. ʿUmair, Djaʿfar b. Shammās (not mentioned in the traditions) and ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaḥsh. The tombs are in a small open yard, and, like those of the Baḳīʿ, are mere heaps of earth, with a few loose stones placed around them. Beside them is a small portico, which serves as a mosque. A little further on, towards the mountain, which is only a gunshot distance, a small cupola marks the place where Muḥammad was struck in battle by a stone.... At a short distance from this cupola, which like all the rest has been demolished, are the tombs of twelve other partisans of the Prophet, who were killed in the battle.... The people of Medina frequently visit Ohod, pitching their tents in the ruined houses, where they remain a few days, especially convalescents, who during their illness had made a vow to slaughter a sheep in honour of Ḥamza if they recovered. Once a year (in July, I believe), the inhabitants flock thither in crowds, and remain for three days, as if they were the feast days of the saint. Regular markets are then kept there: and this visit forms one of the principal public amusements of the town". In modern times Wavell records that the opening of the railway to Medina in 1906 produced a disturbance among the beduins which resulted among other things in the Banū ʿAlī, whose duty it was to protect the pilgrims visiting the tomb of Ḥamza, while putting no obstacles in their way, declining to take any responsibility. The Wahhābīs who now rule in northern Arabia permit pilgrimage but as at all the holy places forbid actual worship.

Bibliography: Iṣṭakhrī, in *BGA*, i. 18; Muḥaddasī, *ibid.*, iii. 82; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 77; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 557 sqq.; Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1390 sqq.; Wākīdī, transl. Wellhausen, p. 101 sqq.; Ibn Saʿd, ed. Sachau, ii/i. 25 sqq.; iii/i. 4 sqq.; Burckhardt, *Reisen in Arabien*, p. 553 sqq.; Burton, *A Pilgrimage to Mekkah* (Memorial Edition 1893), i. 423 sqq.; Wavell, *A Modern Pilgrim*, 1908, p. 62 sq.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, i. 540—566. (FR. BUHL)

'OKAILIDS, a dynasty of al-Mawṣil. The Banū ʿOkail belonged to the great Beduin tribe of ʿAmir b. Ṣaʿsaʿa. From their original home in Central Arabia they spread in course of time in different directions and among their better known subdivisions were the Banū Khafāja [q. v.] and the Muntafik [q. v.]. In the fourth century of the

Hidjra the Banū ‘Oḳail in Syria and Irāk were tributary to the Ḥamdānids and when the latter were no longer able to maintain themselves in al-Mawṣil the city passed to the ‘Oḳailids. The Kurd chief Bādḥ, the founder of the dynasty of the Marwānids [q. v.], endeavoured to bring al-Mawṣil under his rule whereupon the two Ḥamdānid brothers Abū Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm and Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusain appealed for help to the emir of the Banū ‘Oḳail, Abū ‘l-Dḥawwād Muḥammad b. al-Musaiyib. The latter at once announced his readiness to assist them and was given as a reward Djazīrat b. ‘Omar, Naṣībīn and the town of Balad. After the death of Bādḥ in battle (380 = 990–991) his sister’s son Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan continued the war with success. Abū ‘Abd Allāh was taken prisoner and when Abū Ṭāhir went to Naṣībīn to seek the protection of Abū ‘l-Dḥawwād, the latter took him, his son and several of his retainers prisoners, put them to death and then occupied al-Mawṣil. He then submitted nominally to the Būyid Bahā’ al-Dawla [q. v.] and persuaded him to send a representative to al-Mawṣil. But the latter did not play a part of any importance. Bahā’ al-Dawla’s efforts to make his influence felt in al-Mawṣil did not have the success he desired. Abū ‘l-Dḥawwād remained the real ruler. He died in 386 or 387 (996–997) and was succeeded by his brother al-Muḳallad [q. v.]. The latter was assassinated in Ṣafar 391 (Dec. 1000–Jan. 1001) and his eldest son Karwāsh [q. v.] was recognised as emir of al-Mawṣil. After holding office for fifty years, he was deposed by his brother Abū Kāmil Baraka [cf. KARWĀSH] in 442 (1050–1051) and on the latter’s death in the next year 443 (1051–1052) the rule passed to his nephew Kuraish b. Badrān [q. v.]. The latter was succeeded in 453 (1061) by his son Muslim [q. v.] under whom the territory of the ‘Oḳailids attained its greatest extent; their power then declined rapidly. On Muslim’s death (478 = 1085) his brother Ibrāhīm who had been languishing in prison for years was set free and proclaimed emir of al-Mawṣil. In 482 (1089–1090) however, the Saldjūk sultān Malikshāh invited him to come and give an account of his stewardship, and as soon as he appeared he was thrown into prison and Fakhr al-Dawla b. Djāhir [q. v.] sent as governor to al-Mawṣil. Only after Malikshāh’s death (Shawwāl 485 = November 1092) was Ibrāhīm set free and returned to al-Mawṣil. In the meanwhile Muslim’s widow Ṣafiya who was also the aunt of Malikshāh, had married Ibrāhīm, and on the death of Malikshāh she went with ‘Alī, her son by Muslim, to al-Mawṣil. But as Muḥammad, another son of Muslim’s, also coveted the city, its inhabitants split up into two parties and when it came to fighting, Muḥammad had to take to flight, while ‘Alī occupied al-Mawṣil. As soon as Ibrāhīm heard of this he began negotiations with Ṣafiya and received from her the town of Balad which Malikshāh had given her as a fief. The Saldjūk prince Tutuṣh [q. v.] then demanded that Ibrāhīm should recognise him as sultān and when the latter refused, the decision was left to arms. In Rabi’ I 486 (April 1093) the two armies met near al-Mawṣil; Ibrāhīm was taken prisoner and put to death and Tutuṣh occupied al-Mawṣil where he installed ‘Alī b. Muslim as governor. It was however not long before his brother Muḥammad b. Muslim endeavoured to dispute his power. He asked the emir Kurbuḳa

[q. v.] to help him against his brother and the result was that he lost his life while ‘Alī had to give up al-Mawṣil (Dhu ‘l-Ḳa‘da 489 = Oct.—Nov. 1096).

In addition to the emirs of al-Mawṣil, several ‘Oḳailid dignitaries are mentioned in history. In 479 (1086–1087) Salim b. Mālik b. Badrān b. al-Muḳallad surrendered Ḥalab to sultān Malikshāh and received in return the fortress of Dja‘bar [q. v.] to which al-Raḳka was soon added and these remained almost without interruption in the possession of his descendants until 564 (1168–1169) when his grandson Mālik b. ‘Alī b. Salim ceded them to Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī.

Another branch was established in Takrīt [q. v.]. According to Ibn al-Athīr, x. 289, where a short sketch of the history of this town is given down to the year 500 (1106–1107), the ‘Oḳailid Rāfi b. al-Ḥusain died in 427 (1036) as lord of Takrīt. His nephew Abū Man’a Khāmīs b. al-Taghlib then inherited his governorship. After the latter’s death in 435 (1043–1044) he was succeeded by his son Abū Ghāshshām. The latter was suddenly attacked in 444 (1052–1053) by his brother ‘Isā and thrown into prison and ‘Isā seized the power. In 448 (1056–1057) ‘Isā died and soon afterwards his son Naṣr died also. ‘Isā’s widow Amīra then had Abū Ghāshshām, who was still in prison, murdered and installed a governor named Abū ‘l-Ghanā‘im in Takrīt but he handed the town over to the Saldjūk sultān Tuḡhrīl beg.

‘Oḳailid governors are also occasionally found in other towns, like ‘Ana, Ḥaditha, Hit and ‘Ukbarā. After the extinction of the dynasty in Mesopotamia and the ‘Irāk the ‘Oḳailids withdrew to Bahrain.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vii.—x., *passim*; Abū ‘l-Fidā, ed. Reiske, ii. 573, 593, 605; iii. 135 *sqq.*; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-‘Ibār*, iv. 91 *sqq.*; Hilāl al-Ṣābi, *Kitāb al-Wuzarā*, ed. Amedroz, p. 417–419, 445–453, 469–472; Amedroz and Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the ‘Abbasid Caliphate*, see index; Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, p. 116–117; de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, p. 135; Khalil Edhem, *Düvel-i islamiye*, p. 159 *sq.*; Tiesenhausen, *Die Geschichte der ‘Oqailiden-Dynastie*, in *Mémoires présentés à l’Acad. Impér. des sciences de St.-Petersbourg par divers savants*, vol. viii. (1859); Kay, *Notes on the History of the Banu ‘Oḳayl*, in *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., xviii. (1886), 491–526.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

‘OḲĀZ, name of an oasis situated between Ṭā’if and Nakhla. The Arab philologists derive the name from the root meaning ‘to retain’, in the middle forms ‘to assemble’ or from the meaning of ‘concourse’. Both interpretations are based on the fact that ‘Oḳāz was primarily celebrated for its annual fair, which was held on the 1st–20th Dhu‘l-Ḳa‘da and was at the same time an official occasion of *mufākhara*, i.e. a gathering of tribes or rather of groups and individuals belonging to the same tribe where individuals competed for honours and for the honour of their tribe.

These assemblies to which poets came to recite their poems, were also great fairs, at which merchandise was exchanged. That of ‘Oḳāz was followed by those of Madianna (last ten days of Dhu ‘l-Ḳa‘da), of Dhu‘l-Madīz (1st–8th Dhu‘l-Hijja)

and those which accompanied the great pilgrimage. These weeks formed the climax of public life in pre-Islāmic Arabia — the truce of the sacred months making discussion of the political affairs of the tribes of the Ḥidjāz possible. The Tamīm took no part in them. Islām by condemning hereditary and individual feuds was the cause of the decline of the *mawāsim* [cf. MAWSIM].

Muḥammad was on his way to the fair of 'Okāz with a few of his companions when at Nakhla(a) the *djinn* heard the Qur'ān being recited and were struck with admiration as we are told in the Qur'ān (sūra lxxii. 1 *sqq.*; xlvi. 28 *sqq.*) and *ḥadīth* (Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 105; *Tafsīr*, sūra lxxii., bāb 1; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 149; Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, sūra lxxii., trad. 1).

'Okāz is also noted for the fighting which took place there at the beginning of Islām.

Bibliography: Yākūt, *Mu'jam*, s. v.; *Lisān al-'Arab*, s. v.; *Taḍj al-'Arūs*, s. v.; Azraqī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 129; Bukhārī, *Ḥadīdj*, bāb 150; *Tafsīr*, sūra 2, bāb 34; Freytag, *Einkleitung in das Studium der arabischen Sprache*, Bonn 1861, p. 273; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het mekkaansche feest*, p. 19 (*Verspr. Geschriften*, i. 15—16); Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*, second ed., Berlin 1897, p. 88 *sqq.*; G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, p. 147—148; I. Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques du kitāb al-aḡānī*, index IV, s. v.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

'OĖBA B. NĀFI' B. 'ABD KAIS AL-KURASHI AL-FIHRI, the famous general of the first century A.H. who endeavoured by consolidating the first successes of the Arab conquest in North Africa to put an end to the resistance of the Berbers but finally perished after a troubled career at the hands of African rebels.

The data supplied by the historians regarding the career of 'OĖba are relatively abundant but like all that relates to the beginnings of the expansion of Islām in North Africa have frequently to be taken with caution. They come from later traditions, and W. Marçais has clearly demonstrated the particular bias which they represent (*Le passé de l'Algérie musulmane*, in *Histoire et Historiens de l'Algérie*, Paris 1931, p. 150). It is certain as regards 'OĖba that the essentials of what the Maghribī historians have preserved about him are of eastern origin and in addition the most circumstantial accounts of his career that we possess are from the pens of eastern authors: Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam and al-Nuwairī. The only authority for the African tradition regarding 'OĖba so far known is his descendant Abu 'l-Muhādjir. The information, at once detailed and new, found in a Maghribī MS. (cf. *Bibliography*) about 'OĖba's raid into the south of Morocco seems fairly reliable up to a certain point from the very fact of its precision. Use of it after a critical study seems likely to throw doubt upon the statements hitherto regarded as reliable regarding the progress and chronology of the Arab conquest of Northwest Africa, such as are given in studies, already antiquated like Fournel (*Les Berbers, Etude sur la conquête de l'Afrique par les Arabes*, Paris 1875), or more recent and more distinguished works but also based on unchecked translations like that of E. F. Gautier (*Les siècles obscurs du Maghreb*, Paris 1927).

This is why in the present state of our knowledge we shall here confine ourselves to tracing a sketch

of 'OĖba b. Nāfi's activities in North Africa which need not be considered final on all points.

'OĖba was born in the last years of the Prophet's life and was through his mother the nephew of 'Amr b. al-'Ās [q. v.], the celebrated conqueror of Egypt, who shortly before his death in 43 (663) gave him the supreme command in Ifrikiya. According to a story, difficult to verify, 'OĖba at that time was directing his attention to the Sūdān and establishing Islām by force of arms at Ghadāmes. But this was only a raid and not a regular occupation of the country. It was not till some years later that we find him preparing for a new expedition, no doubt better equipped than the others. This was the expedition of 50 (670) in which he founded the military stronghold of al-Ḳairawān [q. v.] in the middle of the province of Byzacene. For this expedition 'OĖba had at his disposal a force of 10,000 horsemen which was gradually increased by the accession of Berbers converted to Islām; with the help of this force he was able not only to attack the Byzantines who continued to hold out in the towns of the coast of Ifrikiya but also the Berbers. The foundation of Ḳairawān, forming a strong base for the Arab troops, seems to have very much facilitated if not the occupation and pacification of Ifrikiya, at least its conversion to the religion of and obedience to the authority of the invaders. But it was not 'OĖba who gathered the fruits of this spread of Islām. Ifrikiya remained a dependency of the province of Egypt; the new governor Maslama b. Makhlad al-Anṣārī dismissed 'OĖba in 53 (675) and replaced him by one of his own clients, Abu 'l-Muhādjir, who very soon undertook a raid on Algiers, and according to Ibn Khaldūn got as far as Tlemcen [q. v.]. On his return to the east, 'OĖba is reputed to have complained to the caliph Mu'āwiya of the way in which he had been treated by the governor of Egypt and a little later Mu'āwiya's successor restored him his governorship.

This second appointment of 'OĖba to Ifrikiya may be put with certainty in 62 (682). His enemy, the governor Abu 'l-Muhādjir, had in the course of his raid defeated the Berber chief Kusaila [q. v.] who became a Muslim and it was on these two that 'OĖba wreaked his vengeance in his turn. He put them into chains and carried them with him wherever he went. At the same time he prepared an expedition on a larger scale than the previous one the stages of which can be traced from the narrative of Ibn Khaldūn. 'OĖba's army, preceded by an advance guard under Zuhair b. Kais al-Balawī, advanced from Ḳairawān into the Central Maghrib, at first encountering in the Zāb and again in Tāhart Berber and Byzantine elements which he defeated and received tribute from. He finally reached the region of Tangier. The chief of the Ghumāra, Ilyān (Julian?), submitted to the Arab leader and became his military adviser. He dissuaded him from crossing the Straits of Gibraltar and undertaking the conquest of Spain and pointed out the danger threatening the Arab troops from the great body of still unconverted Berbers in the Great Atlas and Sūs [q. v.]; 'OĖba therefore turned his attention to the Berbers. First of all he occupied the massif of the Zarhūn, took the town of Ūlilī (Volubilis), crossed the Middle Atlas and advanced through the Dra (Dar'a) and Sūs, the inhabitants of which he pursued up to the desert of the Lamtūna. He

then turned to the Atlantic coast, reached the land of Safi and began to subject the Berber bloc of the Maṣmūda of the Djebel Daran (Great Atlas) then that of the Anti-Atlas as far as Tārūdānt [q.v.].

But however brilliant they seemed these successes led nowhere. An advance no matter how brilliant through a country meant nothing if it was not followed by an occupation which ‘Oḳba was not able to secure. But when he and his army turned homewards, he does not seem to have realised that all would have to be done again. Kusaila escaped from him and organised resistance, making use alike of the fondness for fighting of his Berber compatriots and the discipline and technical skill of the Byzantine garrisons in the country. ‘Oḳba trusting to his good fortune did not see the danger. Reaching the Zāb, at Thubunae (Ṭubna) he went so far as to divide his army into several contingents which he sent off in succession on the road to Ḳairawān. Trusting the Berbers, who had submitted to him, he had only a small body of Arabs with him when he set out from Ṭubna for the Awrās [q.v.]. But he was soon surrounded by Kusaila's bands on the borders of the Sahara at Tahūda and fell with 300 of his companions in 63 (683). His grave and that of his companions is still pointed out at the same place and forms the centre of a little village which bears his name: Saiyidi ‘Uḳba (vulg. Sidi ‘Oḳba), a few miles S.E. of Biskra, not far from the old site of Tahūda.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-‘OLAIMĪ, ABU ‘L-YUMN ‘ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. MUḤAMMAD MUḌJĪR AL-DĪN AL-‘OMARĪ AL-ḤANBALĪ AL-MAḲDISĪ, an Arab historian, born on the 13th Dhū ‘l-Ḳa‘da 860 (Oct. 13, 1456) in Jerusalem, studied from 880 (1476) in Cairo, became in 889 (1484) ḳāḍī in Ramla and in 891 (1486) chief ḳāḍī in Jerusalem. He retired in 922 (1516) and died in 928 (1522) in Jerusalem.

His best known work is a history of Jerusalem and Hebron, which he began on the 25th Dhū ‘l-Hijja 900 (Sept. 17, 1494) and finished on the 17th Ramaḍān 901 (May 31, 1495), entitled *al-Ins* (= *Anis*, which is sometimes found in the MSS. in place of it and is sometimes corrupted to *Uns*) *al-djālī bi-Ta’riḫ al-Ḳuds wa ‘l-Khalīl*. For the earlier period he takes almost everything out of *Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maḳdisī*'s (d. 765 = 1364) *Muthir al-Gharām ilā Ziyārat al-Ḳuds wa ‘l-Sha‘m* (cf. C. König, *Der Kitāb Muthir* etc., Leipzig Diss. 1896, p. 20) and supplements it mainly with biographical data. The work which exists in numerous MSS. (see *Cat. Cod. Ar. Lugd. Bat.*, 2nd ed., N^o. 957; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 43, and also Paris N^o. 4922, 5759—60, 5999, 6303; Aya Sofia, N^o. 2976; Ḳilič ‘Alī Pasha, N^o. 729; Bankipore, xv. 1084—1085, etc.) was first made known in Europe through extracts in the *Journal des Étrangers*, 1754, April, p. 2—45, and then through Hammer's *Fundgruben*, ii.—v. From the printed edition, Cairo 1283, H. Sauvaire translated *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron depuis Adam jusqu'à la fin du XV^{ème} siècle*, *Fragments de la chronique de Moudjiraddyn*, Paris 1876. At the end of his work the author announces his intention of continuing it when able to do so. This continuation is found in Leyden N^o. 953 down to 914 and in Oxford (see *Cat.*, i. 853, 2) and in the Ḳhālidiya in Jerusalem (see A. L. Mayer, in *Journ. Pal. Or. Soc.*, xi. 1—13). Probably before he wrote his great work, he had written a general history with special reference to Jerusalem and continued it down to the year 896 (1491); this survives in a MS. in the British Museum, Suppl. N^o. 488 without title and is perhaps identical with the *al-Ta’riḫ al-muṭabar fī Anbā’ man ‘abar* mentioned by Ḥāḍjdi Ḳhalifa, ii. 150; v. 619. To the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila* of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Radjab (d. 795 = 1393) he wrote a continuation *al-Manḥadj al-aḥmad fī Tarāḍjim Aṣḥāb al-Imām*, MSS. Berlin N^o. 10043, Laleli N^o. 2083 (see Spies, *Beiträge*, 15), in the possession of J. E. Sarkis (*Cat.* 1928, p. 48, 15; photo in Cairo, *Fihris*², v. 372). Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Sharif al-Ghazzī (d. 1214 = 1799—1800) wrote a continuation of this down to the year 1207 (1792—1793) and on this and the original work Muḥammad Djamīl b. ‘Omar al-Shaṭṭī al-Baghḍādī in 1325 (1907) based his *Mukhtaṣar Ṭabaḳāt al-Hanābila*, Damascus 1339 (see *R.A.A.D.*, i. 160). Whether the al-‘Olaimi who is mentioned in Dāwūd al-Mawṣilī, *Makḥṭūṭāt al-Mawṣil*, p. 152, 24 as the author of a commentary on the *Divān* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ is the same as our author, is a question which it is impossible to decide with our present knowledge.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, p. 512.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

OLČAITU KHUDĀBANDA, eighth *Ilkhān* of Persia, reigned from 1304 till 1317. He was, like his predecessor Ghāzān, a son of Arghūn and a great-grandson of Hülāgū. At his acces-

sion he was 24 years of age. In his youth he had been given the surname of Kharbanda, for which different explanations are given (cf. the poem by Rashīd al-Dīn reproduced on p. 46 of E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, iii. p. 46 sq. and Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii. 115), but E. Blochet, in his *Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols* (G.M.S., xii. 51), has explained the name as a Mongolian word, meaning "the third". The Byzantine historian Pachymeres calls him Χαριπαντράς (ed. Bonn 1835, ii. 459). His mother Uruk Khātūn had him baptized as a Christian, but under the influence of one of his wives he afterwards embraced Islām and received the name Muḥammad, while his surname was changed to Khudābanda. In addition he took the *laqab* of Ghīyāth al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn. When Ghāzān died, Olcāitu was absent with an army on the Indian frontier of the empire, but there was no difficulty about the succession, as a possible claimant, his cousin Ālafrank, had been killed previously. Olcāitu continued the traditional warfare of his predecessors with the Mamlūk Empire and their friendly relations with European Christian powers; some of the letters addressed by him to the Pope Clement V and the English King Edward II are still extant; these letters were brought by his Christian envoy Thomas Ilduči, who, in contradiction to the facts, kept up the fiction that his master was a Christian. Olcāitu likewise sent a military expedition to relieve the Byzantine Emperor Michael Palaeologos by dividing the force of the Turks in Asia Minor, but this aid was of little avail (Pachymeres, ii. 588). Against the Mamluks Olcāitu himself conducted a campaign during which the town of Raḥba on the Euphrates was besieged in vain (1313). The authority of the government in the interior was strengthened by the conquest of Dīlān in 1307 and in the same year by the conquest of Herāt from the vassal Kurt dynasty. In 705 (1305—1306) Olcāitu made the recently founded town of Sulṭāniya [q. v.] the capital of his empire, on the occasion of the birth of his son and successor Abū Sa'īd. Prosperity was increased by the laws of Ghāzān, whose canon was promulgated again by Olcāitu, and also by the able administration of the famous historian Rashīd al-Dīn [q. v.]; the latter's colleague and rival Sa'īd al-Dīn was executed in 1312 through the intrigues of 'Alī Shāh, who took his place. The dispute which soon arose between the two ministers made the sultān in 1315 assign to each of them the administration of half of the empire. The attitude of Olcāitu towards Islām deserves special notice. After first showing preference for the Shī'a (cf. the story of Majīd al-Dīn of Shirāz told by Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii. 57 sqq.), he became an adherent of the Sunna. Then, after an attempt to introduce the Shāfi'i instead of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, he finally decided again to join the Shī'a, after having visited the tomb of 'Alī; one of his coins affords proof of this. — Olcāitu is described as a virtuous, liberal ruler; he showed interest in the observatory of Marāgha, where Aṣīl al-Dīn, Naṣīr al-Dīn's son, was appointed astronomer-royal. He likewise favoured the literary-historical activity of Rashīd al-Dīn and the historian Waṣṣāf. He died at Sulṭāniya on December 16, 1316; afterwards Rashīd al-Dīn was accused of having caused his death. In Sulṭāniya his tomb is still to be seen.

Bibliography: Contemporary sources are

the *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, lith. Bombay 1269, and a continuation of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, which continuation is found in several manuscripts, but has not yet been edited. Further the *Tārīkh-i Guzida* by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi and the later Persian works. — Of European works must be mentioned: D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iv. 478—598; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Ilchane*, Darmstadt 1843, ii. 178—251; H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii. 534—584; E. Blochet, *Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols*, in G.M.S., xii., Leyden—London 1910, *passim*. — For Olcāitu's coins: Stanley Lane-Poole's *Catalogue*, vi. 44 sqq.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

'OMĀN, a nominally independent state on the Persian Gulf under the protectorate of England. Its extent has varied considerably in the course of its history. While Iṣṭakhri, for example, who gives 'Omān an extent of 300 parasangs, includes the district of Mahra in it, Idrīsī describes the latter as an independent country. In the northwest 'Omān was bounded by the province of al-Baḥrain or al-Hadjar, in the south by Yaman and Ḥaḍramūt. The sultanate reached its greatest extent under Sulṭān Ibn Mālik b. al-'Arab b. Sulṭān, under whom 'Omān not only included the territory from Rās al-Ḥadd to Djuḥfār, but also al-Baḥrain and other possessions, particularly on the African coast where his son Saif conquered Kilwa and Zanzibar. 'Omān at the present day includes the whole south-eastern part of Arabia with a strip about 500 miles long on the south coast of the Peninsula including the land of Doḥār. By the decision of the International Court at the Hague in 1905 in a dispute between England and France regarding the granting of the French flag to owners of sailing-ships in Maṣkaṭ, the southern boundary was fixed at Rās Sakar and the coast as far as Khōr Kalbe reckoned to 'Omān, while at the same time the sultān's claim to the peninsula of Rās Masandum from Rās Dibba to Tibba was expressly recognised by both powers. This of course does not prevent the actual power of the sultān barely extending beyond the coast district of Maṣkaṭ and Bāṭina. The population of 'Omān is estimated at half a million but that of 'Omān proper at 34,300 only. As regards creed the 'Ibāḍīs are preponderant particularly in the south, but the northern districts are inhabited mainly by Sunnis. The capital is Maṣkaṭ [q. v.] while at an earlier period Ṣuḥār [q. v.] was regarded as the most important town in the country.

The following details of the distribution of the population may be given: the thickly populated district of Bāṭina has 105,000, the Wādī Samā'il 2,800, Maṣkaṭ 10,000, Maṭraḥ 11,000, Ṣūr 12,000, Ṣuḥār 7,500. 'Omān for administrative purposes is divided into four districts: 1. Dja'lān, the land of the Benī Abū 'Alī and all the land south of Bed'ā; 2. 'Omān proper from Bed'ā to Makiniya; 3. Durra from the latter place to al-Bureimī and 4. al-Bāṭina, the narrow strip of coast from Sib to Khōr Fakḳān. The characteristic feature of the orography of the country is a mountain range which runs from Maṣkaṭ in a southern direction as far as Ṣūr close to the coast but runs a considerable distance inland north of Maṣkaṭ and thus leaves space for the fertile low-lying land on the coast, al-Bāṭina, which is in

a way comparable to al-Tihāma in the Yaman, although it never attains the same width, being only from 20 to 30 miles across. South of Rustāk just below 23° Lat., almost at right-angles to the former, is a second range, higher in its highest parts, known as *Djebel Akhdar* which with 10,000 feet is the greatest height in the country. It runs parallel to the coast as far as Rās Masandum and sends off a second range which runs to Rās al-Khēme. The most fertile part of ‘Omān is the already mentioned low-lying coast land of al-Bāṭina where in addition to intensive cultivation of the date-palm, wheat is grown and all kinds of fruits flourish. The Arab geographers praised the dates of ‘Omān and al-Asma’i was not wrong in comparing ‘Omān to a garden. Among the fruits special mention is made of bananas, pomegranates, and nebek (lotus nebk). A considerable part of ‘Omān however is quite unsuited for agriculture; for example the part bordering on the desert zone of Arabia which however contains a few fertile oases among the mountains, for example on the way from Benī Abū ‘Alī to Nezwa. These oases are watered by subterranean deposits as was long ago pointed out by Ibn al-Faḥīḥ; where the water is not too deep below the surface or there are subterranean channels, springs supply the necessary water to the fields. The climate of ‘Omān suffers from the great heat, which is only to some degree tempered by the refreshing winds from the sea; in Maskat the maximum in July and August is 91°—88° F. The rainy season is in winter from October to March, but the rains seldom fall more than three or four days in a month; among the mountains heavy storms occur and the snow sometimes lies. In Maskat the annual rainfall is 3 to 6 inches.

The cereals grown are wheat, dhura, some rice, the fruits, tamarinds, mango, bananas, pomegranates, quinces, pistachios, agrumi, grapes, almonds, figs, walnuts, water-melons, apricots and cherries, while cotton, sugar-cane and indigo are cultivated. Stockraising is now mainly confined to horned cattle; at one time ‘Omān was celebrated for its strong, swift camels and asses. The Arab geographers (Ibn al-Faḥīḥ) praise ‘Omān’s wealth in fish, which supplied the food of large sections of the community (especially in al-Bāṭina). Industry, once very flourishing, is now confined to weaving on a modest scale in Maskat, Nezwa and ‘Ibri, dyeing in the two last-named towns and the making of weapons in Maskat. Idrisi mentions the pearl-fisheries of Šūr below Cape al-Mahdġama and in Damār. The pearl-fisheries now produce about half the revenue of Bahrain (10–15,000,000 rupees). The Arab philologists (Ibn al-A‘rabi) derive the name ‘Omān from *‘amāna* with the meaning “to stay continually in one place”. According to others the name goes back to ‘Omān b. Ibrāhīm al-Khalil, who built the town of ‘Omān; this is of significance in as much as the classical writers know of a town called *Omana* (Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, vi. 149) and *‘Ομανον ἐμπόριον* (Ptolemy, vi. 7, 36), this has been identified with Šuḥār which was later regarded as the most important trading centre. Al-Muḥaddasi (p. 35) compared ‘Omān with ‘Aden and Egypt for importance in the world’s trade and called it and Šīraf [q. v.] the forecourt of China (p. 426). This does not seem however to have much benefited the people of ‘Omān, for

they were regarded as dishonest, wicked and deceitful merchants; indeed Ibn al-Faḥīḥ (p. 92) describes them in much coarser language. The prosperity coming from the trade and agriculture is evident from the huge yield from taxation, 300,000 dinārs in the ‘Abbāsīd period. A dirhem a year was paid on each palm-tree (Muḥaddasi, p. 105).

For the early history of ‘Omān, Huart’s account may be consulted.

The relations of England with the country have been of great importance to ‘Omān. They began in 1798 with a treaty between the East India Co. and the sultān by which the French and Dutch were excluded from the territory for the duration of the war, and this was followed in 1800 by the granting of permission for the E. I. C. to have an agent permanently resident in Maskat. By the treaties made by the French with Saiyid Sa‘īd b. Sultān in 1807 and 1808, this resident was joined by a French Consular agent. But French prestige suffered a severe blow when Mauritius was occupied by the English in 1810. In 1839 a commercial treaty was concluded between England and Maskat, modelled on one concluded in 1833 between the U. S. A. and ‘Omān. In 1844 there followed a commercial treaty with France, which secured this country the most favoured nation clause and freedom to trade in Maskat for its subjects. In 1862 came the Anglo-French guarantee of the independence of ‘Omān, but England was able to secure a predominating influence in ‘Omān by vigorously supporting the sultān at various crises and by paying him a subsidy. In 1891 the sultān declared in a treaty of friendship, which also regulated questions of trade and navigation between the two countries, and was binding upon himself and his successors, that he would not cede any of his territory in any way to any power other than England. When then, in 1898, the sultān in contravention of this agreement wished to allow France to have a coaling-station in his territory, he had to withdraw the concession on receiving an ultimatum from England; France was compensated with a coaling station in Mukallā [q. v.]. The dispute assumed a more serious aspect which arose out of the practice of the French consul in Maskat giving ships’ papers and French flags to Maskat ships which abused the privilege to carry arms and slaves. The dispute was settled by the International Court at The Hague, the decision being that only those ship-owners who had received permits before January 2, 1892 were allowed to retain them. The result was that in 1917 only 12 ships of ‘Omān were allowed to carry the French flag. The result has been the practical exclusion of French influence from ‘Omān, and the securing of English predominance.

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‘OMAR B. ‘ABD AL-‘AZĪZ B. MARWĀN B. AL-ḤAKAM, ABŪ ḤAFṢ AL-AṢḤADĪJ, Umayyad caliph. He was born in Medina in the year 63 (682–683). His father ‘Abd al-‘Azīz [q. v.] had been for many years governor of Egypt; through his mother he was descended from ‘Omar I. She was Umm ‘Aṣīm bint ‘Aṣīm b. ‘Omar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He spent the greater part of his life in Medina. He was sent there by his father from Egypt to receive a fitting education in the city of the Prophet and remained there till the death of his father in 85 (704). His uncle, the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik, then took him to Damascus and married him to his daughter Fāṭima. In Rabī‘ I 87 (Feb.–March 706) ‘Omar was appointed governor of the Ḥijāz by al-Walid I and he settled in Medina again. Unlike other governors who were as a rule very arbitrary, ‘Omar immediately on his arrival in the city formed an advisory council of ten pious authorities on tradition with whom he discussed all important matters, and further empowered them to keep a watchful eye on his subordinates. In other respects also, his patriotic rule was for the good of his subjects. But in the long run the all powerful Ḥadīdjādī [q. v.] was not pleased with ‘Omar’s mild rule because many ‘Irākīs fled to the two sacred cities in order to escape the hard lot for which they had to be prepared in their native land. Under pressure from him ‘Omar was recalled in 93 (711–712) without however being disgraced. After the death in Dābiḳ [q. v.] in Ṣafar 99 (Sept.–Oct. 717) of Sulaimān b. ‘Abd al-Malik who had intended him to succeed him, the autocratic theologian Raḍjā b. Haiwa assembled the Umayyads in the mosque and without mentioning any name demanded that they should pay homage to whomsoever Sulaimān should have mentioned in his will. Only when they had paid homage, did he announce the death of the caliph and the name of the successor designate. As ‘Omar belonged to a collateral line and had nevertheless been preferred to the two sons of ‘Abd al-Malik, Yazīd and Hishām, it is not a matter for surprise that the latter at first raised objections to the choice of his cousin as commander of the faithful; but he

was soon appeased and ‘Omar ascended the throne without encountering any serious opposition.

As a caliph, ‘Omar stands apart; he was distinguished from his predecessors and successors alike. Inspired by a true piety, although not entirely free from bigotry, he was very conscious of his responsibility to God and always endeavoured to further what he believed to be the right and conscientiously to do his duty as a ruler. In his private life he was distinguished by the greatest simplicity and frugality, although he is said to have lived no less luxuriously than other Umayyad princes before his accession. Poets who praised the delights of wordly pleasures were therefore not particularly popular at his court.

‘Omar laid no special stress on military glory, and his reign which only lasted two and a half years was poor in military events. The siege of Constantinople was raised on his accession to the throne; but it is uncertain whether the Muslim army was actually withdrawn by him. In Mesopotamia he allowed the people of Ṭuranda to evacuate their town whereupon they settled in the adjoining Malatya and Ṭuranda was destroyed. In the far West the Muslim armies crossed the Pyrenees, invaded Southern France and returned to Spain laden with rich booty. On a later campaign which is usually but not quite certainly attributed to the reign of ‘Omar, they captured Narbonne, fortified it, and used it for a time as their headquarters. ‘Omar however by no means felt obliged to spread Islām by the sword; he rather sought by peaceful missionary activity to win members of other creeds to the faith of the Prophet and in case of conversion by this means demanded no tribute. This method proved particularly successful and suitable among the Berbers and it is even said that there was not a single Berber left unconverted to Islām in the governorship of Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abd Allāh appointed by him. In a similar way were converted the princes of Sind when ‘Omar’s governor ‘Amr b. Muslim al-Bāhili invited them to adopt Islām and promised them complete equality with Muslims; but under Hishām they lapsed again.

His interests were primarily in home affairs. He had the untrustworthy governor of Khurāsān Yazīd b. al-Muhallab [q. v.] arrested and his post given to al-Djarrāḥ b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥakami. In other cases also, the most important offices were filled with men whom ‘Omar thought to be capable and just. He adopted a kindly attitude to the ‘Alids. The practice introduced by Mu‘āwiya of publicly cursing ‘Alī in the service in the mosque was abolished by ‘Omar. It is said that when he was a boy and his father was appointed governor of Egypt he begged him to forbid the customary cursing of ‘Alī and received the reply that such a step although laudable in itself would be against the interests of the Umayyad dynasty and might give support to the ‘Alid claims to the caliphate. ‘Omar gave up in favour of the ‘Alids the oasis of Fadak [q. v.] which had originally been the private property of Muḥammad but was then declared a state domain and had finally become the property of the Umayyads. After his accession he decided that it should revert to its original use and according to one story expressly ordered that it should be handed over to the descendants of Fāṭima as the heirs of the Prophet. He also restored to the family of Ṭalḥa their property in Mecca, which ‘Abd al-Malik had

taken from them and abolished the addition to the tithe which had been levied by a former governor of the Yaman, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, a brother of al-Ḥadīdjādī. In general he laid great stress on compensating those who had in any way been subjected to illegal extortions; but, as is obvious, this principle, while it testifies to the caliph's love of justice, was often applied, according to Ibn Sa‘d, v. 252, uncritically (*bi-ghair al-baiyina al-kāfi’a*) and in the long run could not be beneficial to the treasury and was destined to have serious consequences.

As a devout Muslim he was gracious to members of other creeds in so far as this was possible without a breach of the principles of Islām. Christians, Jews, and fire-worshippers, were allowed to retain their synagogues, churches, and temples but not to build any new ones. In Damascus, al-Walid [q. v.] had taken down the basilika of John the Baptist and incorporated the site in the mosque of the Umayyads. When ‘Omar came to the throne, the Christians complained to him that the church had been taken from them whereupon ‘Omar ordered the governor to restore them the site of the addition to the mosque. But as the people of Damascus would not agree to this, the matter was settled with ‘Omar's approval by the churches outside the town, notably that of St. Thomas which belonged *de facto* to the Muslims and not by treaty because the Ghūṭa [q. v.] had been conquered by the sword and not surrendered by capitulation, being handed over to the Christians on condition that they abandoned all claims for the future on the Church of St. John. While ‘Omar endeavoured to protect his Muslim subjects from being abused, he was also anxious that his Christian subjects should not be crushed by oppressive taxation. In Aila and in Cyprus the tribute settled by treaty had been increased: ‘Omar reduced it to the original amount. In al-Yaman the Christians of Najrān had made a treaty with the Prophet which guaranteed them complete security in their land on payment of an annual tribute of 2,000 robes (*ḥulla*) each of the value of 40 dirhams. This treaty had been broken by ‘Omar I. Nevertheless, they had to pay the full tribute until ‘Othmān reduced it by 200 robes. Mu‘āwiya or, according to another story, his son Yazīd granted them a further reduction of 200 robes because their numbers had been much reduced by death and conversions to Islām (on this see Lammens, *Le califat de Yazīd Ier*, p. 346 sqq.). But when ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath [q. v.] rebelled against al-Ḥadīdjādī, the latter raised the total tribute to 1,800 robes because he suspected the Najrānians of being in secret agreement with the rebels. In the meanwhile however, their numbers had sunk from 40,000 to 4,000 and when they appealed to ‘Omar to alleviate their hard lot he reduced the taxation to one tenth and demanded only 200 instead of 2,000 or 8,000 dirhams.

One of ‘Omar's most important measures was his reform of the taxation. The comprehensive administrative system of ‘Omar I which proved excellent for the conditions in his day, was now no longer suitable to the demands of the time. The treasury was continually suffering from the ever increasing conversion to Islām of non-Arabs who had paid tribute and their consequent exemption from taxation and in addition many of the new converts settled in the large cities instead of remaining at home and tilling the fields, so that

agriculture lost much of the labour it required. To overcome this difficulty al-Ḥadīdjādī had imposed the *khara‘i* also upon Muslim landowners who were not paying tribute and prohibited immigration into the cities. This aroused general dissatisfaction but this did not worry him. ‘Omar, on the other hand, adhered to the principle that Muslims should pay no tribute. He further propounded, no doubt by agreement with those learned in the law in Medina, the theory that conquered land was the common property of the Muslim community and therefore could not be broken up and transformed by sale to Muslims into immune private property. Consequently in the year 100 (718—719), he forbade Muslims to buy land which should pay tribute; but he did not make this legislation retrospective and he placed no obstacles in the way of the immigration of new converts into the cities. Further, just claims upon the treasury for compensation for services rendered were never refused: he granted the Mawālī in Khurāsān, who had fought against the unbelievers, pay and exemption from taxation just like Muslim soldiers. He thus furthered the amalgamation of the various elements in the caliph's empire and although his system of reformed taxation did not survive because the principle of the inalienability of tribute-paying land could not be permanently maintained, he did his best to clear up the existing financial muddle.

The historians of the older school described ‘Omar as an unpractical idealist, who pursued purely Utopian ideals as a result of his theological preconceptions, without paying any heed to actual conditions, and only modern research has put his work in its true light. His reign was spared trouble from the Khāridjīs but hidden forces were working in secret which were to bring about the fall of the Umayyad dynasty.

‘Omar died after an illness of 20 days in Rajab 101 (Feb. 720) and was buried in Dair Sim‘ān near Ḥalab. He was succeeded by his cousin Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik [q. v.].

Very much influenced since his boyhood by pious authorities on tradition, he was one of the authorities in this field and regarded, although wrongly, after his death as one of the first collectors of Sunna. In course of time a whole cycle of pious legends gathered round his name which were quite devoid of any historical foundation. For example we are told (Ibn Sa‘d, v. 301, l. 17) that a roll of parchment fell from heaven upon the men who were filling up his grave which assured him security from the flames of hell (*amān min Allāh li-‘Omar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz min al-nūr*). Even the biased historians of the ‘Abbāsīd period who as a rule run down the Umayyads on every possible occasion in favour of the ‘Abbāsīds make an exception in his case and give him the highest praise. His tomb was also left undisturbed when those of the other Umayyads were desecrated after the triumph of the ‘Abbāsīds.

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passim; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, v. 361, 397, 412, 416—445, 451, 453; vi. 32, 161; ix. 42, 50; *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, ed. de Goeje and de Jong, i. 37—64; Ibn al-Tiṭṭākā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 173, 175—177, 335 sq.; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, see index; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Yāqūt, *Muḍjam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 856; Barbier de Meynard, in *J A*, ser. x., vol. ix., p. 209; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 438 sqq.; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, new ed. by Weir, p. 291, 318, 336, 346 sq., 354, 361, 364, 367, 369—374, 379, 383, 396, 419, 439, 539, 597; Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Römern*, in *N G W Gött.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1901, p. 414; do., *Das arabische Reich*, p. 166—194. — Cf. also the article UMAIYADS. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

'OMAR [B. 'ABD ALLĀH] B. ABĪ RABĪ'A, "undeniably the greatest love-poet of the Arabs" (Rückert), born, according to tradition, on the 26th Dhu 'l-Hijja 26 (beginning of Nov. 644), died in 93 (712) or 101 (719). His biography, like those of other poets who are regarded as representatives of a particular form of poetry (e.g. Abū Nuwās with his drinking songs), is much encumbered by legend; he was regarded as the great love-poet and imitations by his contemporaries and the works of later poets were readily ascribed to him. It is only the brilliant monograph by P. Schwarz that has made it possible to separate the really historical matter in his biography and in his poems. It may be regarded as certain that he belonged to the *Qurayshī* clan of *Makhzūm*; his father 'Abd Allāh, a prosperous Meccan merchant, amassed a great fortune by importing the drugs of South Arabia. For a time he was governor of Djanad in the Yaman; Omar's mother was a "Himyarite" from Ḥaḍramawt. The poet as the possessor of a large fortune was able to lead a carefree life; his youth he probably spent in Medina and his manhood mainly in Mecca. He travelled in South Arabia, Syria and Mesopotamia. There are all kinds of legends about his death which it seems did not take place in his native land. His traditional biography is mainly filled with stories of his relations with various ladies, chiefly of the house of the Umayyads. These stories are literary inventions rather than historical facts. The stories of his meetings with emirs and caliphs of the house of Umayyad seem also suspicious: he is said to have been punished along with the poet al-Aḥwas by 'Omar II and to have had to promise to write no more poetry.

We learn very little from his poems of the political history of the period or of the events of every day life. He was the first townsman poet in Arabic. His poems reflect the bright social activity of town life. This is the fundamental distinction between him and the celebrated triad of Umayyad poets, al-Akḥṭal [q. v.], Djarir [q. v.] and al-Farazdaq [q. v.] as well as between him and the half legendary representatives of the Beduin love poetry of the period like Djamīl [q. v.]. In him there is no trace of the court poet or tribal bard; he hardly ever describes journeys, and still more rarely fighting. The poetry of wine is quite strange to him. All his poems are records of his own experiences and pictures of his emotions. We need not always imagine that they are historically accurate but the expression of feeling is undoubtedly true to life.

The persons in his poems are "sensitive, aimable creatures, full of individuality. They reveal their souls, they act, they speak. Dramatic scenes, full of feeling stand out vividly before the reader's eyes" (Schwarz). In the form of his verse also 'Omar is a gifted poetical genius who writes without difficulty. His verse flows easily and naturally in simple language. His prosody differs from that of the Beduin poets; although he uses the same metres, he does not prefer those most popular in the old poetry (*basīf* or *ṭawīl*) but flexible and light metres (*khafīf*, *ramal*, *mutakārib*, *munsarīḥ*). That he did not feel himself bound by tradition is shown by some traces of strophic verse in his poems. It would be a mistake to see in 'Omar the first love-poet of the Arabs. But he was the first to bring this form to perfection. The roots of this genre are to be found not so much in the introductory parts of the old Arabic *qaṣidas* as in the love-poems, which were particularly cultivated in South Arabia (perhaps not without Persian influence). A study of the surviving fragments of Waddāḥ al-Yaman, a contemporary of 'Omar which has been long in preparation by V. Ebermann, will perhaps shed new light on this point.

'Omar attained great popularity with his contemporaries and in the following generations, chiefly among singers, wits and men of letters. But his popularity among learned men was hampered by two things: his simple language offered very few "testi di lingua" in comparison with poets like, e.g. al-Farazdaq, and the matter of his poems was little suited for study in schools, especially in religious and bigoted circles. The renaissance of Arabic literature in modern times has brought about a change; besides several monographs devoted to him, special chapters are devoted to him in the text books. 'Omar b. Abī Rabī'a is now so to speak rehabilitated among the Arabs and recognised as a great poet.

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(IGN. KRATSKOWSKY)

'OMAR B. AIYÜB. [See ḤAMĀ and AIYÜBIDS supplement.]

'OMAR B. 'ALĪ (SHARAF AL-DĪN) AL-MIṢRĪ AL-SA'DĪ, generally known as IBN AL-FĀRĪD, a celebrated Ṣūfī poet. The name al-Fārīd (notary) refers to the profession of his father, who belonged to Ḥamāt but migrated to Cairo, where 'Omar was born in 576 or, more probably, in 577. In early youth he studied Shāfi'ī law and *Ḥadīth*; then came his conversion to Ṣūfism, and for many years he led the life of a solitary devotee, first among the hills (al-Muḳaṭṭam) to the east of Cairo and afterwards in the Ḥidjāz. On his return to Cairo he was venerated as a saint till his death in 632, and his tomb beneath al-Muḳaṭṭam is still frequented. The *Diwān* of Ibn al-Fārīd, though small, is one of the most original in Arabic literature. Possibly the minor odes, which exhibit a style of great delicacy and beauty and a more or less copious use of rhetorical artifices, were composed in order to be sung with musical accompaniment at Ṣūfī concerts (Nallino, in *R.S.O.*, viii. 17); in these the outer and inner meanings are so interwoven that they may be read either as love-poems — a fact to which they owe their wide popularity in the East — or as mystical hymns. But the *Diwān* also includes two purely mystical odes: 1. the *Khāmriya* or Wine Ode, describing the "intoxication" produced by the "wine" of Divine Love, and 2. the *Naẓm al-Sulūk* or "Pilgrim's Progress", a poem containing 760 verses, which is often called *al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā* to distinguish it from a much shorter ode rhyming in the same letter. In this famous *qaṣida*, nearly equal in length to all the rest of the *Diwān* together, Ibn al-Fārīd depicts his own experience as a Ṣūfī. The result is not only a unique masterpiece of Arabic poetry but a document of surpassing interest to every student of mysticism (for a résumé of the contents, see Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 195—199). Its whole character is psychological rather than speculative; though some passages are pantheistic in feeling and expression, it bears little or no trace of the intellectualism which marks the system of Ibn al-'Arabi; and the charges of heresy brought against the poet do not appear to be justified. Among Ṣūfis the *Tā'iyya* occupies the position of a classic, and many commentaries have been written on it.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 262. — A life of the poet, written by his grandson 'Alī, the first editor of the *Diwān*, has been printed as an introduction to the edition of Rushaiyid b. Ghālib al-Dahdāh (Marseille 1853). See also Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N° 511; *Shadharāt al-Dhahab* (*J.R.A.S.*, 1906, pt. iv., p. 800 sqq.), and the references given by Di Matteo (see below) and Nallino, *loc. cit.*, p. 8. — Translations of the *Tā'iyyat al-kubrā*: Von Hammer, *Das arabishe hohe Lied der Liebe*, Vienna 1854 (Arabic text and German verse-translation; the latter is worthless); Di Matteo (Rome 1917); Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, ch. iii., "The Odes of Ibn al-Fārīd", p. 199—266 (with explanatory notes). The fullest critical study of Ibn al-Fārīd is that by Nallino in his review of Di Matteo's version, in *R.S.O.*, viii. 1—106 and 501—562. (R. A. NICHOLSON)

'OMAR (ABU DJA'FAR) B. ḤAFṢ was appointed governor of the province of Ifrīkiya by the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr in 151 (768). He belonged to a family which in the time of the Umayyads had furnished a number of high officials to the state. One of his uncles, al-Muhallab b. Abī

Ṣufra, had attained fame as governor of Khurāsān under 'Abd al-Mālik b. Marwān. 'Omar whose bravery was celebrated had himself held a command in the eastern provinces: he had been given the Persian epithet of *Hasarmerd* "1,000 men".

The difficult situation in Ifrīkiya at the time justified the choice of an energetic governor. Barbary had gone over almost entirely to various sects of the Khāridjī heresy. The chief leader of the movement was the Ṣūfī Abū Qurra. The Arab *djund* showed little enthusiasm to fight the rebels and besides, it was much divided by old tribal rivalries.

'Omar b. Ḥafṣ, appointed by the caliph, brought with him 500 horsemen. He cleverly won the hearts of the people of Kairawān and was able to secure the country over three years of peace. Al-Manṣūr having given him orders to strengthen the defences of Ṭobna [q. v.], an old town, the strategic position of which on the western borders of the empire was becoming so important, 'Omar went there with some contingents of the *djund*. Ifrīkiya being thus denuded of troops, the Berbers rose and 'Omar's lieutenant Ḥabīb al-Muhallabī was killed. This initial success encouraged the rebels who concentrated a large force around Tripoli under an 'Ibādī chief. Al-Djunaid b. Bash-shār, who had assumed command at Kairawān after Ḥabīb's death, asked for reinforcements from 'Omar b. Ḥafṣ. He received them but was defeated. The insurrection now became general. Kairawān was again besieged and soon 'Omar himself who had only 15,500 men under him was besieged in Ṭobna by several Khāridjī armies, 'Ibādī, and Ṣūfī united under the command of Abū Qurra and numbering over 73,000 (the figures given are of course not at all reliable). 'Omar wished to cut his way through his opponents but his companions prevented him. He then tried to bribe Abū Qurra to leave his allies and offered him 60,000 dirhams but the offer was rejected. 'Omar then turned to his brother (or son) and obtained for 4,000 dirhams the secession of the Ṣūfis. Abū Qurra had then to withdraw. 'Omar b. Ḥafṣ, thus rid of his enemies, sent a corps against the 'Ibādī Ibn Rustam who had to take refuge in Tāhert (Tiaret) [q. v.].

'Omar was again at work in strengthening the defences of Ṭobna when he learned of the critical situation of Kairawān. The town blockaded for eight months by the 'Ibādī Abū Ḥākīm was in dire straits. With 700 men of the *djund*, he hurried to Ifrīkiya but instead of marching on Kairawān he took the road for Tunis, enticing the Berbers after him. He succeeded in getting supplies into Kairawān which he then entered himself. The siege was resumed with fighting every day. Food again became very scarce. 'Omar b. Ḥafṣ wished to send two chiefs of the *djund* to procure supplies but they refused to go. He then decided to make a sortie himself which meant certain death, without awaiting the reinforcements of 60,000 men which the caliph was sending him. Throwing himself on the enemy "like a camel mad with rage" he fell on the 15th *Dhu 'l-Hidjja* 154 (Nov. 27, 771).

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‘OMAR B. ḤAFṢŪN, leader of a famous rebellion in Spain, who at the end of the ninth century A.D. held out for years against the Umayyad emirs of Cordova and in the end was only brought to book by the caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir [cf. UMAIYADS]. His full name was ‘OMAR B. ḤAFṢ B. ‘OMAR B. DJĀFAR called al-Islāmī, from his conversion from Christianity to Islām and he claimed descent from an ancestor named Alfonso who had the title of count (*comes*). ‘Omar’s father Ḥafṣ or with the specifically Spanish suffix (*-ūn*), Ḥafṣūn, was thus the grandson of a Visigothic lord who had become a Muslim and lived on the income from his lands at Iznate (Ḥiṣn Awṭ) in the region of Ronda [q.v.] in the south of Spain in the middle of the ixth century A.D. His son while still quite young displayed a very violent temper and as a result of a crime committed by him against the person of one of his neighbours, had to escape for a time to North Africa, and spent some time at Tāhert [q.v.]. He only returned home to rebel at once against the Umayyad emir of Cordova. Having gathered around him a small body of followers he established himself in 267 (880) in a ruined fortress

Bobastro (Ar. *بشترو*; q.v.). which he restored. Dozy has identified this castle with el Castellón, to the south of Campillos, between Teba and Antequera, relying on the discovery at this place of an inscription, mentioning the *municipium Singiliense Barbastrense*, while Simonet thinks that its site corresponds to las Mesas de Villaverde, a little farther south between Ardales and Carratraca. Excavations have recently been begun in the district in order to find the ruins of Bobastro. Whatever be the real position of the castle, we know that it commanded the valley of the Guadalhorce in the direction of Malaga and from there Ibn Ḥafṣūn could disturb a considerable part of the territory of the *kūra* of Reiyo, which a governor dependent on Cordova was supposed to rule. ‘Omar having had several successes, the governor tried to bring him to reason but without success and he lost his post. His successor was no more fortunate. Soon Ibn Ḥafṣūn was exercising complete authority over all the inhabitants of the mountainous region which extends from Ronda towards Grenada, Malaga and Algeciras. The Umayyad emir Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, had to organise a regular expedition against him the command of which was entrusted to his vizier Ḥāshim b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz. Ibn Ḥafṣūn submitted and went to Cordova to offer his services to the Umayyad emir in 270 (883). But his submission did not last long; in the following year the rebel had regained the mountains of Bobastro and took by storm the castle in which Ḥāshim had put a strong garrison.

From this time on Ibn Ḥafṣūn begins to play the part of a champion in the nationalist movement in the south of the peninsula, where he put himself at the head of all the malcontents, whether Christians or neo-Muslims (*muwalladūn*). The rapid growth of his rebellion did not fail to disturb greatly the Umayyad emir whose position each day became more precarious. The task of bringing Ibn Ḥafṣūn to book was given to the heir-presumptive al-Mundhir b. Muḥammad, who laid siege to one of the rebel’s principal supporters Ḥārith b. Ḥamdūn al-Rifā‘ī in his castle of Alhama. But

in 273 (886) the emir Muḥammad died and al-Mundhir had to go back to Cordova to be proclaimed in his place. Ibn Ḥafṣūn seized the opportunity to organise resistance in all the mountainous districts of Southern Spain and had himself recognised as leader of the rising by all the inhabitants.

On ascending the throne al-Mundhir found himself faced by a critical situation. But he at once took the necessary steps with great energy. There were continual encounters between the rebels and the loyalist troops; in the end al-Mundhir set out in person to lay siege to Bobastro, but after the siege had lasted forty days he died, undoubtedly poisoned at the instigation of his brother ‘Abd Allāh who succeeded him.

The new emir displayed no less energy than his brother. Ibn Ḥafṣūn had profited by events to increase his influence and according to the chroniclers the land which he ruled was only separated from Cordova by a day’s journey. After a truce which only lasted a few months, ‘Abd Allāh and Ibn Ḥafṣūn resumed the struggle. The Umayyad emir at first devoted his attention to two rebel chiefs, Sawwār b. Ḥamdūn and Sa‘īd b. Djūdī, whom he conquered, while Ibn Ḥafṣūn was collecting a considerable army at Polei [q.v.]. But ‘Abd Allāh with a superior army defeated him, put him to flight and took Polei in 278 (891), then Ecija [q.v.] and finally laid siege to Bobastro again. But the rising of the Banū ‘I-Ḥadjidjādī in Seville created a diversion in favour of Ibn Ḥafṣūn, who from now on seems to have received at least the moral support of the Fāṭimids of Ifrikiya.

The rest of the reign of ‘Abd Allāh passed without any great successes being obtained. It would take too long to detail here all the negotiations followed by agreements, more or less observed, which went on during these very troubled years. But the most striking gesture of the rebel was to repudiate Islām openly and, in order to have the more complete support of the Christians of Andalusia and Cordova, to return to the religion of his ancestors. Ibn Ḥafṣūn then took the name of Samuel and proclaimed himself not only the leader of the Spanish nationalist movement but the champion at the same time of a regular crusade against Islām.

The situation was then very critical when ‘Abd Allāh’s successor, his grandson ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, mounted the throne of the emirate of Cordova in 300 (912). Without delay the new sovereign saw that it was necessary before all else to dispose of this threat which was steadily increasing in magnitude. Not only the future of his dynasty was at stake but also that of Islām in Spain. For several years he made his preparations with the greatest care and displayed exceptional tenacity. The mountain districts of Andalusia were blockaded, attacked and reduced in turn. Ibn Ḥafṣūn, more and more surrounded in the Serrania de Ronda, finally died in 306 (918) leaving to his sons the task of continuing the resistance.

According to some chroniclers, Ibn Ḥafṣūn in the last years of his life, seeing the futility of his efforts, submitted to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III and even gave him one of his sons as a hostage. He is himself said to have taken part in the campaigns against the Christians of the north in the Umayyad army.

In any case after the death of the aged rebel,

the ruler of Cordova, now favoured by circumstances, set himself to neutralise completely the influence of the sons of Ibn Ḥaḥṣūn. The eldest, *Dja'far*, was attacked at Belda and finally fell a victim to a plot. The second, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, after holding out for a time at Torrox and at Almuñecar, met his death in an encounter at San Vicente. The third son, Ḥaḥṣ, was besieged by 'Abd al-Raḥmān himself in Bobastro and surrendered in 316 (928) to serve in the Umayyad ranks in Galicia. The final capture of Bobastro marked the last stage in a rebellion of unexampled extent, the suppression of which had been the main care of three Umayyad rulers. It was the crowning achievement of the efforts of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir to secure the complete consolidation of his territory before beginning the attempt to advance its frontiers to the north.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

'OMAR B. HUBAIRA. [See IBN HUBAIRA, i. *supra*, ii. 388a.]

'OMAR IBN AL-KHAṬṬĀB, the second Caliph, one of the greatest figures of the early days of Islām and the founder of the Arab empire. Religious legend has naturally in the case of 'Omar, as with other heroes and saints of Islām, filled his biography with a mass of apocryphal details. Nevertheless the main characteristics of his personality are revealed to historical research with sufficient clearness for it to be possible to understand his character and assign him his place in the formation of Islām. Like many other people whose strongest characteristic is an energy of will, 'Omar began by being the declared enemy of the cause which he was later to support with all his strength. Legend has perhaps somewhat coloured the stories of 'Omar's persecution of the early Muslims and exaggerates in representing his conversion as the sudden result of his having overheard some verses of the Qur'ān read in the house of his sister Fāṭima, who with her husband, Sa'īd b. Zaid, had early

given ear to the Prophet's preaching. It is from this sudden reversal of his attitude as well as perhaps from the fact that it was under 'Omar that Islām became a world phenomenon, from the simple incident in Arab history that it originally was, that 'Omar has earned the epithet of the "St. Paul of Islām" which the west has given him. In reality there is nothing in common between the two, except the stubborn energy with which they later championed the cause against which they originally fought. As with all great converts, we have in his case only an example of change of polarisation of the same exclusive and uncompromising attitude which, recognising no middle course, is as impetuous in devotion as in hatred. Tradition places the conversion of 'Omar in his 26th year, four years before the Hidjra. It is probable that the round figure of 30 which we thus get as the age of 'Omar at the beginning of the new era has something artificial about it. But he was in any case certainly in the flower of his vigour when he began his new career of apostle of Islām. Besides, at first his support was only personal and legend has no doubt exaggerated its importance. 'Omar was not able to assist the new religion through the power of his clan (he belonged to the Banū 'Adī b. Ka'b who being only Quraysh al-Zawāhir enjoyed no influence in the political life of the merchant republic) and his position with regard to his fellow-citizens was in no way outstanding. Even if it is true that, as tradition has it, as soon as 'Omar joined the community of the faithful, the latter's faith in its ultimate triumph was increased, his intervention certainly had no influence on the events which led to the migration to Medina. It is only in this town alongside of the Prophet and apparently through the prestige of his initiative and strength of will that 'Omar without holding any official position began to be the real organiser of the new theocratic state. His part was that of councillor rather than of soldier; although he took part in the battles of Badr, Ohod and later ones, practically nothing is recorded of his military exploits, accounts of which are so abundant in the case of 'Alī and other Companions. Tradition which traces to his initiative no less than three Qur'ānic revelations (ii. 119: on the worship of the *maḥām Ibrāhīm* beside the Ka'ba; xxxiii. 53: on the veiling of the Prophet's wives; lxvi. 6: on the threat of punishment to the same women) is probably not only true but may even record only a few of the cases in which a suggestion from 'Omar stimulated the Prophet's inspiration. What is remarkable about 'Omar in the Medina period is his perfect agreement with Abū Bakr, a concord which — a surprising thing and one which is a tribute to the two great champions of Islām — was never disturbed by jealousy. The fact that 'Omar like Abū Bakr, also became the father-in-law of the Prophet through the marriage of his daughter Ḥaḥṣa, did not arouse the slightest feelings of rivalry in him; on the contrary it was he who on the death of Muḥammad thrust the caliphate upon Abū Bakr. The ingenious theory put forward by Lammens (*M. F. O. B.*, iv. 113 sq. and reproduced in *Etudes sur le siècle des Omayyades*) about the "triumvirate Abū Bakr, 'Omar, Abū 'Obaida b. al-Djarrāh" (these three individuals united by a bond of intimate friendship are said to have dominated and so to speak monopolised the authority of the Prophet, controlling him either by direct action or through

his wives, ‘Ā’isha bint Abī Bakr and Ḥafṣa bint ‘Omar may be to some extent correct but should not be pushed too far. It is beyond question that ‘Omar, the greatest brain of the three, was able in the lifetime of Muḥammad as well as during the brief caliphate of Abū Bakr to resist the temptation to come too much into the foreground. But as soon as the first caliph was dead the power naturally passed to him.

The question whether the dying Abū Bakr designated ‘Omar as his successor has been the subject of much discussion by the theorists of Muslim constitutional law. As a matter of fact, there does not seem to have been any formal act of investiture which would in any case have been of no value for it would have been quite out of keeping with Arab custom. ‘Omar assumed power *de facto* and the recognition which was at once given him by the majority of the Companions assured him the exercise of it in a way quite similar to that in which the nomination of the emīr in the tribes took place, who, as we know, was only firmly seated when the individual approval of the members of the tribe had been asked and obtained after he had effectively assumed power. Such a system however primitive gave no trouble, except when the feeling between two parties was acute; this is what happened at the election of ‘Alī. Against ‘Omar there was only the dissatisfaction of the “legitimet” party of ‘Alī and the Anṣār who had however been defeated too recently when Abū Bakr had become caliph to feel like organising a regular opposition.

‘Omar at the beginning of his rule found that the great expansion by conquest had already begun; he had perhaps contributed more than any other to its beginning in his capacity as adviser to his predecessor. This is not the place to discuss once more the traditional story of the Arab conquests, nor to subject to a revision the well-known thesis of Caetani on their origin and character. This thesis has seemed to lessen considerably the importance of ‘Omar’s personal action and to take from him the glory of having been their initiator and director, according to a strategic plan conceived in advance of the campaigns against the Byzantine empire and Persia. In reality there is reason to marvel that a simple citizen of Mecca should have been capable of controlling with an undisputed singleness of command undisciplined levies of Beduins, scattered over a vast area and should have been able to keep control over their chiefs who were practically the sole masters of the position. If the military victories were not due directly to ‘Omar it was certainly to him that the credit should go of never having lost control of his generals and above all of having been able to make use of the powerful and talented family of the Omayyads, without however allowing them to have a free hand. His quarrel with Khālīd b. al-Walīd who, after having won the most brilliant victories for Islām, was dismissed and died in oblivion, gives us an idea of the political talent of ‘Omar and the extent of his authority. The knowledge of the limits of his power (which is the mark of political genius) caused him to treat the wily ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ with tact and to leave him the initiative in the conquest of Egypt. But he was careful at the same time to put at his side an old Companion of the Prophet, al-Zubair, as a check upon him. He was careful in general

(and the appointment of al-Zubair was no exception to the rule) not to appoint to high commands respected Companions whose ambition he had cause to fear. He preferred to watch them from close at hand and to satisfy their parvenu desires with the revenues of the great royal domains of the ‘Irāḳ and Syria which he assigned to them [cf. ḲATĪ‘A and ṬALḤA]. If tradition has done justice to ‘Omar’s strength of will, it should be remembered that he also knew how to employ with success gentler and simple methods.

The caliphate of ‘Omar which is marked by the complete transformation of the Muslim state, is regarded by tradition as the period in which all the political institutions by which it was later ruled had their origin. That there has been in tradition a process of idealisation which centred in a single individual a complicated development extending over several generations is what historical criticism has not failed to recognise. But the part played by ‘Omar was nevertheless a great one. The regulations for his non-Muslim subjects, the institution of a register of those having the right to military pensions (the *dīwān*), the founding of military centres out of which were to grow the future great cities of Islām, the creation of the office of *qāḍī* were all his work, and it is also to him that a series of ordinances goes back, religious (the prayer of the month of Ramaḍān, the obligatory pilgrimage) as well as civil and penal (the era of the Hījra, the punishment of drunkenness, and stoning as a punishment for adultery; in connection with the last it looks as if he did not hesitate to interpolate a verse in the text of the *Qur’ān*; cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur’āns*, i. 248—251). If it is true that several of these institutions, particularly those of a fiscal character, were rather of the nature of provisional regulations than definitive legislation and if it is also true that the fiscal business continued to be carried on by Persian and Byzantine officials and that the coins continued to be struck with the types of both empires, we cannot however refuse the title of political genius to the ruler who was able to impress a stamp of unity and permanence upon the variegated and confused elements which went to make up the new Muslim state.

In spite of the autocratic character of ‘Omar’s rule, his caliphate has nothing of the monarchical character about it. It is further distinguished from that of Abū Bakr by a deeper feeling of its permanent character. Thus for the title of *khalīfa* which conveys the idea of deputy, there was substituted that of *amīr al-mu’minīn* (which ‘Omar is said to have assumed in the year 19), in which the character of sovereign is more marked; at the same time the religious character in it becomes more distinct. Indeed one might say that ‘Omar was inclined to renew, naturally with a shade of difference, the theocratic regime of the time of the Prophet; being neither able nor willing, it must be remembered, to pose as a prophet, he yet knew how to take advantage of the intimacy in which he had lived with the Prophet to legislate in the spirit of the latter and to give to his own measures an almost supernatural origin. It is perhaps this which tradition is trying to express when it makes Muḥammad say: “If God had wished that there should have been another prophet after me, ‘Omar would have been he”

(cf. al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī, *Manāḳib al-ʿAshara*, i. 199); we can easily understand how such an attitude was only possible through the surprising prestige of 'Omar (it ceased with him; the theory of the transmission of prophetic powers was only revived later by the Shī'a).

Tradition shows us 'Omar feared rather than loved. This feeling must have been a real one but it should be pointed out that it was only to his high moral character that 'Omar owed the respect which he inspired, for the physical force at his command was not great. The opposition to him (to that of 'Alī there was later added that of a number of the old Companions) did not dare to display itself publicly. The man in whom 'Omar confided, perhaps his successor *in pectore*, was the third member of the "triumvirate", Abū 'Ubaida. When he died, a victim of the great plague of the year 18, it does not seem that 'Omar had thought of the question of the succession. He was still, besides, at the height of his powers (53, according to the age accepted by tradition) when he fell on the 26th Dhu 'l-Hijja 23 (Nov. 3, 644) by the dagger of Abū Lu'lu'a, a Christian slave of al-Mughira b. Shu'ba, governor of Baṣra. The motive which tradition gives to the murder is the very heavy tax against which the slave had appealed in vain to the caliph; according to Caetani, the murderer was only the unconscious instrument of a conspiracy of the Companions tired of the caliph's tyranny. It is certain that one of the latter's sons, the unstable 'Ubaid Allāh who fell in the battle of Siffin (in 37 A. H.), cherished this suspicion but there is really no reason to believe that it was well founded (cf. the remarks made by the writer on Caetani's views in *R.S.O.*, iv., 1912, p. 1059—1061). The history of murders of sovereigns shows that cases of assassination from personal vengeance are just as frequent as those with political motives. We may suppose that if he had lived to a greater age 'Omar would have provided for the succession — his farseeing mind would have undoubtedly shown him the necessity of settling this question which is always, in states not ruled by the dynastic principle, the crucial test of their vitality. He was not spared to do this and the plan of an elective council formed of the six oldest Companions (*shūra*) which resulted in the election of 'Othmān even if 'Omar had nominated him on his deathbed (which is denied with good arguments by critical historians) could only be a temporary expedient.

In going to rejoin his two dear friends, the Prophet and Abū Bakr, in the delights of Paradise, 'Omar could contemplate with satisfaction the work that he had accomplished. He was really, as has been said, the second founder of Islām, he who gave the edifice erected by the religious inspiration of Muḥammad, its social and political framework. But it must be added that the formidable problems raised by the enormous and rapid expansion of Islām did not receive their final solution from him. In particular the question of the relations between the early converts and the first helpers, the Anṣār, and the newcomers from the Meccan aristocracy and the question of the subordination to the central power of the Arab forces scattered over the immense territory of the empire, although still latent, presented difficulties and dangers of the utmost gravity. It was 'Omar's successor, 'Othmān, who had to face them without possessing

in the slightest degree the necessary qualities to overcome them.

While orthodox tradition reveres in 'Omar not only the great ruler but also one of the most typical models of all the virtues of Islām (cf. a list of his merits in the work of al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ al-nādira fī Manāḳib al-ʿAshara*, Cairo 1327), the Shī'a has never concealed its antipathy to him who was the first to thwart the claims of 'Alī (cf. Goldziher, in *W. Z. K. M.*, xv. 321 sqq.). The ṣūfī teaching although it exalts the ascetic austerity of the life of 'Omar, has very little to do with him: besides this type of puritan lends itself very little to mystical speculations whether in its historical reality or in its idealisation in legend.

Bibliography: All the historical material is to be found collected in L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iii.—vi. (Milan 1909—1912); vol. v. contains the historical synthesis of his caliphate and vi. the general Index. The material contained in the works on Ḥadīth, which has only been partly utilised by Caetani, is collected by A. J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leyden 1927, p. 234—236, s.v. 'Umar.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

'OMAR EFENDI, an Ottoman historian, according to popular tradition originally called Elkazović or Čaušević, belonged to Bosnisch-Novī (Bosanski-Novī). Of his career we only know that he was acting as kādī in his native town when fierce fighting broke out on Bosnian soil between the Imperial troops and those of Ḥakīm-Oghlu 'Alī Paṣha (1150 = 1737). 'Omar Efendi at this time wrote a vivid account of the happenings in Bosnia from the beginning of Muḥarram 1149 (May 1736) to the end of Džumādā I 1152 (end of March 1739); written in a smooth easy style, this work is of considerable importance for social history. It seems to have been called *Ghazarawāt-i Ḥakīm-Oghlu 'Alī Paṣha* but is usually quoted as *Ghazarawāt-i Diyār-i Bosna*, and sometimes as *Ghazarawāt-nāme-i Bānālūkā* (i. e. Banjaluka in Bosnia). As a reward for this literary effort, 'Omar Efendi was promoted to be one of the six judges (*rütbe-i wela-i sitte*). Of his further life and death nothing more is known. It is certain that he ended his days in Bosnisch-Novī and was buried there. The site of his grave is still pointed out but the tombstone has disappeared.

'Omar Efendi's little book is fairly common in MSS. (usually copies of the first printed text); cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 277, to which we may now add: Agram, South Slav Akad. der Wiss., coll. Babinger, N^o. 390 and 391 as well as N^o. 631, iv. (here called *Ghazarawāt-nāme-i Bānālūkā*). The printer Ibrāhīm Muterfiḳā [q. v.] revised and corrected 'Omar Efendi's narrative (cf. Ḥanifzāde in Ḥādjdī Khalīfa, N^o. 14533: *Ghazarawāt-i Diyār-i Bosna*) and published it under the title *Aḥwāl-i Ghazarawāt der Diyār-i Bosna* (8 + 62 p., Stambul 1154; cf. F. Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen im 18. Jahrh.*, Leipzig 1919, p. 17). On later editions cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 277. The book is also accessible in a rather bad German translation and a not very successful English one, cf. *G. O. W.*, S. 277.

Bibliography: Safvetbeg Bašagić, *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti*, Sarajevo 1912, p. 152; F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 276 sq.; Mehmed Handžić, *Književni rad bosanski-here-*

govāḥḳik muslimana, Sarajevo 1934, p. 39 sq.; Muḥammad al-Bosnawī (i. e. Mehmed Handžić), *al-Djawāhir al-Islā fi Tarāḍim ‘Ulmā’ wa-Shu‘ara’ Bosna*, Cairo 1349, p. 112.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

‘OMAR KHAİYĀM, famous Persian scientist and poet of the Saldjūḳ period (d. in 526 = 1132).

Biography. Although reliable information on Khaiyām is still scarce we cannot underestimate the importance of the sources at present available.

In his Algebra he calls himself Abu ‘l-Faḥḥ ‘Omar b. Ibrāhīm al-Khaiyāmī and in his verses seems to use Khaiyām (“tent-maker”) as his *takhal-lus*. It is likely that this nickname refers to the profession of his ancestors. W. Litten, in his pamphlet *Was bedeuten Chajjām? Warum hat O. Chajjām ... gerade diesen Dichternamen gewählt?*, Berlin 1930 (25 p.), has suggested the possibility of a technical interpretation of Khaiyām as “poet, expert in metrics” (cf. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Kaīs, *Ma‘djam*, in *G. M. S.*, p. 13—16), where metrical terms are explained by the names of different parts of the tent (*bait* in Arabic both “house > tent” and “verse”). However, in the well-known quatrains, such as *Khaiyām ki khāima-hā-yi ḥikmat midūkhī* the reference is evidently to “tents” and not to “verses”.

‘Omar was a Khurāsānian, from Nishāpūr or its neighbourhood. The date of his birth is unknown. He was already famous as a mathematician in 467 (1074—1075) when with Abu ‘l-Muzaḥfir Asfīzārī and Maimūn b. Naḍīb Wāsiṭī (cf. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, x. 67, under the year 467) he was invited by Malik-Shāh to collaborate in the reform of the Persian calendar [cf. DJALĀLĪ]. In 506 (1112—1113) Nizāmī-yi ‘Arūḍī met ‘Omar, whom he calls *Hudjdjat al-Haḳḳ*, in Balkh and in 530 (1135—1136) visited his grave in the Hīra cemetery of Nishāpūr “it then being four (variant: *some!*) years since he died”. Consequently the probable date of Khaiyām’s death would be 526 (1132). (On Khaiyām’s grave beside the shrine of Muḥammad Maḥrūk see Muḥammad Hasan, *Maṭla‘ al-Shams*, iii. [Tehran 1303 = 1886], p. 101, 173; Sir P. Sykes, *A pilgrimage to the tomb of ‘Omar Khayyām*, in *Travel and Exploration*, London, Sept. 1909, ii. 129—138, and Williams Jackson, *From Constantinople to the Home of ‘Omar Khayyām*, New York 1911, p. 240—245. See also a picture in the *Times*, July 16, 1934). On the occasion of Firdawsī’s millenary (Oct. 1934) the Persian Government took the occasion also to erect a new monument of white marble over Khaiyām’s tomb).

Nizāmī-yi ‘Arūḍī’s *Čahār Maḳāla*, written ca. 551 (1156), remains the oldest contemporary witness to ‘Omar. The second and even more important biographer is Abu ‘l-Hasan ‘Alī Baihaḳī [q. v.; died 565 (1169)]; the relevant passages, already known through quotations in Shahrāzūrī, have been translated by Jacob and Wiedemann, *Zu ‘Omer-i Chajjām*, in *Isl.*, iii. (1912), p. 42—62 (English transl. of the principal passage by Sir E. D. Ross and H. A. R. Gibb, in *B. S. O. S.*, v., p. 467—473). Baihaḳī calls ‘Omar *al-Dastūr al-Failasūf Hudjdjat al-Islām ‘Omar b. Ibrāhīm al-Khaiyām*. He says that he had a disagreeable character and was not so nice to his pupils as for example Asfīzārī. However, when in 507 (1113) Baihaḳī (at that time only 8 years old; cf. Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb*, v. 208) visited ‘Omar, the latter

examined him in Arabic poetry and geometry and expressed his satisfaction. Malik-Shāh (cf. also *Čahār Maḳāla*, p. 63) and the [Karakhānīd] Shams al-Mulūk of Bukhārā (d. 472 = 1179) were particularly kind to ‘Omar but Saṇḍjār had a grudge against him. Among the persons who had direct intercourse with ‘Omar are mentioned Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī and the learned prince of the Kākoyid dynasty Farāmarz b. ‘Alī b. Farāmarz. In different sciences ‘Omar was a follower of Abū ‘Alī b. Sinā (Avicenna). Though he was a scholar in philosophy, jurisprudence and history he was no prolific writer and of his works Baihaḳī mentions only a short treatise on physics (*Mukhtaṣar fi ‘l-Ṭabī‘iyyāt*), a treatise on Existence (*Fi ‘l-Wudūd*) and a treatise on Being and Obligation (*al-Kawn wa ‘l-Taklīf*). In the *Kharīdat al-Kasr* of ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (written in 572 [1176—1177]) Khaiyām is mentioned as an incomparable scholar of his time enjoying a proverbial reputation (*bihī yudrab al-maḥal*). Khaḳānī (d. 595 = 1198—1199) refers to him once in a verse. Among the later sources may be mentioned Shaikh Naḍīm al-Dīn’s *Mirṣād al-Iḥād* (620 = 1223—1224) where ‘Omar is called “an unhappy philosopher, atheist and materialist”. Kifī, *Ta’rīkh al-Hukamā*, ed. Lippert, p. 243—244 [the passage first utilised by Woeckje], represents Khaiyām as a follower of Greek learning [cf. BAIHAḲĪ]. Shahrāzūrī’s *Nuṣṣat al-Arwāḥ* (xiiith century) chiefly repeats Baihaḳī. Rashīd al-Dīn in his *Djāmī‘ al-Tawārīkh* is the earliest authority known for the tale of three schoolfellows: Nizām al-Mulk, Ḥasanī Šabbāḥ and Khaiyām. The chronological discrepancy involved by this story was already noticed by A. Müller: Nizām al-Mulk was born in 408 (1017) and there are no indications that Khaiyām [or Ḥasanī Šabbāḥ] died at the age of more than 100 years (cf. A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, ii. 97, 111; Browne, *A Liter. Hist. of Persia*, iii. 190—193. On the different explanations of the legend see Houtsma’s preface to al-Bundārī, p. xiv., note 2; Muḥammad-Khān Kazwīnī in Browne’s translation of the *Čahār Maḳāla*, p. 138 and latterly H. Bowen, in *J. R. A. S.*, Oct. 1931, p. 771—782). However, the facts remain that Nizām al-Mulk must have met Ḥasanī Šabbāḥ (cf. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, x. 110 [year 494]) and that Khaiyām in his metaphysical treatise dispassionately mentions the Ismā‘īl among the searchers for metaphysical truth, but the authorship of the treatise is suspect.

Khaiyām as a scientist. Khaiyām’s scientific activities for a long time eclipsed his poetical renown and in 1848 Reinaud in his learned introduction to Abu ‘l-Fidā’s *Geography* wrote: “malheureusement, ‘Omar alliait avec l’astronomie le goût de la poésie et du plaisir”.

On the reform of the calendar for which Khaiyām is responsible jointly with his colleagues, cf. DJALĀLĪ.

MSS. of Khaiyām’s principal work on Algebra exist in Leyden, Paris and the India Office (see Woeckje, *L’algèbre d’Omer Alkhayyami publiée, traduite et accompagnée d’extraits de mss. inédits*, p. 1851). Khaiyām’s introduction to his researches on Euclid’s axioms (*Muṣāḍarāt*) has been translated by Jacob and Wiedemann, in *Isl.*, iii. (MS. in Leyden). The treatise *Mushkilāt al-Hisāb* exists in Munich. G. Sartori, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Washington 1927, i. 759—761, calls Khaiyām “one of the greatest mathematicians of

mediaeval times. His Algebra contains geometric and algebraic solutions of equations of the second degree; an admirable classification of equations, including the cubic; a systematic attempt to solve them all and partial geometric solutions of most of them. His classification of equations... is based on... the number of different terms which they include... thus ‘Omar recognises 13 different forms of cubic equations.... Binomial development when the exponent is a positive integer. Study of the postulates and generalities of Euclid” (cf. also W. E. Story, *Omar as Mathematician*, Boston 1918 [17 pages]). In physics Khaiyām’s researches were devoted to the specific weight of silver and gold (MS. in Gotha; see Wiedemann, *Über Bestimmung der spezifischen Gewichte* [Beitrag 8], in *S.B.P.M.S. Ergl.*, xxxviii. [1906], p. 170—173). The *Ta’rikh-i Alfī* (written about 1000 = 1591) quotes the names of the *Mizān al-Hikam* “on the methods of ascertaining the value of objects studded with precious stones without taking the latter out” [perhaps the same work on specific weight] and of the *Lawāzim al-Amkina* “on the methods of determining the orientation and the cause of the difference of climate of various countries”.

Of metaphysical works of Khaiyām a MS. of the above mentioned treatise on Existence is in Berlin and a MS. of a little Persian treatise (*Dar ‘Ilm-i Kulliyāt*) in Paris. Of the latter Christensen has translated several chapters, *Un traité de métaphysique de ‘Omar Khayyām*, in *M.O.*, i. (1908), p. 1—16. This treatise, of the contents of which Christensen has a poor opinion, is dedicated to a certain Fakhr al-Milla wa ‘l-Dīn Mu‘ayyad al-Mulk, probably one of Nizām al-Mulk’s sons.

Finally must be mentioned the *Nawrūz-nāma* of which the existence was first revealed by F. Rosen, *The Quatrains of O. Khayyām newly translated*, London 1930, p. 5—18. The text based on the unique Berlin MS. [Rosen: 1365 A.D.; Muḥammad Khān Kazwīnī: “not later than the viith century of the Hijra”] was published with notes and a glossary by Muḥdjab Mīnowī, Tīhrān 1933. This treatise is a presentation pamphlet written at the request of a friend. The matters referring to Nawrūz [q.v.] occupy only 19 pages out of 77; the rest is taken up by such subjects as gold, horses, falcons, wine, beautiful faces. The treatise does not show any deep knowledge in the compiler and its authorship, for several reasons, cannot be considered as finally established. An incomplete copy of the same treatise (perhaps the first 43 pages out of 77 of the printed edition exists in the British Museum, Add. 23,568, fol 86b—101b: *Risāla dar taḥkik-i Nawruz* [anonymous]).

For lists of Khaiyām’s scientific works see Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 471; Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, 1900, p. 112; Muḥammad Khān Kazwīnī, notes to the *Čahār Maqāla*, p. 220—221; Csillik, *op. cit.*, introduction (21 names are quoted of which some are only Persian equivalents of Arabic titles).

In a very detailed book *Khayyām, ōr uske sawānih wa-taḥānif pur naqīdāna naẓar*, published in Hindustani by Saiyid Sulaimān Nadwī, ‘Azamgarh 1933 (508 pages), the following scientific works ascribed to Khaiyām have been reproduced: *Risālat al-Kawn wa ‘l-Taklīf* (with further polemics on the subject); *Risālat al-Wudjūd* (published in

Cairo under the name of *Ḍiyā’ al-‘aklī*); *Risālat al-Wudjūd* also called *al-Awṣāf li ‘l-Mawṣūfāt*; *Risālat fi Kulliyāt-i Wudjūd* (in Persian); *Mizān al-Hikam*.

Khaiyām as a poet. Already ‘Imād al-Dīn Iṣfahānī in his *Khariḍat al-Ḳasr* (572 = 1172) mentions Khaiyām among the poets of Khurāsān and quotes four Arabic verses of his. Naḍīm al-Dīn Rāzī cites two quatrains in Persian. Shahrāzūrī gives three Arabic fragments (?) numbering respectively 4, 6 and 3 verses [while the Persian translation of Shahrāzūrī, finished in 1011 (1602), substitutes for them 2 Persian quatrains]; that of 6 verses belongs to the same poem as the verses quoted by ‘Imād al-Dīn. Kiftī reproduces exactly the latter’s quotation. Djuwainī (658 = 1260), i. 128, puts a Persian quatrain into the mouth of Saiyid ‘Izz al-Dīn who was counting the victims of the Mongol invasion in Khwārizm in 618 (1221). One quatrain is found in the *Ta’rikh-i Guzida*, in *G. M. S.*, p. 818. From 741 (1340) we possess 13 quatrains preserved in the *Mu’nis al-Ahrār*. The MS. edited by F. Rosen contains 329 quatrains but its date 721 (1321) is certainly wrong. The other oldest collections of the ixth (xvth) century are:

Sambul A S 1032	861	(1456—1457)
		131 quatrains;
" NO 3892	865	(1460—1461)
		315 quatrains;
Oxford Bodl. Ouseley 140	865	(1460—1461)
		158 quatrains.

Later the number of *rubā’iyāt* in some MSS. rapidly rises: the MS. in Vienna (Flügel, *Handschriften*, i. 496, N^o. 507) dated 957 (1550), has 482 *rubā’i*, that of the Bankipūr Public Library, dated 961 (1553—1554), 604 *rubā’i*, till finally in the Lucknow edition of A.D. 1894 one finds 770 *rubā’i*. Miss Jessie E. Cadell (*Fraser’s Magazine*, May 1879) is said to have collected from all available sources 1,200 quatrains; see the list of the MSS. in Csillik, *op. cit.*, p. 37—39.

Already in Th. Hyde’s *Veterum Persarum... religionis historia*, Oxford 1700, p. 529—30, there is found a Latin translation of Khaiyām’s quatrain *Ay, sūkhṭa-yi sūkhṭa-yi sūkhṭamī*. For the first time several Persian quatrains were published in a Persian grammar compiled by F. Dombay in Vienna in 1804. Khaiyām’s renown in Europe, however, was long based on his scientific activities and it is noteworthy that his Treatise on Algebra was translated in 1851, while the first edition of Fitz-Gerald’s famous version of the quatrains was published in 1859, the French edition by Nicolas in 1867, and only since the second edition of Fitz-Gerald’s version in 1868 has the wave of admiration for Khaiyām swept through western lands.

Critical studies of the text started only in 1897 when Żukowsky published his article ‘*Omar Khayyām i transtwuuyshchīya četveroostishīya*, in *al-Muzaḥaffariya*, a presentation volume to Baron V. Rosen, St. Petersburg 1897, p. 324—363 [made more widely accessible in an early (abridged) translation by Sir E. D. Ross, in *J. R. A. S.*, xxiii., 1898, p. 349—366]. Żukowsky’s merits consist in: 1. rendering accessible some old texts on Khaiyām’s biography entirely unknown up to that time, and 2. shattering the uncritical belief in the authenticity of the existing collections of quatrains. Żukowsky showed that 82 out of 464 quatrains included in Nicolas’ edition are found also in the *diwāns* of

39 other authors (and sometimes simultaneously in the *diwāns* of several poets). He then divided these 82 quatrains into different subject groups and thought that the proportion thus obtained would (in inverse order!) serve as a hint for the characteristics of Khaiyām. For example, the interpolations of epicurean character represent 33⁰/₁₀₀, and those which give expression to Muslim free-thinking 29⁰/₁₀₀. Therefore, the safest way is to take as a basis the least interpolated groups “of which the authenticity has been shattered the least”. Consequently Żukowsky attaches a particular importance to the “mystic šūfism” in Khaiyām’s poetry. This theory (which puzzled Christensen, *Recherches*, p. 10, and misled Hartmann, in *W.Z.K.M.*, xvii. 367) is certainly insufficient both psychologically and statistically, for it is not the percentage of interpolations but that of the remaining quatrains which is of importance. So Żukowsky’s discovery of a high proportion of “wandering” quatrains is valuable only as a negative principle (cf. Barthold, in *Zap.*, xxv. 403–404). The thoroughness of Żukowsky’s work is shown by the fact that the later researches by E. D. Ross and Christensen resulted in the raising of the total number of ascertained “wandering” quatrains only to 108.

In his *Recherches sur les Rubāʿiyāt de ‘Omar Hayyām*, Heidelberg 1904, Christensen went one stage farther. Stating how rapidly the number of quatrains increased since the date of the Bodleian MS. (only a century later the Bankipūr MS. contains 604 quatrains!), he postulated a similar process for the time separating that MS. from Khaiyām’s death (over three centuries): “how many quatrains there would remain attributable to Khaiyām? A *diwān* is transmitted tolerably intact, whereas a collection of *rubāʿi* is much more exposed to tampering”. Consequently “there exist no criteria [of genuineness] both as regards the form and the matter” of the quatrains (p. 32). Christensen admitted only the probability that the twelve *rubāʿi* containing Khaiyām’s name and the two quoted by Nadīm al-Dīn Rāzī had some chance of being genuine. [But even one of the 12 quatrains of the first category has a variant ascribed to Afḡal-i Kāshī!]. The more optimistic conclusions of Christensen are that those 14 quatrains “contain, so to speak, in nucleus all the *rubāʿiyāt*” and that in general the poetical and historical importance of the *rubāʿiyāt* must be severed from the question of their authorship. As Khaiyām wrote in the national Persian spirit the later addition kept “within the same cycle of ideas” (see the 14 quatrains above mentioned). Only the few mystical and erotic quatrains seem to be interpolations foreign to Khaiyām’s nature. In a following chapter Christensen studies the historical traits of the Persian national character and winds up by saying that “Khaiyām’s spirit is the Persian spirit as it existed in the Middle Ages, and as in substance it is nowadays” (p. 89). This part of Christensen’s reasoning must be inevitably accepted *cum grano salis*, such matters admitting unfortunately no final demonstration. A further step in the study of Khaiyām’s text was the discovery by Muḥammad Khān Kazwīnī of 13 quatrains in the anthology *Muʿnis al-Ahrār* (composed and copied in 714 = 1340; see Sir D. Ross, in *B.S.O.S.*, iv/iii., p. 433–439). F. Rosen, in the Persian preface to his new edition (1925) of the *Rubāʿiyāt* (also in German, *Zur Textfrage der Vierzeiler ‘Omars des Zeltmachers*,

in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1926, p. 285–313), criticised the exaggerations of the theory of “wandering” quatrains but authenticated only 23 *rubāʿi* (those quoted by Rāzī, Djuwainī etc., six of those containing the name of Khaiyām and 13 of the *Muʿnis al-Ahrār*). Finally, after a new revision of all the materials available, Christensen in his *Critical Studies in the Rubāʿiyāt of ‘Umar-i Khayyām*, Copenhagen 1927, offered a new criterion to ascertain the genuineness of the quatrains. He divided (p. 19) the collections of quatrains into three categories: those in which the quatrains are disposed without any alphabetical arrangement, those with single alphabetical arrangement (i. e., in groups according to the final letter of the rhyme) and those with double alphabetical arrangement (under each rhyme letter the quatrains disposed in the order of the first letter, of the beginning word). He takes the first arrangement as the oldest and of this group mentions five specimens: one bearing the apparently false date 721 (1321), one dated 902 (1496) etc. The double alphabetical arrangement is already found in the Bodleian MS. and the single alphabetical one must be presumably older. Moreover Christensen noticed that in different collections (of the first and second class) there were found series of quatrains “in the same, longer or shorter succession” (p. 13). Though the comparison of the non-alphabetical group led “to a purely negative result” (p. 27) as regards the establishing of a textual tradition, Christensen suggests that in some cases (MSS. dated 1528 and 1540) the principle underlying the non-alphabetical arrangement was the disposition according to the contents. Moreover he thinks that we may “learn something by studying the total stock of the texts” (p. 27) and consequently (p. 39) lays down an elaborate system of rules based upon the number of times a given *rubāʿi* is found in different groups of MSS. This system being strictly enforced entails considerable changes in the former views on the subject: thus out of the six best attested quatrains containing Khaiyām’s name one is proclaimed spurious, one uncertain and four genuine (p. 40). Finally 121 quatrains which have stood the test are taken as a basis for a new characteristic of ‘Omar.

The new method, in spite of its mathematical character, greatly depends on the materials utilised by its author. H. Ritter in his important review of Christensen’s work (*Zur Frage der Echtheit der Vierzeiler ‘Omar Chayyāms*, in *O. L. Z.*, 1929, N^o. 3, col. 156–163) has quoted 7 ancient MSS. found in Constantinople. Of these the two oldest (that of 861 = 1456 containing 131 quatrains, and that of 865 = 1461 containing 315 quatrains) are non-alphabetical while that of 876 (1471–1472) containing 320 quatrains is alphabetical. This fact is partially in favour of Christensen’s views but the order in the two non-alphabetical MSS. is different from that of BNI (the oldest of the non-alphabetical MSS. quoted by Christensen, dated 902 = 1496–1497 and containing 213 quatrains). On the other hand, the MS. of 865, contemporary with the famous Bodleian MS., contains double the number of the latter’s quatrains. Lastly two of the MSS. mentioned by H. Ritter contain each 478 quatrains in a special arrangement by Yer (بر) Aḥmad b. Ḥusain al-Rašhīdī al-Tabrizī, who in 867 (1462–1463) arranged the quatrains

in nine chapters according to their subjects. This fact, Ritter thinks, may be responsible for the traces of a similar arrangement in the two later MSS. (dated 1528 and 1540) mentioned by Christensen [on Tabriz's redaction a paper was read by M. F. M. Kōprülü-zāde at the Orientalists Congress at Oxford; it was also known to Ḥusain Dānīsh; v. i.]. So H. Ritter falls back upon Christensen's conclusions of 1904 and in a somewhat modified form insists on the practical impossibility of authenticating this or that of *Khayyām's* quatrains. The *rubā'iyāt* have been transmitted by methods typical of popular songs (typische Volksliedüberlieferung); they express the popular feeling of the masses (Volksempfindung) which opposed the official religious and literary spirit of foreign origin. As now we happen to speak of a truly "*Khayyāmic*" quatrain, so historically the particular genre must have been associated with the great savant, and Christensen's attribution of his selection of quatrains to 'Omar can be understood only in the sense of a collective name for all what is looked upon as a manifestation of a peculiar tradition (Einzelüberlieferung).

Finally must be mentioned the discovery of a MS. dated 1423 and containing 206 quatrains announced by Maḥfūz al-Ḥaḥḥ at the meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, on April 5, 1932, and H. H. Schaefer's paper *Der geschichtliche und der mythische 'Omar Chajjām*, read at the Orientalistentag held at Bonn at the end of August 1934. Schaefer is extremely and perhaps excessively sceptical as regards the attribution of the quatrains to 'Omar *Khayyām*. He concludes by saying that "*Khayyām's* name must be struck out of the history of Persian literature". He also doubts the authenticity of the treatise published by Christensen and the *Naurūs-nāma*. Schaefer's paper will appear in book form. For a resumé see *Z. D. M. G.*, xiii./2, 1934, p. *25—*28.

Conclusions. The upshot of the preceding study is that we possess nothing approaching a *recensio recepta* of *Khayyām's* poetical works. What should we say, if for characteristics of a historical personality we had his correspondence in which scarcely a single letter could be authenticated and many were decidedly spurious? Taking, for instance, the important point of "mystic *Šūfism*" we find that Žukowsky makes a strong point of it in *Khayyām's* poetry, while Christensen denies its importance, though in support of this insufficiently attested tendency one could quote *Khayyām's* metaphysical treatise in which the most honourable place is reserved to the *Šūfī* seekers of Truth (cf. Rosen, 1926).

The striking contradictions in the ideas and feelings expressed in the *Rubā'iyāt* have struck all those who have written on *Khayyām* and the characteristic trait of the "type associated with *Khayyām*" seems to be precisely the alternation of sarcastic pessimism and epicurean hedonism, of the consciousness of frailty of our contingent existence and the joyful motto of *carpe diem*. Nevertheless it must be admitted that the pessimistic side of *Khayyām's* poetry is better attested by the quotations in the older biographers and, what is more, by the Arabic verses of 'Omar *Khayyām* which may have suffered in transmission but which certainly could not be imitated by popular tradition (F. Rosen has utilised the Arabic verses in his penetrating study of 1926).

FitzGerald's version. *Khayyām's* popularity among large circles of the public is chiefly due to the English version by E. FitzGerald [1809—1883]. This paraphrase of exceptional poetical merits, consisting in the second edition of 110 quatrains [third edition: 101], cannot, however, be taken for a translation in the strict sense of the word. E. Heron-Allen who most carefully compared the English and Persian texts (*Some side-light upon FitzGerald's poem "The Rubā'iyāt of 'O. Khayyām"*, 1898) has established that 49 quatrains are faithful paraphrases of single *rubā'ī*; 44 are traceable to more than one *rubā'ī*; 2 are inspired by the *rubā'ī* found only in Nicolas' edition; 2 reflect the "whole spirit" of the original; 2 are traceable exclusively to 'Aṭṭār; 2 are inspired by *Khayyām* but influenced by Ḥāfiẓ and 3 (only in the first two editions) could not be identified. As manifestations of the almost religious feeling with which the admirers treat FitzGerald's version may be mentioned the 'Omar *Khayyām* Club, founded in London in 1892 (and its numerous imitations in the U. S. A.), as well as J. R. Tutin's book, *A concordance to FitzGerald's translations*, London 1900.

Bibliography: See the works mentioned in the present article. For the older bibliography see H. Ethé, in *G. I. Ph.*, ii. 275—277; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 1906, ii. 246—259; Krīmsky, *Istoriya Persii* (*Trudi po vostokovedeniyu*, xvi., tome i., No. 4), Moscow 1909, p. 358—390. Last in date and very complete is A. G. Potter, *A bibliography of the Rubā'iyāt of 'Omar Khayyām, together with kindred matter in prose and verse pertaining thereto* [second edition], London 1929, 314 pp. [contains 1,308 printed items and mentions over 50 principal MSS. and 35 editions of the text].

More important articles on *Khayyām* are P. Horn, *Gesch. d. persischen Literatur*, Leipzig 1901, p. 150—155; E. D. Ross' introduction (p. 1—91) to H. B. Batson's edition of FitzGerald's version, London 1901; R. A. Nicholson's introduction to FitzGerald's version (printed by A. and C. Black), London 1909 (numerous reprints); Muḥammad Khān Kazwīnī, notes to his edition of the *Caḥār Maḥala*, in *G. M. S.*, 1910, p. 209—228 and 359, resumé in E. G. Browne's translation, 1921, p. 134—139; E. Bertels, *Öcherk istorii persidskoy literatury*, Leningrad 1828, p. 44—45.

The principal European editions of the Persian text are J. B. Nicolas (with a French translation), Paris 1867; E. H. Whinfield (with an English translation), London 1882, 1893 etc.; E. Heron-Allen (facsimile of the Bodleian MS. of 865 = 1460 with an English translation), London 1898; F. Rosen, Berlin, Kavian Press, 1304 = 1925; Ḥusain Dānīsh with a translation and an interesting introduction in Turkish, second edition, Constantinople 1346 = 1927; Christensen, *Critical Studies* (v. s.) with a complete comparative table of the quatrains in the principal collections; B. Csillik, *Les manuscrits mineurs des Rubā'iyāt de 'Omar Khayyām dans la Bibl. Nationale, textes originaux des mss.*, Suppl. Persan 1777, 826, 745, 793, 1481, 1425, 1817, 1327, 1458, published as No. 2 of the *Travaux de la Bibl. Universitaire de Suedg*, viii. (French introduction) + 69 (Hungarian introduction) + 85 p. (Persian text) [a very thorough study].

Translations into principal European languages: into English see above, Whinfield, Heron-Allen, Christensen, J. Payne, 1898; F. Rosen, *The quatrains newly translated*, London 1930; into German: A. von Schack, Stuttgart 1878; Bodenstein, Breslau 1881; F. Rosen, *Die Sinnsprüche Omars des Zeltmachers* (several editions); into French: see above Nicolas, Ch. Grolleau, Paris 1902; Claude Anet [in collaboration with Muḥammad Khān Ḳazwīnī], Paris 1920 (144 quatrains). Cf. also the extensive collection of translations into English, French, German, Italian and Danish edited by N. H. Dole, Boston and London 1898, 2 vols., clxxix. + 655 p. Single quatrains have been translated into most of European and extra-European languages, Basque, Yiddish and Gypsy included. Modern Arabic translations: Aḥmad Ḥāmid al-Ṣarrāf, Baghdād 1350 (1931) (with lengthy introduction); al-Saiyid Aḥmad al-Ṣāfi al-Nadjaḥ, Dimishḳ 1350. (V. MINORSKY)

'OMĀRA B. ABI 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. ZAIDĀN AL-ḤAKĀMĪ AL-YAMANĪ, an Arab man of letters born in 515 (1121) in Marṭān on the Wādī Wasā' in the district of al-Zarā'ib in the Tihāmat al-Yaman, executed on Ramaḍān 2, 569 (April 6, 1174) in Cairo by orders of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [cf. the article SALADIN]. In that period the Yaman, broken up into many little principalities, was suffering severely from continual civil wars. Traditional learning was still in a flourishing condition however, especially in the large towns. In 530 (1136) 'Omāra was sent by his father to Zabīd, where he studied, especially Shāfi'ī law, under 'Abd Allāh b. al-Abbār and others. In the year 535 he was given his teacher's diploma (*idjāza*), visited his parents and taught for three years in the madrasa of Zabīd. While civil war was raging with particular violence in Zabīd, he spent some time in the coast town of 'Anbara where he was on intimate terms with one of the pretenders, 'Alī b. Maḥdī [q. v.]. Returning to Zabīd, he continued his studies and in the years 538—548 engaged in trading between Zabīd and 'Aden which brought him into contact with the Banū Nadjaḥ, a dynasty of Abyssinian origin reigning in Zabīd. In the year 538 (1143) he went on his first ḥajj with some members of the dynasty. In 'Aden he entered literary circles and was able to develop his poetic gifts. The rivalry between the Nadjaḥids and the Zurā'ids who ruled in 'Aden provoked intrigues against him which threatened his life and forced him to leave the Yaman. In 549 (1155) he went on pilgrimage to Mecca and was sent by the Sharif Ḳasim b. Ḥashim on a mission to the Fāṭimids in Egypt. Returning to Mecca in the same year, he visited Zabīd and 'Aden for the last time in 551 (1156) and in 552 (1157) again made the ḥajj. Sent on a mission a second time, he settled permanently in Egypt. He said himself that he came here to seek "position and fortune" (*al-lubn 'l-djāha wa 'l-māla*: *Diwān*, i. 287); his later life is typical of the Arab *adīb*. Although he held for some time the title of ḳāḍī, he devoted himself exclusively to working as a court poet. His ḳaṣidas of praise were dedicated not so often to the last Fāṭimid caliphs *fainéants* al-Fa'iz [q. v.] (d. 555 = 1160) and al-ʿAḍid [q. v.] (d. 567 = 1171) as to their autocratic viziers, who changed on the stage like marionettes: Ṭalā'ī^c b. Ruzzik

[q. v.] (d. 556 = 1161), Ruzzik (d. 558 = 1163), Dirghām [q. v.] (d. 559 = 1164) and Shirkūh [q. v.] (d. 564 = 1169). In the continued changes at court, 'Omāra managed always to hold his position. When Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn came to power first as vizier, he addressed to him in 1169 an appeal in verse which appears to have had the desired effect. With the end of the dynasty his position became difficult; 'Omāra was neither a Shī'ī nor an Ismā'īlī (cf. however Imād al-Dīn in Derenbourg, I, 399 or al-Djanadī, *ibid.*, ii. 546—547) but his sympathies inclined to the Fāṭimids and he openly expressed them in a popular ḳaṣida of lament. Very soon afterwards he took part in a conspiracy, the object of which was the restoration of the Fāṭimids, was crucified along with other participants and buried in the cemetery of Cairo.

Among his contemporaries 'Omāra was especially renowned as an authority on law; in Zabīd he was known as *al-Faraḍī*, in al-Yaman as *al-Faḳīh* (see al-Djanadī in Derenbourg, ii. 546); several textbooks compiled by him on *al-farā'id* were popular in his native land in his lifetime (see *al-Nukat* in Derenbourg, i. 23). Nothing of his legal work has survived and we only know him as a literary man of very ordinary type. His works are of considerable importance for the history of his own time, but Derenbourg much exaggerates their literary value. The most interesting is perhaps *al-Nukat al-aṣriya fī Akhbār al-Wuzarā' al-Miṣriya* (ed. by Derenbourg, i. 5—154; ii. 503—511) which contains many autobiographical details, an anthology of his verse and notes on the contemporary Egyptian viziers. It begins in the year 558 (1162) and comes down to the death of Shāwar (564 = 1169). He dedicated his history of al-Yaman to the Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil [q. v.] (1135—1200); it was begun at his suggestion in 563 and finished in the following year (ed. by H. C. Kay). Based on the same plan as a work of his predecessor, the emīr of Zabīd Djaiyāsh b. Nadjaḥ (d. 498 = 1158), called *al-Mufid fī Akhbār Zabīd*, which has not come down to us, it is known as the *Tārīkh al-Yaman*. Its importance lies mainly in what he tells from his own experience or from hearsay. Of less interest are his *Tarassulāt*, nine in number (ed. Derenbourg, ii. 431—490). They show the influence of the famous *Rasā'il* of al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil, being in rhymed prose filled with all kinds of stylistic figures. His anthology of the poets of Arabia, particularly of al-Yaman, has not come down to us but was much used by Imād al-Dīn in his *Kharīdat al-Ḳaṣr*. Of his *Diwān* (ed. by Derenbourg, i. 155—394; ii. 405—429, 511—539) no proper edition exists and all the known manuscripts differ in their contents and are not all complete. His famous ḳaṣida of lamentation for the Fāṭimids for example is known not from his own *Diwān* but from the separate MSS. and other sources (in addition to the texts from Ibn Wāṣil and al-Maḳrīzī given by Derenbourg, ii. 612—616 see now al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, *Subḥ al-Aṣḥā*, iii., Cairo 1914, p. 530—532). As a poet 'Omāra was entirely in the tradition of the later 'Abbāsīd school. His models in the panegyric style he found in Bashshār, Miḥyār and al-Buḥtūrī (*Diwān*, i. 266—267); to these may be added Abū Tammām (the Arab critics had already noticed this; cf. e.g. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Mathal al-sā'ir*, Cairo 1282, p. 409) and al-Mutanabbī. The influence of the last named is particularly marked,

not only in his verses, but also in many passages in his letters. As regards subject, his poems are mainly *qaṣīdas* of praise or lamentation. Satires (*hiǧāʿ*) are rare as he had once promised his father never to insult a Muslim (Derenbourg, ii. 791). This of course did not prevent him from mocking officials of Christian origin in epigrams which are quite obscene (*Diwān*, i. 312, 331); in keeping with the taste of his time we frequently find in his *Diwān* pornographic lines (i. 383, 393; ii. 421, No. 343). The form of his poetry follows tradition in matter and composition; only a few *muwawshshahāt* are attributed to him (*Diwān*, i. 388—391; to be added in M. Hartmann, *Das arabische Strophengedicht*, i., Weimar 1897).

Bibliography: *Yaman. Its early mediæval history by Najm ad-dīn 'Omārah al-Hakamī... The original Text, with Translation and Notes by Henry Cassels Kay, London 1892* (cf. thereon W. Robertson Smith, *Remarks*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1893, p. 181—217 and Henry C. Kay, *Observations*, *ibid.*, p. 218—236); '*Oumāra du Yémen, sa vie et son œuvre par Hartwig Derenbourg*, i., *Autobiographie et Récits sur les Vixirs d'Égypte. Choix de Poésies*, Paris 1897 (= *P. E. L. O. V.*, ser. iv., vol. x.); ii. (*Partie arabe*). *Poésies, Épîtres, Biographies. Notices en arabe par 'Oumāra et sur 'Oumāra*, Paris 1902; ii. (*Partie française*). *Vie de 'Oumāra du Yémen*, Paris 1904[—1909. Never finished after the author's death] (= *P. E. L. O. V.*, ser. iv., vol. xi); important Arabic sources are given in the original by Derenbourg, i. 395—399; ii. 491—502, 541—652 (a good many additions can now be made, e.g. al-Yāfi'i, *Mir'āt al-Djanān*, iii., Haidarābād 1338, p. 390—392); F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden-Chalifen*, Göttingen 1881, p. 344—347; do., *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke*, Göttingen 1882, p. 90—91, No. 263; P. Casanova, *Les derniers Fatimides*, in *M. I. F. A. O.*, vi., part 3, Cairo 1893, p. 420, 431, 441; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 333—334; Kh. al-Zurukli, *al-'Ālam*, ii., Cairo 1927, p. 709—710; J. E. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bibliographie arabe* (Arabic), Cairo [1929], p. 1377—1379. — It is to be hoped that the revival of interest in Ismā'īlī literature will throw further light on 'Omāra's activity in the last days of the Fatimids. (IGN. KRATSKHOSKY)

OMDURMAN (UMM DURMĀN), a town of the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān situated on the west bank of the main Nile immediately below the junction of the Blue and White Niles. A seven-span steel bridge built in 1925—1928 connects Omdurman with Khartūm [q. v.], and the two towns (together with Khartūm North on the right bank of the Blue Nile) form for practical purposes a single city; but whereas Khartūm as the seat of the government and the centre of foreign commerce has acquired a European character blended of British and Levantine elements, Omdurman remains the focus of native life and of the internal trade of the Sūdān. The inhabitants number some 110,000, of whom the great majority are natives drawn from every part of the country.

The importance of Omdurman is of very recent origin: it started as an insignificant village in the territory of the Fithāb (a branch of the Djamū'iya tribe) and is first mentioned as the dwelling-place of an ascetic and "holy man", Ḥamad b. Muḥammad generally known as Ḥamad

Walad Umm Maryūm, who lived from 1646 to 1730 A. D. (see MacMichael, *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, ii. 277). The site first became important when it was fortified by Gordon for the defence of Khartūm against the Darwish army of Muḥammad Aḥmad [q. v.] who captured it on January 15, 1885, ten days before the fall and sack of Khartūm. Under Muḥammad Aḥmad's successor, the khalifa 'Abdullāhi, Omdurman was the capital of the Mahdist state and the religious centre of the new sect. The Mahdi's tomb, a domed building designed by an Egyptian captive, was erected in the middle of the new settlement which henceforth was known as Buḳ'at al-Mahdi, the [holy] place of the Mahdi, and by the khalifa's ordinance the duty of visiting the tomb was substituted for the orthodox pilgrimage to Mecca. In order to consolidate his personal rule the khalifa induced large numbers of his fellow-tribesmen, the Ta'aisha and other Baḳḳāra from the western Sūdān, to settle in Omdurman where they could support themselves only through the spoliation of the riverain population; this migration was described as a *hiǧra* in accordance with the Mahdist practice of establishing analogies between the life of Muḥammad Aḥmad and his companions and the early history of Islām. The population of Omdurman was further swelled by the enforced settlement of large numbers of tribesmen from all parts of the country whom the khalifa desired to concentrate at his own headquarters for political or military reasons. The town grew up in a haphazard fashion and, apart from the houses of the khalifa and his principal amirs, consisted of a straggling mass of straw huts covering a length of about six miles from south to north. The khalifa's "mosque" was a vast open space in the centre of the town enclosed by brick walls. For a graphic description of Omdurman under the khalifa's rule see Sir Rudolf von Slatin's *Fire and Sword in the Sudan*.

The reconquest of the Sūdān by the Anglo-Egyptian forces under Sir Herbert (later Lord) Kitchener was completed by the battle of Omdurman on September 2, 1898, the scene of which was near the village of Kerreri a few miles to the north of the town. Under the new administration the town has acquired such modern features as regularly laid-out streets, tramways and electric light. The houses of the well-to-do townspeople and the government buildings are built of brick and stone, but a large part of the town still consists of the rectangular mud buildings which are characteristic of the northern Sūdān, and the life of the busy markets preserves its Oriental and African character. Associated with the principal mosque there is an institution known as *al-ma'had al-'ilmī*, presided over by a *shaiikh al-'ulamā*, which provides instruction in the traditional subjects of Muslim learning. The *kaḍīs* employed in Muslim law courts are however drawn from students of the Gordon College in Khartūm. For secular education Omdurman possesses a government intermediate school and several *kuttābs* (government elementary schools) as well as a number of schools maintained by missionary societies and by private enterprise.

Bibliography: Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sūdān*, eighth ed., Leipzig 1929; W. S. Churchill, *The River War*, London 1899; H. A. MacMichael, *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922, see index; Rudolf von Slatin Pasha, *Fire and Sword in the Sudan* (first ed., London 1896;

often reprinted); *Report on the Administration, Finances and Condition of the Sudan* (H. M. Stationery Office, London 1925, and annually).

(S. HILLELSON)

ORĀMĀR, URMAR. The administrative geography of Turkey speaks sometimes of the *kaḏā* of Urmār containing two *nāhiya*, Djlulur and Ishāzin, with 32 townships and 25,910 inhabitants (cf. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, ii. 756), sometimes of a *nāhiya* of this name forming part of the *kaḏā* of Gawar, in the sandjak of Hakkari, in the wilāyet of Wān [q. v.]. We incline rather to the second definition, having visited this district, lost in the middle of Central Kurdistan. Not only has Orāmār not the importance of a *kaḏā* but the two *nāhiya* attributed to it are inhabited exclusively by Nestorians [q. v.] the one, Djlū, being autonomous while Orāmār is at present at least purely Kurdish and an appanage of the house of Mālā Miri, a tribe of Duskani Zhūri and not Heriki (Cuinet, *op. cit.*): a further proof of the inaccuracy of the Turkish statements regarding this part of Kurdistan. The boundaries of Orāmār are on the north Ishāzin and Gawar; on the south Rēkān; on the west Djlū, Bāz and Tkūma [cf. NESTORIANS] and Artush; in the east Sāt [cf. SHAMDINĀN]. Orāmār situated at a height of 5,520 feet (cf. Dickson) is a group of hamlets scattered on the two sides of a rocky mountain spur above the Rūbārī Shīn. On the spur itself which is called Gaparānī Zhēr, at the place named Gire Būti, is the capital of the group and the residence of the *aghās*, the Nāw Gund or "the middle of the town". A large cemetery occupies the promontory at the end of the spur. The name Gire Būti which we explain as the "hill of the idol" seems to indicate the antiquity of the settlement. The fact that the slopes separated by the Gaparān are very carefully cultivated and present a complicated system of little terraces each of which is a field or tiny kitchen garden, leads one to believe that man chose this site for habitation a long time ago, perhaps simply on account of its extreme isolation in the centre of a wild country.

Orography. On the general character of the country see the article NESTORIANS. Orāmār is at east end of the curve traced by the system of the Djlū Dāgh. According to Dickson, the chains and valleys of Turkish Kurdistan run roughly along the parallels of latitude and take a south-eastern direction as they approach the Persian frontier and at the point where they change their axis form a complicated system of heights and valleys. The most complicated part near the centre of the change of axis in question may be called Harki-Orāmār.

Road system. Although they are really nothing but tracks used for intertribal communications, it is nevertheless interesting to indicate the directions to connect the routes with the road-system which we have studied at Rawāndīz and Shamdinān [cf. these articles] which must have played a more prominent part in ancient times. Orāmār is connected with Gawar via Shamsiki, the pass of Baštazin, 'Alī Kānī, Bāzīgā and Dizza. It is a road which shows traces of works undertaken at the more dangerous places. To the south the road going through a very narrow defile leads first to Nerwa (cf. below) where it forks: 1. to the west, by the district of Artush, via Bīri-Či-Titim and the district of Nirwei via Willa and Pīri Halāna, this last place being

on the left bank of the Great Zāb opposite Suriya on the road from 'Akrā; 2. to the east, by the district of Rekāni, via Bezālī-Sahādja and Awi Marik (water course) to Barzān and Bahri Ras on the left bank of the Great Zāb opposite Bira Kepran, also on the road from Akrā. A third road goes from Nerwa to Nehri, the centre of Shamdinān, via Razga, the heights of Peramizi (frontier of the three tribes — Rekāni, Harki, Duskāni), Deri, defile of Harki (Shiwa Harki), Begor, Mazra, Nehri. — It is to be hoped that with the final delimitation of the boundary between Turkey and the 'Irāk, this region will be properly surveyed and mapped and will no longer as at present show so many blanks and inaccuracies on the maps (cf. *Asie Française*, Oct.-Nov. 1926, treaty of delimitation).

Ethnography. The following Kurdish tribes may be mentioned in Orāmār itself and in the vicinity with ramifications inevitable as a result of the Kurd migrations. After the name of each tribe we give in brackets that of the district and the number of households: Duskānī Zhūri (Orāmār, 2,000); Nirwei (Nerwa, *kaḏā* of Amādiya, 800); Dīri (Gawar and Gelia Dīri, 1,000); Peniānīsh (between Gawar and Djlūmerk, and the part of the Pīrhulki, near Baškāl'a, 4,000); Duskānī Zhēri (*kaḏā* Dehuk, 2,000); Mizūri Zhēri (*ibid.*, 5,000); Berwāri (*ibid.*, 4,000); Guwei, nomads (wintering at Dehuk; summering at Gawar and Orāmār, 1,400); Čeli (Djlūmerk, 6,000); Artūshi (summering at Firashin; wintering at Beriei Zhengār, 6,000); Artūshi (sedentary: Albāk, 1,000; Nurdīz, 1,000); parts of Artūshi: Gewdan, Mām Khōran, Zhirki (around Djlūmerk, 6,000).

History. There are so far as we know no texts mentioning Orāmār except this brief note in the *Mir'at al-Buldān* (Tīhrān, p. 22): *Urmār bi-damm-i arwal wa-sukūn-i thānī iakī az aškā-i Adharbaidjān ast dar āndjā djam'i kathīr birāie djaṅg wa-mudāfā'i Sa'id ibn al-'Aš djam' shudand Sa'id Djarir ibn 'Abd Al-lā al-Badjalī rā bi djaṅg-i ān djam'at mamūr kard wa-Djarir ān djam'at rā munhazim wa-sarkada-i ishkān rā bi dār zad.* — We may note here: 1. the reading Urmār which corresponds to the pronunciation of the Highland Nestorians for the first part *Ur* but differs from it in giving an *a* and not an *ā* for the second (in Kurdish the pronunciation is Horāmār with the characteristic aspiration); 2. the qualification al-Badjalī which is to be connected with Badjil, a Kurd village in the neighbourhood known for its family of Shaikh Badjilī; 3. the fact that the date of this event is not indicated. Orāmār however like all this part of Central Kurdistan must have had a rich history full of associations with the history of Christianity in these regions. Here we give a description of the Nestorian church of Māri Mamū which is in the village of the same name in Orāmār and has not been previously described; Dickson mentions it; as to Cuinet (*op. cit.*, ii. 757) he says that "the 40 Nestorians rayas domiciled in Orāmār are entrusted with the care of the two Nestorian churches in the Kurdish town (sic!)". The second church called that of Mār Daniil at Nāw Gund (cf. above) has been turned into a mosque within the memory of the present generation. The Nestorian charm uttered at the sight of a snake in order to escape its bite mentions the two saints: *Māri Mamū Mār Daniil kipa 'l-huwa hiṣh* ("M. M., M. D., the stone on the snake"). For legend says

that the saint Mārī Mamū escaped from martyrdom in the time of Julian the apostate at Caesarea in Cappadocia and took refuge in the mountains where he collected the reptiles and shut them up under a flagstone over which was built the church which bears his name (cf. *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, ed. Bedjan, vii, 1896). The life of the saint however contains no mention of Orāmār or of reptiles but it does attribute to him certain powers over wild animals. The version collected by Dickson seems to differ too much from the life of the saint. Dickson thinks that the church was erected on the site of an Assyrian *zikkurat*. In any case the following is the description of the sanctuary which is guarded by the Nestorian family bearing the title of Serdar Bi Mārī Mamū. Were it not for a very little door adorned in the upper part with a Nestorian cross and two circles within which is the same cross, one would not suppose that the building of rough stone in the form of a parallelepiped was a church. In the semi-darkness of the interior one can see that a quarter of the area is taken up by the sanctuary which his separated from the nave by a wall in which are two doors. Through that on the left one approaches the altar proper represented by a stone over three feet high and about two broad half built into the wall with rounded edges and narrowing towards the top. Above this altar is an embrasure which admits a little light; on the left in the wall is a small niche. From the sanctuary a door through a stone wall leads into another chamber in which there is a primitive baptistry carved out of the rock and a little lower on the same base a hearth (*tanura*) for the preparation of the unleavened bread. In front of this part set aside for the divine offices, there are two pulpits also in stone for the liturgical books and for the Gospels and the cross. The bells are replaced by two metal plates hung from a rod connecting the two walls at the bottom of the vaulting. There are no sacred images. The dimensions of the church are 40 feet long, 17 broad and 16 high. According to the legend, the reptiles shut up beneath the altar would come out if the family of guardians were deprived of their secular privileges. The dust from the walls possesses virtues against the bites of mad dogs, the stings of snakes and scorpions, etc. — We have very little certain information about the Nestorian churches of Kurdistan, some of which, that of Mār Bishu on the Persian frontier (Tergawar), that of Mār Zaia at Djilī, that of Mār Sawa at Aṣḥita as well as the ruins at Kučanis must with Mār Mamū go back to a high antiquity between the ivth and vth centuries, for it is to this period that we are told we must put the coming of the first missionaries, Mār Awgin, Mār Bishu etc. The plan of Mārī Mamū may be compared with that of Mār Bishu given by Heazell (*Kurds and Christians*), while in W. A. Wigram (*The Assyrians and their Neighbours*, London 1929) is a sketch of the interior of the church of Mār Shalitha at Kučanis. In any case there is reason to believe that Orāmār was once inhabited by Christians. A local tradition even suggests that the ancestor of the modern *aghās* came long ago into this Christian district and by stratagems and intrigues succeeded in driving out its inhabitants. The toponymy of Orāmār seems to confirm this. The etymology of the name Orāmār itself would also seem to be Aramaic. — We owe to Mgr. Graffin the interpretation of the name as

Ur-mār "citadel of the master" (cf. *Ur-shalim*). This explanation would be corroborated by the inaccessible character of the region. It would confirm at the same time our supposition that this district was inhabited at a very early date. — There are similar place-names elsewhere in the region: Ora Bishu, one of the slopes of Kiria Tawka (cf. above); Orishu, a village beyond Gelia Nu; Uri, a Nestorian clan; finally Urmiya itself.

Bibliography: The only works with which we are acquainted are listed in our joint study with E. B. Soane, *Suto and Tato, a Kurdish text with transl. and notes*, in *B. S. O. S.*, iii., p. 1. — In the review of the Geographical Society of Paris appeared in 1935 our study on *Le système routier du Kurdistan*, containing besides many geographical details a general view of Orāmār from a rare photograph.

(B. NIKITINE)

ORAN (WAHRĀN), a sea-port town on the coast of Algeria (33° 44' N. Lat.; 0° 39' W. Long.). The anchorage which is protected on the west by the heights of the Aidour, the extreme end of the little range of the Murdjadio, and the bay of Mars al-Kabir, 10 miles distant, was probably the Portus Divini mentioned in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus. According to the Arab writers however, the town was founded, like a number of other towns on the same coast, by Andalusians: at the beginning of the tenth century (c. 290 A.H.) a band of these émigrés came there under the leadership of two chiefs in the service of the Umayyads of Cordova, Muḥammad b. Abī 'Awn, and Muḥammad b. 'Abdūn who concluded a treaty with the families of the Berber tribe of the Azdādja settled in the district.

Seven years after its foundation, Oran, which the agents of the Umayyads had no doubt wished to make a base for the enterprises of their masters, felt the repercussions of the rivalry between the Umayyads and the Fāṭimids of Kairawān. A body of soldiers sent by the latter and supported by the Azdādja Berbers seized the town and burned it. Rebuilt, Oran was placed under the authority of the Fāṭimid governor of Tiyyāret. Throughout the fourth century (tenth A.D.) it was held alternately by the Fāṭimids and Umayyads and was taken and re-taken and destroyed (notably in 910 and 954) and rebuilt by expeditionary corps or Berber chiefs representing the two rival caliphs. In spite of these vicissitudes, the town enjoyed great economic prosperity as a result of its position on the coast. The geographer Ibn Hawḳal, who visited it in the second half of the tenth century, thought that there was not a more sheltered port in the whole of Barbary. The commercial relations with Spain were considerable. (The town however at this date was under the authority of ZĪRĪ B. MANĀD [cf. ZĪRĪDS], a vassal of the Fāṭimids). Large quantities of wheat were exported from it. The country around was well cultivated. The river (Wādī Rehī, now covered over in its passage through the town) served to irrigate the fine gardens.

In the eleventh century, Oran belonged to the Banū Khazer, a branch of the Maghrāwa Zenāta who ruled in Tlemcen. It was from them that the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshfin took the town when he conquered the Central Maghrib in 473 (1081). 63 years later it was to be the scene of the drama in which Almoravid power met its end.

On Ramaḍān 27, 539 (March 23, 1145) the second last emir of the dynasty, Tāshfin b. 'Alī, defeated near Tlemcen by the Almohads, died there. Three days later the town passed to the Almohads.

Under its new masters the town prospered. Idrīsī described it as surrounded by a good wall of earth and possessing well-furnished bazaars. The harbour which was supplemented by that of Mars al-Kabir was within easy reach of Almeria. It had a naval arsenal and 'Abd al-Mu'min built ships there.

The part which it played in commerce with Spain became still more important when the 'Abd al-Wāḍids [q. v.] replaced the Almohads in the Central Maghrib. Oran was, along with Honain, to the east of the modern Nemours, a port of Tlemcen. The wealth of the capital depended on the possession of these ports and on the safety and liberty of traffic on the roads which led to them. This explains why throughout the xivth century when the Marinids came to besiege Tlemcen, they sent a force against the coasts to try to take Honain and Oran. In 748 (1347) the Marinid Abu 'l-Ḥasan built two forts there.

At the beginning of the xvth century, the Castilians, continuing the work of the Reconquista on the Berber coast, endeavoured to take Oran, which had now become a dangerous centre of piracy. They were only able to take Mars al-Kabir in 1505 and Oran in 1509. On May 17, Pedro Navarro entered the town, massacred 4,000 Muslims and sent off 8,000 prisoners. Cardinal Ximenes who had organised the expedition came in person to take possession of the new conquest. Wishing to develop their success the Spaniards interfered in the quarrels of the last 'Abd al-Wāḍid kings of Tlemcen. They gave their support to one of these princes who had lost his throne and this provoked the intervention of 'Arūḍī [q. v.], the Turkish corsair of Algiers. The latter having been defeated and killed, the 'Abd al-Wāḍid Abū 'Abd Allāh was restored to the throne of Tlemcen by the Christians in 1543 and became their vassal. The other expeditions planned from Oran as a base produced little result and were ended by the disastrous expedition of the Count Alcaudete against Mostaganem in 1558. The Spaniards were at Oran, as elsewhere, practically confined within their walls, badly supplied by their Berber allies (los Moros de Paz), exposed to famine, plague and the attacks of the Berbers supported by the Turks; they nevertheless held it till 1708. After a siege of five months, they capitulated and the Bey of Mascara Bū Shalāgham took possession of it in the name of the Dey of Algiers.

At the end of twenty-four years of Turkish rule the Spaniards re-entered the town. The Count of Montemar, having routed the Arabs who held the coast, entered the town which was undefended in 1732. Bū Shalāgham tried in vain to re-take it. At last in 1791 after a terrible earthquake in which almost 2,000 perished and which was followed by an attack by the Bey of Mascara, Muḥammad al-Kabir, the king of Spain Charles VI agreed to surrender Oran to the Dey of Algiers; some 70 or 80 Spanish families remained in it however. The town restored to Islām became the residence of the Bey of the West and remained so till 1830. On Jan. 4, 1831, the French, already masters of Mars al-Kabir, entered Oran.

The town has developed immensely since then.

The population, which was 3,800 in 1832, is now over 166,000. Of this total the Muslims number at least 25,000. They live mainly in the southern quarter known as the "village nègre". Among the Europeans the element of Spanish origin is considerable.

There is little trace of its Muḥammadan past in Oran. The Spanish period has left more, notably the old fortress with its gateway adorned with vigorously carved coats of arms.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥawkal, ed. de Goeje (B. G. A., vol. ii.); transl. de Slane, *Description de l'Afrique* (J. A., 1842, vol. i.); Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1911, p. 70-71; transl. in J. A., 1859, ii. 121-123; Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, Leyden 1866, p. 84; transl. p. 96-97; R. Basset, *Fastes chronologiques de la ville d'Oran pendant la période arabe*, Paris-Oran 1892; Fey, *Histoire d'Oran avant, pendant et après la domination espagnole*, Oran 1858; Walsin-Esterhazy, *Notice historique sur le Maghzen d'Oran*, Paris 1849; Ruff, *La domination espagnole à Oran sous le gouvernement du comte d'Alcaudete, 1534-1558*, Paris 1900; Braudel, *Les Espagnols en Algérie*, in *Histoire et historiens de l'Algérie*, Paris 1931. (G. MARÇAIS)

ORFA (Greek Edessa, Syr. Orhāi, Armen. Ufhay, Ar. al-Ruhā?), an important town in Diyār Muḍar, the ancient Osrhoëne.

The origin of the town, which must have existed before the Macedonian conquest, is lost in obscurity. Repeated attempts to prove the existence of the name in Assyrian times (E. Honigmann, *Urfa keilinschriftlich nachweisbar?*, in Z. A., N. F., v. 1930, p. 301 sq.) have so far failed. The original name was probably 'Oppōy which has survived in that of the spring Καλλιρρόη, which lay below the walls of the town, and in that of the district of Osrhoëne (cf. 'Oppā in Isid. Charac., i., ed. Müller, in G. G. M., i. 246; 'Ορροηνή, Steph. Byz., s. Βάρνα; Arabes Oroei, Plin., Nat. Hist., v. 85; vi. 25, 129; in inscriptions *Orrheni*, C. I. L., vi. 1797; their land was called in Syriac *Bēth Orhāyē*: Cureton, *Spicil. Syr.*, p. 20). A derivation of the Syriac *Orhāi* from the Arabic *Wurhāi* (a *fu'lāi*-form from *wariha*, "rich in water") as proposed by Markwart (in E. Herzfeld, in Z. D. M. G., lxxviii., 1914, p. 665 sq.) can hardly be accepted; as little probable is that from Orhāi, the alleged first ruler and eponym of the town.

Edessa was refounded by Seleucus I on the site of an older settlement (Euseb.-Hieron., *Chron.*, ed. Helm, p. 127) and renamed by Antiochos IV 'Αντιόχεια ἐπὶ Καλλιρρόη (Plin., Nat. Hist., v. 86: ... *Edessam quae quondam Antiochia dicebatur, Callirrhoen a fonte nominatam*; coins in Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, ciii.; Head, *Histor. num.*, 2, p. 814 and Hill, *Greek Coins of Arabia in the British Museum*, London 1922, p. cxiv.-cviii. and 91-119). It received its Hellenistic name very probably from that of the capital of Macedonia (the ancient Aigai, now Vodena) and the wealth of water may have contributed to the choice of the name (Steph. Byz.: 'Εδεσσα, πόλις Συρίας, διὰ τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων ῥύμην οὕτω κληθεῖσα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ; Nöldeke, *Hermes*, v. 459, wished to emend οὕτω to 'Ορ-ρῶν, but cf. *Εδεσσα* from *εἶδω* = *ἔδω*, *voda*, from which Vodena is derived: G. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, Göttingen 1906, p. 257; J. Marquart, *loc. cit.*, p. 665 sq.; W. Tomaschek, in S. B. Ak. Wien,

cccc., 1893, treatise ii., p. 5). According to Malalas, the town was also called Ἀντιόχεια ἡ μὲζοβαρβαρος (p. 418 sq., ed. Bonn).

In the pre-Christian period Edessa, like Ḥarrān, was the centre of a planet-cult. Edessenes called Venus "Bath Nikkal" (*Doctrina Addaei*, p. 24), i. e. "the daughter of Ningal" (G. Hoffmann, in *Z. A.*, xi., 1896, p. 258—260, § 11; Winckworth, in *Journal of Theol. Stud.*, xxv. 402).

Before the foundation of the Osrhoëne kingdom, the town seems to have been an unimportant place under the Seleucids (to 139 B. C.). Its earlier history is quite unknown. The kings of Osrhoëne, whom the Romans regarded as Arabs (Tacit., *Ann.*, xii. 12, 14; Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, v. 85: *Arabiam Orrhoëon*), bore Nabataean (Ma'nū, Bakrū, 'Abdū, Sahrū, Gebar'ū, Aryū), Arab (Abgar, Maz'ūr, Wā'il) or Parthian (Phradasht, Pharnataspaṭ or Parthamaspatēs) names. From the end of the first century A. D. the dynasty was closely related by inter-marriage to that of Adiabene (Duval, *Hist. d'Édesse*, p. 27 sq.) which then ruled Nisibis also (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xx. 68).

The names and chronology of the kings or, as the Greeks called them, toparchs or phylarchs of Edesse (Osrhoëne) are known from the "Edessene Chronicle" (composed about 540 A. D.) and the "Chronicle of Zuḡnūn" (near Āmid; preserved in the same Cod. Vat. Syr. 162) written about 775 A. D. According to the "Edessene Chronicle", the dynasty ruled for 352 years, and began in 133—132 B. C. with Orhāi bar Hewyā but according to v. Gutschmid, rather with Aryū (*Doctr. Addaei*, ed. Phillips, p. 47), whose name is not to be regarded as Iranian (v. Gutschmid, in *Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des Scienc. de St. Pétersb.*, series vii., xxxv., 1887, p. 19), but as Semitic ("Lion") (Duval, *Hist. d'Édesse*, p. 26 sq.).

The list of toparchs which has been corrected by von Gutschmid from historical references and coins is as follows: they were under Parthian suzerainty at first (down to 87 B. C.):

Aryū (132—127 B. C.); 'Abdū bar Maz'ūr (127—120); Phradasht bar Gebar'ū (120—115); Bakrū I bar Phradasht (115—112); Bakrū II bar Bakrū (alone 112—94; together with Ma'nū I 94; with Abgar I Pēkā 94—92); Abgar I (alone 92—68), in whose reign the kingdom passed for a short time to Tigranes of Armenia; Abgar II (Ariamnes?) bar Abgar, of the family of Maz'ūr, hence in Florus III, 11, 7 and Ruf. Fest., *Brev.*, 17: Mazorus, Mazzares etc. (68—53), who entered into friendly relations with Rome about 65—64. After the battle of Carrhae there was an interregnum of one year (53—52). Ma'nū II Allāhā (Theos, 52—34); Paḡuri (34—29); Abgar III (29—26); Abgar IV Sumākā (26—23); Ma'nū III Saphlū (23—4 B. C.); Abgar V Ukkāmā (4 B. C.—7 A. D.); Ma'nū IV bar Ma'nū (7—13 A. D.); Cumont found in the citadel of Bīredjik an epitaph in Syriac of 6 A. D. (?) of Zārbian, commandant of Bīrthā and governor for the toparch Ma'nū bar Ma'nū (Kugener, in *R.S.O.*, i., 1908, p. 587; Cumont, *Études syriennes*, Paris 1917, p. 144); Abgar V Ukkāmā (for the second time: 13—50); Ma'nū V bar Abgar (50—57); Ma'nū VI bar Abgar (57—71); Abgar VI bar Ma'nū (71—91), under whom the Senator Ma'nū bar Ma'nū had a sepulchral tower built for himself in Serrin on the Euphrates (B. Moritz, *Inscriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, ed. Oppenheim, Leipzig 1913, p. 163 sq.); interregnum of

18 years (91—109; rule of Sanatrūces of Adiabene, nephew of Abgar, over Edessa?); Abgar VII bar Izaṭ (109—116).

After the great rebellion of 116 the town was taken by Lucius Quietus and burned. There followed a brief interregnum under Roman rule (116—118). Īlur (or Valud) and Pharnataspaṭ (118—122), then Pharnataspaṭ alone (122—123); Ma'nū VII bar Izaṭ (123—139); Ma'nū VIII bar Ma'nū (139—163). In the Parthian war of Lucius Verus, Edessa was besieged by the Romans in 163—164 and surrendered to them after the murder of the Parthian garrison. During the war the ruler was Wā'il bar Sahrū (163—165). After the conclusion of peace (165) Edessa passed under Roman protection; Abgar VIII (165—167); Ma'nū VIII Φιλαρῳμαιος (for the second time 167—179); Abgar IX bar Ma'nū (on coins: Α. Αἴλιος Σεπτίμιος Μέγας Ἀβγαρος; 179—214), under whom occurred the first great inundation of Edessa (Nov. 201) which destroyed his palace; a winter palace was thereupon built in the Tebārā quarter. The official account of the catastrophe and of the measures taken by the king is preserved in the "Edessene Chronicle" from documents in the royal archives. Abgar was in Rome perhaps in 202 where he was received with all honour by Septimius Severus. Christianity is said to have been made the state religion in his time (which has however not been proved: Gomperz, *Archäol.-epigraph. Mitt. aus Österr.-Ungarn*, xix. 154—157); according to legend Abgar V Ukkāmā had become a Christian in the year 29 or 32 (R. A. Lipsius, *Die edessenische Abgarsage kritisch untersucht*, Brunswick 1880). A friend of Abgar IX was the Christian scholar Bardaisān (Βαρδαισάνης, 154—222 A. D.); Sex. Julius Africanus is also said to have spent some time at his court (Ps.-Moses Khoren., *Hist.*, ii. 10). The cult of Thar'athā was exterminated by Abgar IX with great rigour. Abgar then ruled along with Severus Abgar X bar Abgar as co-ruler (214—216); both were put in chains by the emperor Antoninus Caracalla in 216. The emperor spent the winter in Edessa which was now created a Roman *colonia* and on Apr. 8, 217 he was murdered on his way from there to Carrhae.

After the fall of the kingdom of Edessa, according to the "Chronicle of Zuḡnūn", Ma'nū IX bar Abgar ruled for another 26 years (216—242); but he probably lived during this time in Rome and was only nominal ruler.

When the Sāsānians Ardashīr and Shāhpuhr I disputed Osrhoëne with the Romans, Gordian III again set up a member of the old family as king in Edessa. According to the coins, Abgar XI Phrahates reigned from 242—244; he was probably a son of (Antoninus) Ma'nū. Returning to Rome, he erected a tombstone there to his wife Hódāa with inscription (*C. I. L.*, vi. 1797).

After the royal house had adopted Christianity, Edessa became along with Adiabene the centre of literary activity in Syriac (east Aram.) (cf. Duval, *Hist. d'Édesse*, p. 107 sq. and the histories of Syriac literature by Wright, Duval and Baumstark).

Edessa became a Roman city from the time of Gordian (244); after his death, it is true, Philip the Arabian handed over Mesopotamia as far as the Euphrates to the Parthians; but the Roman garrisons remained in the country (Mommsen, *R.G.*, v. 422). Shāhpuhr I besieged Edessa in 260, and the emperor Valerian was taken prisoner by the Persians not far from here about this time. The

town then belonged for a time (till 273) to the kingdom of Palmyra under Odainath and Zenobia.

After the peace of 363 Aphrem (Ephraim; d. June 9, 373) of Nisibis moved to Edessa and founded there the "Persian school"; the emperor Valens banished the Orthodox from Edessa as Arians in Sept. 373 and they only returned after his death in 378. The monasteries on the sacred hill at Edessa were plundered by the Huns in 396 and Aphrem's nephew 'Absamyā composed laments upon this.

It is only from the beginning of the third century that we know the names of bishops of the town; these begin with Palūt (c. 200) and among them are Rabbūlā, the enemy of the Nestorians (411—435), his opponent and successor Hībā (435—457) and in the sixth century the founder of the Severian "Jacobites", James Baradaïos (Ya'qōb Būrde'ānā, d. 578), but later persecutions of the Christians led to the martyrdoms, much embellished by legend, of the "Edessa professors" Sharbīl and Barsamyā (250 A.D.), Shemōnā, Gūryā, and Habbīb (309—310). The legend of the "man of God from the city of Rome" (St. Alexius) is put in the period of Rabbūlā.

Edessa became the capital and ecclesiastical metropolis of the eparchy of Osrhoëne. There were seven bishoprics under it in 451: *Μαρκούπολις* (Syriac Hiklā de-Ṣaiyādā, "temple of the hunter"), *Κάρραι* (Ḥarrān), *Κιρκέσιον*, *Βίρζα* (now Biredjik), *Καλλίνικος*, *Κωνσταντίνη* (Tellā, Tellā de-Mawzelath), and that of the *Ταϊγῆ* (Schulthess, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N.S., x., 1908, No. 2, p. 134). Later were added *Βάρτινα* (Sarūdī), *Θελαμάρρον* (Tellmahrē), *Ἡμερία* (Syr. Imerin), *Δαύσαρα* (Arab. Kal'at Dja'bar), *Νέα Οὐαλεντία* and *Μαραζά* (Syr. Ma'rāthā; cf. *B. Z.*, xxv., 1924, p. 73 sq., 77 sq.).

The emperor Zeno in 489 finally closed the "school of the Persians" after the Nestorians had already with their leader Narsai been driven out of Edessa in 457 (Baumstark, *Gesch. d. syr. Lit.*, p. 104, note 12, p. 109, note 10).

The war with the Persians (502—506) in the reign of Anastasius is described in the Syriac chronicle by an Edessene, the author of which is wrongly said to be Joshua (Ishō) Stylites. After Amida had fallen in 503, *Καῳᾶθ* besieged Edessa but could not take it (Procopius, *Bell. Pers.*, ii. 13). The undisciplined Gothic troops, who were to defend it, plundered it like enemies and practically the whole of Osrhoëne was depopulated. After the fourth inundation of the town (525 A.D.; see below) the emperor Justin I restored it and gave it the name of *Ἰουστινούπολις* (Malalas, ed. Bonn, p. 419; Euagrius, *Hist. eccl.*, iv. 8; Hallier's quite unfounded doubts, *Texte u. Unters.*, ix/i. 130, are repeated by Ed. Meyer, *R. E.*, s. v. *Edessa*, No. 2, etc.). Khusrāw I in May 540 on his way back from Syria encamped in front of the city but retired on receiving 200 pounds of gold (*Chr. of Edessa*, ch. 105; Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 239). His stubborn siege in 544 proved without success. According to a late legend, the wondrous powers of the *εἰκὼν ἀχειροποιήτος*, which were rediscovered at this time, saved the city from the enemy.

In the sixth century the whole of Syria and Mesopotamia was won for the Monophysites. In Edessa Stephanos bar Šudaile, who, influenced by Origen, preached a pantheistic doctrine, found many followers. In 580 Hormizd IV sent the general

Ādharmahan against the Byzantines but he retreated after a three days' siege of Edessa. Khusrāw II who had been previously in Edessa on his flight to Mauritius, conquered the town in 609 (*Chron. Pasch.*, ed. Bonn, p. 699; Cedren., ed. Bonn, i. 714; Theoph. contin., ed. Bonn, p. 432) after it had previously gone over to him for a time under the Byzantine general Narses, and deported a large number of Jacobites to Khūrāsān and Sidjistan (Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, ii. 125). After his victories over Persia, Heraclius in 628 restored orthodoxy in Edessa, and banished the prominent Jacobite families.

On the topography of the town Syriac and Greek authors supply us with a good deal of information. Edessa lay at the intersection of the road from Samosata (Samsāt) to Carrhae (Ḥarrān) with the great trade route between east and west from the Euphrates at Zeugma-Balkis and Bīrthā-Biredjik via Mārdin and Naṣībīn to the Tigris. The *Antonine Itinerary* knows (p. 184—192) two roads from Germaniceia via Zeugma, one from there via Samosata and one from Callicome to Edessa. The town lay in a hollow surrounded on three sides by mountains and open on the southeast on the river *Σιγρὸς* (Syr. *Daiṣān*, "the Leaper"), the modern *Kara Koyūn* or *Nahr el-Kut*. This river which with the *Djullāb* flows into the *Balikh*, in the past, according to the *Edessene Chronicle*, four times inundated the town and wrought great havoc (in Nov. 201, May 303, March 18, 413 and April 22, 525) until the emperor Justinian had a canal dug to drain off the flood water north of the town (Procopius, *De aed.*, ii. 7, 2 sq.; *Anecd.*, 18, 38). We hear again in 668 and 743 of floods however (*Theoph. Chron.*, ed. de Boor, p. 537; *Chronicle of Zuḡnin*, under the year 743). The town was surrounded by a double wall. This enclosed on the southwest the citadel which stood on a spur of the *Nimrūd-Dāgh* and was overshadowed by this mountain; Justinian therefore had its walls strengthened on this side. At the western end of the citadel are two columns one of which, according to its inscription, was put up by queen Shalmat, the daughter of Ma'nū (Sachau, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxvi. 153 sqq.). On a large open place in the citadel called *Bēth Tebārā*, Abgar IX after the inundation of 201 had a winter palace built (cf. above) and the aristocracy of the town moved their quarters to the adjoining upper market called *Bēth Saḥrāyē*. There was also a large altar there which was still standing in Christian times, and probably also the royal archives (*ἀρχαῖον*; *Bēth Uhdānā*). Below the citadel there were two ponds inside the town. The larger fed by a spring, the fish in which were considered sacred like those in the lake of Bambyke (Manbidj), corresponded to the old spring *Καλλιβρόν*, the modern Birket Ibrāhīm. South of it lay the smaller pond 'Ain Zilka. In the town stood the council house (*ἀντιφορος*), a gallery built in 497 (*περίπατος*), several public baths (*δημόσια*), a theatre, a hospital and the hippodrome. The six gates were called: the Gate of *Bēth Shemesh* and the Gate of *Barlāhā* (*Βαρλααὺ πύλαι*; Procop., *Bell. Pers.*, ii. 27, 44) in the north, the Gate of the Caves which led to the catacombs in the west, the Gate of the Hours (*Shā'ē*, probably the *Σολῆνας πύλαι* of Procopius, *Bell. Pers.*, loc. cit.; cf. Duval, *Hist. d'Édesse*, p. 207, note 1) in the southwest, the Great Gate in the south and the Gate of the Theatre in the east (Duval, p. 14).

At a later date, the Arabs only mention four gates: that of Ḥarrān, the Great Gate, the Gate of Sab'a and the Water Gate. The "Old Church" several times destroyed by floods stood near the "Tetrapylon" and the square of Bēth-Shabtā (Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, i. 359). The Syriac authors mention many other churches within and without the town (Duval, *loc. cit.*, p. 16 sq.; Baumstark, in *O. C.*, iv. 164—183).

In the Nimrūd-Dagh west of the town caves were hewn out of the rock in very early times; there also were the mausoleums of the kings, that of the bishop Abshelāmā bar Abgar and, 2½ hours from the town, that of Amathshemesh (Ἀμασσομήσης), wife of Σάπεδος, son of Δάνοχος. Numerous anchorites had their cells in the "sacred mountain" and many monks their monasteries on it. It is probably τὸ Ἐτόριον (read Ἐτραύριον "Cross Hill" as at Antioch) ὅρος on which the monk Aswānā (Ἀσών) had his visions (Philoxenos, *Letter to Patricius*, under the wrong title: Ishāk of Niniveh, *Letter to Symeon from Θαυμαστὸν ὅρος*, in *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, ed. Angelo Mai, viii., Rome 1871, p. 186, ch. 39; cf. Baumstark, *Gesch. d. syr. Lit.*, p. 29, 142, note 10; 225, note 2). Another hill was called in the Christian period Rāmāthā de-Bēth Alāhā Kiklā (Symeon Metaphrastes, Migne, *Patr. Graec.*, cxvi., col. 141: Βιζελανικλῆ). In the vicinity of Edessa were the villages of Bokhain, Serrin, Kubbē and Kefar Şelem or Negbath. Two aqueducts restored in the year 505 brought down from Tell Zimā and Mawdūd supplied the town with spring water (Ps.-Joshua Stylites, col. 59 sq., 62, 87). The position of these villages and of the buildings in Edessa can as a rule no longer be ascertained exactly (plans of ancient Edessa: by G. Hoffmann, who corrected the old sketches by Carsten Niebuhr [1780] in Wright, *Chron. of Joshua Stylites*, 1882; better in F. C. Burkitt, *Euphemia and the Goths*, London 1913, p. 46).

Abū 'Ubaida in 637 sent 'Iyād b. Ghanm to al-Djazīra. After the Greek governor Joannes Kateas, who had endeavoured to save Osrhoëne by paying tribute, had been dismissed by the emperor Heraclius and the general Ptolemaios put in his place, al-Ruhā' (Edessa) had to surrender in 639 like the other towns of Mesopotamia (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 172—175; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ii. 414—417; Yāqūt, s. v. *al-Djazīra*; Khwārizmī, ed. Baethgen, *Fragmente syr. u. arab. Historiker*, Leipzig 1884, p. 16, 110 = *Abh. K. M.*, viii., No. 3; Theophanes, ed. de Boor, p. 517, 521). The town now lost its political and very soon also its religious significance and sank to the level of a second rate provincial town. Its last bishop of note, Jacob of Edessa, spent only four years (684—687) and a later period again of four months in his office (708). The Maronite Theophilus of Edessa (d. 785) wrote a "Chronicle of the World" and translated into Syriac the "two Books of Homer about Ilion".

Al-Ruhā', like al-Rakka, Ḥarrān and Ḳarkisiya, is usually reckoned to Diyār Muḍar (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 218; al-Yāqūbi, i. 177; M. Hartmann, *Bohtān*, p. 88, note 2 and 3 = *M. V. A. G.*, 1897, i. 28). In 67 (686—687) al-Ruhā', Ḥarrān and Sumaisā' formed the wilāyet, which Ibrāhīm b. al-Aṣhtar granted to Ḥatīm b. al-Nu'mān (Ibn al-Athīr, iv. 218).

The "old church" of the Christians was destroyed by two earthquakes (April 3, 679 and 718). In 737 a Greek named Baṣḥīr appeared in Ḥarrān

and gave himself out to be "Tiberias the son of Constantine"; he was believed at first but was later exposed and executed in al-Ruhā' (Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 119). In 133 (750—751) the town was the scene of fighting between Abū Djāfar, afterwards the caliph al-Manṣūr, and the followers of the Umayyads, Ishāk b. Muslim al-ʿUkailī and his brother Bakkār, who only gave in after the death of Marwān (Ibn al-Athīr, v. 333 sq.). But continual revolts broke out again in al-Djazīra (Ibn al-Athīr, v. 370 sq.); in the reign of al-Manṣūr, for example, the governor of al-Ruhā' of the same name, the builder of Ḥiṣn Manṣūr, was executed in al-Rakka in 141 (758—759) (al-Balādhuri, p. 192). When Ḥārūn al-Raṣhid passed through al-Ruhā', an attempt was made to cast suspicion upon the Christians and it was said that the Byzantine emperor used to come to the city every year secretly in order to pray in their churches; but the caliph saw that these were slanders. The Gūmayē (from al-Djūma, the valley of 'Afrin in Syria), who, with the Telmaḥrayē and Ruṣāfāyē, were one of the leading families of al-Ruhā', suffered a good deal however from his covetousness (Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, p. 130). In 812 the Christians were only able to save the unprotected town from being plundered by the rebels Naṣr b. Shabath and 'Amr by paying 5,000 zūzē; Abū Shaikh therefore fortified al-Ruhā' at the expense of the citizens (Barhebraeus, p. 136 sq.). At the beginning of his reign al-Ma'mūn sent his general Ṭāhir to al-Ruhā', where his Persian soldiers were besieged by the two rebels, but offered a successful resistance supported by the inhabitants among whom was Mār Dionysios of Tellmaḥrē (Barhebraeus, p. 139). Ṭāhir, who himself had fled from his mutinous soldiers to Kallinikos, won the rebels over to his side and made 'Abd al-A'lā governor of al-Ruhā'; he oppressed the town very much (Barhebraeus, p. 139 sq.). Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir who governed al-Djazīra in 825 persecuted the Christians in al-Ruhā' as did the governors under al-Mu'taṣim and his successors.

In 331 (942—943) the Byzantines occupied Diyārbakr, Arzan, Dārā and Rās 'Ain, advanced on Naṣibin and demanded from the people of al-Ruhā' the holy picture of Christ called *μανδύλιον* (*al-Ikōnat al-Mandil*); with the approval of the caliph al-Muttaḳi it was handed over in return for the release of 200 Muslim prisoners and the promise to leave the town undisturbed in future (Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, ed. Kračkovskij-Vasil'ev, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xviii. 730—732; Ṭhabīb b. Sinān, ed. Baethgen, *op. cit.*, p. 90, 145). The picture reached Constantinople on Aug. 15, 944 where it was brought with great ceremony into the Church of St. Sophia and the imperial palace (cf. in addition to Yahyā, *loc. cit.*; al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ii. 331; Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 302 and an oration ascribed to Constantine Porphyrogenetos on the εἰκὼν ἀχειροποιήτος or *De imagine Edessena*, ed. Migne, *Patrol. Graec.*, cxliii., col. 432, better ed. v. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, in *Texte u. Untersuch.*, xviii.). But by 338 (949—950) this treaty was broken by Saif al-Dawla who together with the inhabitants of al-Ruhā' made a raid on al-Maṣṣīsa (Yahyā, *op. cit.*, p. 732). Under the Domestikos Leon the Byzantines in 348 (959—960) entered Diyār Bakr and advanced on al-Ruhā' (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 393). The emperor Nicephoros Phocas towards the end of 357 (967—

968) advanced on Diyār Muḍar, Maiyāfāriḳin and Kafartūḥā (Yahyā, p. 815). According to Ibn al-Aṭḥir (viii. 454 *infra*), al-Ruhā' was burned to the ground in Muḥarram 361 (Oct.–Nov. 971) and troops left in al-Djazīra. One should rather read Muḥarram 362 and take the reference to be to the campaign of John Tzimiskēs, unless there is a confusion between Edessa and Emesa (Himṣ) which was burned in 969 (Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, p. 190).

Ibn Hawkal in 978 refers to over 300 churches in al-Ruhā' and al-Maḳḍisi reckons the cathedral, the ceilings of which were richly decorated with mosaics, among the four wonders of the world.

Down to 416 (1025–1026) the town belonged to the chief of the Banū Numair, 'Uṭair. The latter installed Aḥmad b. Muḥammad as *nā'ib* there but afterwards had him assassinated. The inhabitants thereupon rebelled and offered the town to Naṣr al-Dawla the Marwānid of Diyārbakr (Greek Ἀπομερμάνης), who had it occupied by Zangī. After the murder of 'Uṭair and the death of Zangī (418 = 1027), Naṣr al-Dawla gave 'Uṭair's son one tower of al-Ruhā' and another to Ṣhabāl's son (Ibn al-Aṭḥir, ix. 244). The former (according to others a Turk Salmān, Σαλαμάνης, appointed governor, who was hard pressed by 'Uṭair's widow) then sold the fortress for 20,000 dārīcs and four villages to the Byzantine Protospatharios Georgios Maniakes, son of Gudēlios, who lived in Samosata; he appeared suddenly one night and occupied three towers. After a vain attempt by the emir of Maiyāfāriḳin to drive him out again in which the town, which was still inhabited by many Christians, was sacked and burned (winter of 1030–1031), Maniakes again occupied the citadel and the town (Ibn al-Aṭḥir, ix. 281 *bis*; Michael Syrus, ed. Chabot, iii. 147; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, p. 214; Aristakēs Lastivertci, c. 7, p. 24 *sq.*; Mattēos Urhayec'i, ed. 1898, c. 43, p. 58–62 = transl. Dulaurier, p. 46–49; Kedren-Skylitz., ed. Bonn, ii. 500; the accounts of the events preceding the surrender differ very much). Edessa under Maniakes seems to have enjoyed a certain amount of independence from Byzantium, as he sent an annual tribute thither (Kedrenos-Skylitzes, p. 502).

In Radjab 427 (May 1036) the Patrikios of Edessa became a prisoner of the Numairī Ibn Waṭṭḥāb and his many allies; the town was plundered but the fortress remained in the hands of the Greek garrison (Ibn al-Aṭḥir, ix. 305; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, p. 217). By the peace of 1037 the emperor again received complete possession of Edessa which was refortified (Ibn al-Aṭḥir, ix. 313; Barhebraeus, p. 221).

According to the Armenian sources, Maniakes was followed by Apuk'ap or Ἀέων Λεπενδρινός, then by the Iberian Βαρασβατζέ as strategos of Edessa; in 1059 Ἰωάννης ὁ Δουκίτης was Katepano of the town. In 1065–1066 and 1066–1067 the Turks under the Khurāsān-Sālār attacked the town and Alp Arslān besieged it for fifty days in 1070; it was defended by Wasil (son of the Bulgar king Alōsian?). After the victory of Manazkert Edessa was to be handed over to the sultān but the defeated emperor Romanos Diogenēs had no longer any authority over it, and its Kapetano Paulos went to his successor in Constantinople (Skylitzes, ed. Bonn, p. 702). In 1081–1082 Edessa was again besieged by an emir named Khuraw in vain. After the death of Wasil the Armenian Smbat

became lord of Edessa and six months later (Sept. 23, 1083) Philaretos Brachamios succeeded him. But he lost it in 1086–1087 when in his absence his deputy was murdered and the town handed over to Sultān Malikshāh. The latter appointed the emir Buzān governor of al-Ruhā' and Harrān. When the latter had fallen in 1094 fighting against Tutuṣh, Alpyārūḳ, general of the sultān of Dimashk and Ḥalab, occupied the town but it was not plundered by his army as he was poisoned by a Greek dancing-girl called Galī. Then the Armenian Kuropalates T'oros (Theodoros), son of Het'um, took the citadel. When in 1097–1098 Count Baldwin captured Tell Bāshir T'oros asked him to come to al-Ruhā' to assist him against their joint enemies and received him with joy but was shortly afterwards treacherously murdered by him (Mattēos of Edessa, ed. 1898, p. 260–262 = transl. Dulaurier, p. 218–221; *Anonym. Syriac Chronicle of 1203–1204* in Chabot, *C.-R. Acad. Inscr. Lettr.*, 1918, p. 431 *sqq.*).

From 1098 the Latins ruled for half a century the "county of Edessa" to which also belonged Sumaisāt and Sarūdj (1098 Baldwin I; 1100 Baldwin II; 1119 Joscelin I; 1131 Joscelin II). The town suffered a great deal under them. On Dec. 23, 1144 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī of al-Mawṣil took it (a detailed description of these events in the *Anonymous Syriac Chronicle of 1203–1204*, ed. Chabot, in *C.S.C.O.*, series iii., vol. xv., p. 118–126; transl. Chabot, *Une épiŕode de l'histoire des Croisades*, in *Mélanges Schlumberger*, i., Paris 1924, p. 171–179). Under Joscelin II and Baldwin of Kaisūm the Franks again attempted to retake the town in Oct. 1046 and succeeded in entering it by night, but six days later Nūr al-Dīn appeared with 10,000 Turks, and soon occupied and sacked it; the inhabitants were put to death or carried into slavery. Baldwin was killed and Joscelin escaped to Sumaisāt (Barhebraeus, p. 311 *sq.*). The fall of this eastern bulwark of the Crusaders aroused horror everywhere; in Europe it led to the Second Crusade. The Syrian Dionysios bar Ṣalībī as Diaconus wrote an "oration" and two poetic *mēmnrē* about the destruction of the town. Three similar pieces were written by Basilios Abu 'l-Faradj b. Shummānā, the favourite of Zangī; he had also written a history of the town of Orḥāi (Baumstark, *Gesch. d. syr. Lit.*, p. 293, 298).

After the death of Nūr al-Dīn his nephew Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī took the town in 1174; in 1182 it fell to Saladin who later handed it over to al-Malik al-Manṣūr. When Malik al-'Ādil died in 1218, his son Malik al-Ashraf Sharāf al-Dīn Mūsā became lord of al-Ruhā', Harrān and Khilāt. In June 1234 the town was taken by the army of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaikubād and its inhabitants deported to Asia Minor (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, in *R.O.L.*, v. 88; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, p. 468). But it was retaken within four months by Malik al-Kāmil. In 1244 the Tatars passed through the district of al-Ruhā' and in 1260 the Mongols under Hülāgū. The people of al-Ruhā' and Harrān surrendered voluntarily to him but those of Sarūdj were all put to death (Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, p. 509; *Chron. arab.*, ed. Bairūt, p. 486).

In the time of Abu 'l-Fida' al-Ruhā' was in ruins. Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī about 1340 could still see isolated ruins of the main buildings. According to al-Ḳāḷqashandī, the town had been

rebuilt by his time (c. 1400) and repopulated and was in a prosperous state. In connection with the campaigns of Timūr, who conquered al-Djazira in 1393, al-Ruha is repeatedly mentioned in the *ẓafar-nāma* of Sharaf al-Din 'Alī Yazdī (written in 828 = 1425).

The Ottomans finally took the town, to which they gave the name of Orfa, in 1637 during Murād IV's war with Persia.

To-day Orfa (Urfa) has nearly 30,000 inhabitants. It is the capital of a wilāyat of the same name numbering a little more than 200,000 souls. The town is 550 m. above sea-level.

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(E. HONIGMANN)

ORIHUELA, Arab. *Uryūla*, a town in Eastern Spain (Levante), 15 miles N. E. of Murcia, the capital of an administrative area (*partido*) and the see of a bishop, contains with its adjoining country, which is thickly populated, 35,000 inhabitants. It was conquered by the Muslims at the same time as the other towns of the *kūra* of Todmīr [q. v.] and was for a long time the capital of this *kūra* before it had to give way to Murcia. Its history was that of the latter town as long as it remained Muslim. It was however for a very brief period in the middle of the vith century A. H. (middle of the xith century A. D.) the capital of a petty independent state ruled by the Kādi Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. 'Āsim.

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ORISSA (ODRA-DEÇA), a part of the modern Indian province of Bihār and Orissa, has an area of 13,706 square miles and a population of 5,306,142, of which only 124,463 profess the Muslim faith. For administrative purposes it is divided into the five districts of Cuttack, Balasore, Puri, Angul and Sambalpur. There are in addition twenty-four native states, the Orissa feudatory states, with a population of 4,465,385, the Muḥammadans numbering only 17,100 (Census of India, 1931).

Modern Orissa, which embraces the deltas of the Mahānadi and neighbouring rivers, extends from the Bay of Bengal to the borders of the Central Provinces and from the river Subarnarekha to the Čilka Lake. In the past its inaccessibility proved its salvation for, while the coastal strip was sometimes conquered, the highlands of the interior remained under semi-independent or tributary chiefs. It was included in the ancient kingdom of Kalinga, the sole conquest of the peace-loving Aḷoka, but, with the disintegration of the Maurya empire, once more passed to the Kalinga kings. Until the eleventh century the history of this area is extremely confused. Those interested in the solving of chronological puzzles would do well to consult the first volume of Banerji's *History of Orissa*.

Certain parts of modern Orissa were annexed to the empire of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ and were included in the province of Džādjānagar. The real conqueror of Orissa, however, was Akbar's famous general Rādā Mān Singh, who took it from the Afghāns of Bengal, who had obtained a temporary footing in the country. Under Akbar it was administered as part of the *šūba* of Bengal, for it was not until the reign of Džahāngir that it became a separate province. With the decline of the Mughal empire Orissa fell into the hands of the Bhonslā Marāṭhās of Nāḡpur [q. v.]. Although it nominally passed to the British by the dīwānī grant of 1765 it was not finally conquered until the year 1803.

With the exception of the district of Sambalpur, the territory now known as Orissa was administered along with Bengal until October 1905, and with

West Bengal until March 1912, when Bihār and Orissa were formed into a separate province. Orissa has always been a stronghold of Hinduism and the temple of Djagannāth still draws thousands of pilgrims to the sands of Puri.

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(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

ORKHAN or URKHAN (UR-KHAN?) was the eldest son of the emīr 'Othmān [q. v.], the founder of the Ottoman dynasty. His mother was Malkhatun, the daughter of Shaikh Ede-Ball of the village of Itburnu near Eski-Shehir. The year of his birth is not known and indeed the whole chronology of his reign leaves much to be desired. Ottoman sources say he was born in 687 (beg. Feb. 6, 1288); according to others, he was born as early as 680 (beg. Apr. 22, 1281). The first date which probably goes back to Hādijī Khalifa's Takwīm has most in its favour. We know very little about his youth. When barely twelve years old he was married in 699 (1299) to the daughter of the lord of Yār-Ḥiṣār named Nilüfer-Khatun [q. v.], a Greek girl, who was betrothed to the lord of Belokoma (Biledjīk). From this union were born among others his sons Murād, who succeeded him, and Sulaimān Pasha. Orkhan was nearly 40 when he ascended the throne in, it is said, Ramaḍān 726 (Aug. 1326). According to tradition, Orkhan offered his brother 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī (usually called 'Alā' al-Dīn only; cf. *Isl.*, xi. 20, note 3) a portion of the ancestral possessions but the latter is said to have been content with the vizierate. This story strongly resembles that of Moses and Aaron as given in the Kur'ān (xx. 30) and is probably intended to give a historical foundation for the office of vizier. 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī was also the first to bear the title *pasha* [q. v.] which then passed to Orkhan's son Sulaimān and was inherited from him by Ḳara Khalil.

Orkhan's rule may be divided into two periods: that from 1326 to 1344 when he was establishing the Ottoman power in Asia Minor, creating the army and becoming the founder of the Ottoman empire; and the period from 1344 to his death in 1359—1360 during which he was preparing to gain a footing in Thrace and Macedonia and to extend his rule on European soil. He laid the foundations for the later empire of the Ottomans and is to be regarded as its real creator.

Orkhan had already showed his ability as a conqueror in the lifetime of his father. Shortly before the latter's death of gout at the age of about 70 he had taken Brussa without bloodshed. It now became the capital of the kingdom. Nicaea

and Nicomedia were now the next objectives of Ottoman arms. He was assisted by a number of able leaders of whom the best known were Köse Mikhāl [see MIKHAL-OGHLU], Aḳçe Ḳodja, Konur-Alp, 'Abd al-Rahmān Ghāzī, Ḳara 'Alī, Ḳara Mursāl. With their help he carried through all his enterprises with the greatest success. Before taking these two cities, Orkhan first of all secured possession of the most northerly peninsula of Bithynia, which is enclosed on the north by the Black Sea, on the south by the Gulf of Nicomedia and on the west by the Bosphorus. The two strongly fortified fortresses of Semendra and Aidos which guarded the military road from Constantinople to Nicomedia were taken. The town and district of Semendra were given in feudal tenure to the general Aḳçe Ḳodja and henceforth known as Ḳodja-İli. The fall of these strong places was followed by the subjection of most of the little towns on the coast on both sides of the Gulf of Nicomedia, of which the fort of Hereke offered most resistance. Ḳara Mursāl conquered the land on the southern coast by occupying Yalowa, famous for its medicinal baths, and the district of Ḳara Mursāl which bears his name. As Orkhan's vassal, he pledged himself to maintain a small fleet to protect the coast so that communication by sea between Constantinople and Nicomedia was entirely stopped. Orkhan now took the field against Nicomedia in person. The town was taken without any special difficulty after the hill fort of Koyun-Ḥiṣār had fallen. While the emperor Andronikos abandoned Nicomedia, he prepared to defend the old seat of the Palaeologi, Nicaea. At the beginning of 1330, the Byzantines moved over to the Asiatic shore and in the vicinity of the little coast town of Philokrene in Mesothynia, now Tawshandjil, a battle was fought about which there are no records in the Ottoman sources while the Byzantine historians (Kantakuzenos, ed. Bonn, i. 341 sq.; Nikephoros Gregoras, ed. Bonn, i. 434; cf. thereon Phrantzes and Chalcocondyles) show obvious errors and deliberate perversions of the facts. The defeat of the Byzantines at Philokrene meant the end of any hope of saving Nicaea. The inhabitants did not even attempt a serious resistance but hurried to swear fealty to Orkhan. The city, upon which Orkhan lavished all kinds of endowments, soon became one of the most flourishing and prosperous towns in the Ottoman empire after its period of tribulation. Nicaea, now Iznik [q. v.], became celebrated as a centre of Muslim intellectual life especially through its medreses. In 1333 Orkhan's son Sulaimān undertook a campaign into the still independent country north of the Sangaris (Sakarya) with the towns of Goinik, Modrene and Tarakdjī, which he occupied almost without striking a blow. All Orkhan's victories and conquests had so far been won at the expense of the Greeks and there had been no warlike encounters with the little principalities which had arisen in Anatolia out of the Saldjūk empire. The adjacent country of Ḳarasi [q. v.] where in 1335 the succession had given rise to a dispute between two brothers, the youngest of whom, Tursun, was living at Orkhan's court, came first. Orkhan's help was called upon by Tursun against his older brother (named Timūr-khān?) and he invaded Ḳarasi on receiving certain assurances. On the way he took Ulubad, Kirmastī [q. v.] and Mikhālīdī along with the castles of Koilos and Ailos. Balikesrī was surrendered to Orkhan

without a blow and the resistance shown was limited to Berghama. This town also soon passed into Ottoman hands as a return for the leniency shown by Orkhan to the lord of Karasi when the latter had treacherously disposed of his younger brother (736 = 1336). Hādījī Il-beghī, the vizier of the last prince of Karasi, was entrusted with the administration of the newly won territory, and as his councillors Edje-Beg and Ewrenos [q.v.] were appointed. After the fall of Berghama Orkhan was engaged in consolidating his rule by systematic regulations and arranging for the administration of the now considerably enlarged Ottoman kingdom. He seems to have been the first to organize his rule on Anatolian soil (on this cf. the full account in Zinkeisen, *G. O. R.*, i. 118 sqq.) in which his brother 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī played a prominent part until after his death in 1333 his place was taken by his nephew Sulaimān. In 728 (1328) 'Alā' al-Dīn is said to have induced his brother to set up the first mints (according to Sa'd al-Dīn). In this year the first gold and silver was struck in Orkhan's name and replaced the Saldjūk coins which had previously been current throughout the Ottoman empire. A regulation regarding dress produced a strict distinction between ranks and classes, and the army was completely reorganised in keeping with the new conditions by Čendereli K̄halil [q.v.]. In 1330 the corps of Janisaries [q.v.] was founded, the Turkish infantry composed of youths of Christian birth and associated with Hādījī Bektash [q.v.]. But the irregular infantry also, the 'Azabs, was put on a better footing and the feudal cavalry (*akindjī*) developed in keeping with the objects of the new empire. At the same time Orkhan founded numerous mosques, monasteries and schools and the foundations which he elevated everywhere in the newly conquered territory bear witness to the great attention which he gave to matters of religion. The dervish system which at this time was at the height of its development — the order of the Bektashī seems to have arisen in the reign of Orkhan — had undoubtedly a great patron in Orkhan as is seen by the number of cells and monasteries of holy men in his capital Brussa, who had come from the east during his reign to find asylum in the Ottoman empire. The religious life of Islām under Orkhan, which had a marked 'Alid, not to say Shī'a, stamp, is one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of religion and still requires elucidation in essential points through special studies.

In Orkhan's reign we have the beginnings of friendly and peaceful intercourse between Ottomans and Byzantines, although we also have an alternation of peace and war, of enmity and alliance (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 126). Ottoman troops were repeatedly summoned to the assistance of the Byzantine emperors and when Orkhan ascended the throne, Turkish hordes had already crossed the straits three times, without success it is true, and without leaving the slightest trace on European soil (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 120 sqq. and Zinkeisen, *G. O. R.*, i. 184 sqq.). There obviously was no idea of establishing Ottoman power on the other side of the Dardanelles in these raids and the Byzantine emperor paid very little attention to them. But in course of time there arose out of these casual enterprises more and more regularly organised expeditions by the petty dynasts of Anatolia. For example the ruler of Aidīn-eli [q.v.],

Umur-Beg, one of the most brilliant, if very little known, figures of the time, had undoubtedly intended to develop systematically his repeated raids into Europe. Orkhan himself is said in 1333 to have concluded a treaty with the emperor Andronicus at the time of the siege of Nicomedia, by which he bound himself not to disturb further the towns of Asia Minor which were under Byzantine suzerainty (cf. Kantakuzenos, ed. Bonn, i. 446). The increasing weakness of Byzantium and the growing power of the Ottomans soon however deprived any such agreement of its binding force. Already in 1337 Orkhan had tried to effect a landing near Constantinople with a fleet of 36 ships; his intention must have been to attack the capital and establish himself in Thrace. The Ottomans suffered a disastrous defeat and escaped with one ship only. The dynastic troubles which broke out soon afterwards in Constantinople when the Grand Domestikos Kantakuzenos became emperor and joint ruler with John Palaeologus, brought about a rapprochement between Orkhan and Kantakuzenos. Umur-Beg renewed his efforts to gain a footing on European soil, but, in spite of the expenditure of men and ships, they remained unavailing. Orkhan maintained an attitude of watchfulness. The empress Anna, mother of the young emperor John Palaeologus, induced him to send a force to help her against her rival Kantakuzenos. The latter saw the increasing danger and after this force had come to a miserable end endeavoured with all his power to win Orkhan over for his own plans. In return for 6,000 soldiers he offered him his daughter Theodora, who was still a minor, as a wife in January 1345 (cf. Kantakuzenos, iii. 31; ed. Bonn, p. 498; Dukas, 9, ed. Bonn, p. 33 sq.; Chalcoe, i. 24) and in May 1346 the wedding was celebrated with great splendour in Selymbria (Kantakuzenos, iii. 95, p. 585 sq.; Nikeph. Gregoras, xv. 5, p. 762 sq.; Dukas, 9, p. 35; according to Nikeph. the bride's name was Maria, cf. i. 762, certainly a mistake). It is worth noting that Orkhan's bride did not abandon her religion but remained a devout Christian (cf. Kantakuzenos, ed. Bonn, p. 588; Zinkeisen, *G. O. R.*, i. 201 sqq.) and acquired great merit by purchasing numerous Christian slaves and sending them home to freedom. The prince K̄halil Čelebi, who later became a prisoner of the Genoese and when very young married a daughter of the emperor John V, was probably the result of this union (cf. Jorga, *G. O. R.*, i. 201). The alliance with the Ottomans was to cost Kantakuzenos dear. When, shortly after the wedding, Orkhan sent him 10,000 men to help in his fight with the Serbian prince Stjepan Dušan, the Turks turned against the Byzantines and returned with vast booty from Europe to Asia. This breach of faith did not deter Kantakuzenos from again asking for assistance from his son-in-law in 1349. But this time also the army of 20,000 men, summoned unexpectedly back to Anatolia, recrossed the Dardanelles after burning and plundering all the way. Besides these two invasions of Europe by request the continual raids of the Anatolian hordes went on and the sufferings of the people of Thrace became intolerable. Orkhan took advantage of this uncertainty to carry out his long cherished plan of establishing the Ottomans permanently in Europe. His son Sulaimān Pasha in 1356 was ordered to cross the Dardanelles. The crossing was successfully carried through at the fortress of Tzympe (the modern

Djimenlik). In 759 (1357) Kallipolis (now Gallipoli) was taken by the Ottomans. The sudden death in 760 (1358) of the conqueror Sulaimān Pasha, who was buried not in Brussa but in Bulair on Thracian soil, put an end for the time to any further advance by the Ottomans. Hādījī Il-beghi and Edje-Beg conducted raids into the interior, it is true, but no effort was made to extend Ottoman power. Orkhan died very soon after Sulaimān. The date of his death is not exactly known. The most probable statement is that which says he died at the beginning of 761 (beg. Nov. 23, 1359). The statement (taken by K. J. Jiriček from a Slav chronicle) that Orkhan lived till March 1362, after the capture of Adrianople, has no claim to credence (cf. *Archiv für slav. Phil.*, xiv. [1892], p. 260), although Oskar Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome* (Warsaw 1932 = *Travaux historiques de la Société des Sciences et des Lettres de Varsovie*, vol. viii.), p. 74, note 3, based on C. Jireček, *loc. cit.*, and *Byz. Zeitschr.*, xviii. (1909), p. 582 sq. is inclined to accept the year 1362. That the Byzantine annals (cf. especially p. 392) edited by Jos. Müller, in *Sitzungsber. d. k. k. Ak. d. Wiss.*, Vienna 1853, ix. are in favour of such a supposition cannot be disputed as well as the fact that the Florentine chronicler Matteo Villani (cf. Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Script.*, xiv., p. 672 sq.) puts "Orcam's" first actions still in November 1361. If Murād I is justly called the "conqueror of Adrianople" the year of his father's, i. e. Orkhan's death must be fixed earlier as the taking of this town in spring 1361 (cf. thereon F. Babinger, in *M. O. G.*, ii. 311 sqq.) can now be taken for granted (cf. thereon the fact not noted in *M. O. G.*, that, according to O. Halecki, *loc. cit.*, p. 75, the capture of Adrianople became known in Venice on March 14, 1361). — Orkhan was buried beside his father in Brussa (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 157 sq. with a description of what his personal appearance is said to have been).

Bibliography: Contemporary Ottoman sources have so far not come to light. Of the Byzantine chroniclers the most important is Orkhan's father-in-law Kantakuzenos although his bias makes it necessary to use him with great caution. Nikephoros Gregoras is much more to be believed. The crossing of the Ottomans into Europe in the sixteenth century has been critically studied by Joh. Draesecke, in the *Neues Jahrbuch für das klassische Altertum*, vol. xxxi., p. 7. sqq. The whole period of Orkhan's reign has recently been dealt with in not always reliable fashion by H. A. Gibbons (d. 1934), *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1916, p. 54—109. Further sources are indicated in the works of J. v. Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga. (FRANZ BABINGER)

ORMUZ. [See HORMUZ.]

ORTOKIDS (URTKIDS), a Turkmen dynasty, branches of which ruled in Mārdīn, Hışn Kaifā and Khartabirt.

When the Saldjūk sultān of Damascus, Tutush, conquered Jerusalem in 479 he appointed as governor of the town his officer Urtuğ b. Aksab, who had already served under Malikshāh and had taken part in the siege of Āmid in 477. He was succeeded in 484 (1091) by his sons Sukmān and İlghāzī. After the Holy City had been taken for the Fātimids in Sha'bān 489 (1096) by al-Afdāl b. Badr al-Djamālī, Sukmān went to al-Ruhā and

İlghāzī to his lands in the 'Irāq. In 495 (1101) Sultān Muḥammad made İlghāzī his commissioner (Shahna) in Baghdad.

A. Hışn Kaifā. Mu'in al-Dawla Sukmān I (cf. iv., p. 510) assisted Mūsā when he was besieged by Djakarmish in al-Mawṣil and as a reward received from him in 495 (1101) 10,000 dinārs and the town of Hışn Kaifā (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 234—236). He had already owned Sarūdī since 488 and in 498 or shortly before, Mārdīn also fell into his hands (Abu 'l-Fidā' ed. Reiske, iii. 350—353). Along with Djakarmish, Sukmān took Count Baldwin and his brother Joscelin prisoners at Harrān. After his death in 498 his son İbrāhīm ruled in Hışn Kaifā while Mārdīn passed to his brother İlghāzī in 502. In Hışn Kaifā, İbrāhīm was succeeded first by his brother Rukn al-Dawla Dāwūd (who is mentioned in 508 and again in 541; Ibn al-Athīr, x. 352 sq.; xi. 73), then by the latter's son Fakhr al-Dīn Karā-Arslān who ascended the throne about 543 and probably died in 562 (or perhaps not till 570) (van Berchem, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N. S., ix/iii., 1907, p. 143, note 3). He ruled over Hışn Kaifā and a considerable part of Diyārbakr (Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 217); to him or his father we probably owe the bridge over the Tigris at Hışn Kaifā [q. v.]. After his death he was succeeded by his son Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad. When Şalāh al-Dīn in 578 came to Diyārbakr, Nūr al-Dīn was ready to pay homage to him and to assist him at the siege of al-Mawṣil. As a reward he was next year given the valuable town of Āmid (579). He died in 581 and was succeeded by his son Kuṭb al-Dīn Sukmān II who lost his life in 597 from a fall (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 112). Before his death he had designated as his successor a Mamlūk named Ayās, as he hated his brother al-Malik al-Şālih Nāşir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, whom strict Sunnis condemned as a philosopher and heretic. But Maḥmūd seized Āmid when the emirs asked him to do so (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 112). He recognised the suzerainty of the Aiyūbids 'Adil and Kāmil and of the Saldjūk Kaikā'ūs. On an Āmid inscription of the year 605 (1208—1209) he calls himself sultān of Diyārbakr, al-Rūm and al-Arman (van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 147). After his death in 619 he was succeeded by his son al-Malik al-Mas'ūd Mawdūd (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 260). According to a coin of 628, Hışn Kaifā then belonged to the ruler of Mārdīn. The lands of the Ortokids had already been much diminished by the attacks of the Saldjūk sultāns of Rūm when in 629 (1231) the Aiyūbid al-Kāmil advanced against Āmid and took it with the towns that belonged to it, including Hışn Kaifā (Abu 'l-Fidā', iv. 393) which, if this statement is correct, had therefore again been taken by Mawdūd from his relative. Al-Kāmil's son, al-Malik al-Şālih, remained in possession of Āmid and Kaifā. In 639 he had to cede Āmid to the allied armies of Ḥalab and Rūm, while he retained Kaifā (Kamāl al-Dīn, *History of Aleppo*, transl. E. Blochet, p. 219 = *R. O. L.*, vi. 16). Mawdūd remained in prison until the death of al-Kāmil in 635; he then escaped and found refuge with al-Muzaffar of Ḥamā until his death probably during the Tatar inroads (Abu 'l-Fidā', iv. 393).

B. Mārdīn. On the death of its governor Lu'lu' the city of Ḥalab submitted voluntarily in 1117—1118 to Nađīm al-Dīn İlghāzī I [q. v.], who had since 502 (1108) been lord of Mārdīn. İlghāzī

Shams al-Dīn Dāwūd, about 693 by his brother Najm al-Dīn Ghāzī II al-Mansūr, in 712 by his son 'Imād al-Dīn 'Alī Alpi al-'Adil, then by his brother Shams al-Dīn Šālih, in 765 by his son Ahmad al-Mansūr, in 769 by his son Maḥmūd al-Šālih, in 769 by his uncle Dāwūd al-Muẓaffar, in 778 by the latter's son Majd al-Dīn 'Isā al-Zāhir, and lastly by the latter's brother Šālih (809–811 = 1406–1408). After Timūr had taken Mārdīn, the ownership of the town passed to the Kara-Koyunli.

To the territory of the Ortokids of Mārdīn belonged at least down to the time of Najm al-Dīn Ghāzī II the town of Dunaisir (q.v., now Kōç Hişār), according to coins found in the neighbourhood near Tell Ermen (E. Sachau, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1880, phil.-hist. Kl., treatise ii., p. 80).

C. *Khartabirt* (*Kharpūt*). *Khartabirt* is found as early as 515 in the possession of the Ortokid Balak b. Bahrām, who held it till 518. His relative Sulaimān then occupied it but he seems to have died in the same year. It then belonged successively to Dāwūd of Hişn Kaifā and his son Kara-Arslān and grandson Muḥammad. There is an inscription (dated 561 = 1165–1166) of Fakhr al-Dīn Kara-Arslān commemorating a building in *Kharpūt* (van Berchem, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, ix/iii., 1907, p. 142 sq., No. 9). After the death of Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad in 581 (1185–1186) his brother 'Imād al-Dīn Abū Bakr founded an independent dynasty there as Lane-Poole was the first to show (*Essay on the Urtukis*, in *Num. Chron.*, N.S., xiii., 1873) (van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 144, note 1). At his brother's death he was in Šalāh al-Dīn's camp before al-Mawşil and at once set off for Hişn Kaifā on hearing the news to claim his inheritance. But his nephew Sukmān II had already taken possession of the fortress and had been recognised by Šalāh al-Dīn. The uncle had therefore to be content with *Khartabirt* (Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 339). Abū Bakr must have died in 600 at latest for Maḥmūd of Kaifā and Āmid unsuccessfully besieged his son Nizām al-Dīn in *Khartabirt* in 601 (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 132). This last Ortokid of *Khartabirt* is said to have been called Nizām al-Dīn Abū Bakr; according to the inscription on a bronze mirror in the Blacas collection in Paris, his name was more probably Nizām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, unless we have to see in Abū Bakr a (childless) brother of Ibrāhīm (van Berchem, *op. cit.*). Ibrāhīm had two sons: 'Izz al-Dīn Ahmad mentioned in a manuscript of 685 written in his reign and al-Khiḍr named on the above mentioned mirror, father of Nūr al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faḍl Ortok-Šāh who ruled at an unknown time and unnamed place. *Khartabirt* probably remained in possession of the Ortokids only down to 631. At least the town was taken in this year by Sultān Kaiḡubād I.

Coins. Four mints are named on the coins of the Ortokids: al-Hişn or Kaifā, i.e. Hişn Kaifā, Āmid, Mārdīn and Dunaisir. The strong influence of trade with Byzantium is seen on the coins in a remarkable fashion: we find on them not only rulers' heads taken from ancient coins and no longer understood but also the Virgin Mary, Christ and the Greek inscription Emmanuel on them.

Bibliography: The Arab historians of the Crusades and the Syriac chroniclers, such as Michael the Great and Barhebraeus; Stanley

Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Urtukī Turkumāns*, in Marsden's *International Numismata Orientalia*, vol. i/ii., London 1875; do., *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, iii., 1877 (*The coins of the Turkoman House of Seljook, Urtuk, Zengee etc.*), p. 118–176; ix., 1889 (*Additions*), p. 299–302; x. (*Index*), s.v.; do., *The Mohammedan Dynastie*, Paris 1925, p. 166–169; Stokvis, *Manuel d'histoire, de généalogie et de chronologie*, Leyden 1888, i. 21, 97 sq.; Ismā'il Ghālib Edhem, *Catalogue des monnaies turcomanes*, Stambul 1894; M. van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, phil.-hist. Kl., N.S., ix/iii., 1907, p. 125–160 (esp. p. 142–146: No. 9. *Bauinschrift des Ortokiden Fakhr al-Dīn Kara-Arslān in Kharpūt*; p. 146–152: *Bauinschrift d. Ortok. Malik Šālih Maḥmūd in Āmid*); Kātib Ferdī, *Mārdīn Mulūk-i Urtukīya Tārikhi*, written in 944 = 1537 (ed. by 'Alī Emīrī Efendi, Stambul 1331; cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 83, note 1); further references in the articles *DIYAR BAKR*, *HALAB*, *HIŞN KAIFĀ*, *KHARPŪT*, *MAIYĀFĀRIKH* and *MĀRDĪN*. (E. HONIGMANN)

OSMAN DIGNA [see 'OTHMĀN ABŪ BAKR DIGNA.]

OSRŪSHANA, the name of a district in Transoxania. The form *Osrūshana* is the best known although Yākūt (i. 245) says that *Oshrūsana* is preferable. In the Persian versions of the text of al-Iṣṭakhṛī and in the Persian text of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (ed. Barthold) we find more often *Surūshana* while Ibn Khurdādhbih sometimes has *Shurūsana*; the original form may have been *Srōshana*. This district lies to the north-east of Samarkand between this town and *Khodjand*, to the south of the Sir Daryā (Saiḥūn) so that it forms the approach to the valley of Farghāna; on the north west it is bounded by the steppe. The southern part is occupied by the mountains of Buttām which run along the upper course of the Zār-Afshān; these hills are generally regarded as forming part of *Osrūshana*. The geographical information about this region is based almost exclusively on the geographers of the tenth century; the later geographers down to Ḥājjdī Khalifa only repeat what their predecessors have said: it appears therefore that the name *Osrūshana* had fallen into disuse before the end of the middle ages. As a result of its numerous streams, which flow into the Sir Daryā, it was at one time a rich country visited by many travellers because the route to Farghāna lay through it. The geographers describe several roads from Samarkand to *Khodjand* all of which passed through the towns of Sābāt and Zāmin, the name of which still survives. The principal town — in which in the tenth century the governor lived — was in all probability called *Nawmāndj-kath* — this must be the basis of the more or less uncertain readings of a number of manuscripts (cf. especially Balādhuri, p. 420); the form *Bundjikat* given by Yākūt (i. 744; but see also iv. 307 where the name is *Kunb*) and adopted by Barthold is a late corruption; it lay a little to the south of the great road and was identified in 1894 by W. Barthold with the ruins called *Shahristān* to the south of the present town of Ura Tube; these ruins were examined a little later by P. S. Skvarsky. The geographers describe the town in detail. Two other towns of some importance were Zāmin and Dizak, and a number of other places are recorded;

there were also rural areas without towns, while al-Ya'qūbī (*B.G.A.*, vii. 294) says that there were 400 fortresses in the country. In the tenth century there was an important market-place called Marsamanda. There is some further geographical information about the country in the *Bābur-nāma*.

At the time when the first Arab invasion of the country took place under Qutaiba b. Muslim (712—714), Osrūshana was inhabited by an Iranian population, ruled by its own princes who bore the title of *afshin* (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 40). The first invasion did not result in conquest; in 737 the Turkish enemies of the governor Asad fell back on Osrūshana (Tabari, ii. 1613). Naṣr b. Saiyār [q. v.] subdued the country incompletely in 739 (Balādhuri, p. 429; Tabari, ii. 1694) and the Afshin again made a nominal submission to al-Mahdī (Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ii. 479). Under al-Ma'mūn the country had to be conquered again but soon a new expedition was necessary in 822. On this last occasion the Muslim army was guided by Ḥaidar, the son of the Afshin Kāwūs, who on account of dynastic troubles had sought refuge in Baghdād. This time the submission was complete; Kāwūs abdicated and Ḥaidar succeeded him, later to become one of the great nobles of the court of Baghdād under al-Mu'taṣim where he was known as Afshin [q. v.]. The dynasty of the Sādjids of Ādharbāidjān was also descended from the royal family. His dynasty continued to reign until 893 (coin of the last ruler Sair b. 'Abd Allāh of 279 [892] in the Hermitage in Leningrad); after this date the country becomes a province of the Sāmānids and ceases to have an independent existence while the Iranian element was almost entirely replaced by the Turkish.

Bibliography: The geographical descriptions (Ibn Khurdādhbih, al-Ya'qūbī, al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Hawqāl, al-Maḳḍisī) have been analysed and utilised by W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Conquest*, 2nd ed., in *G. M. S.*, N. S., v., London 1928, p. 165—169. — The second part of the same book contains all the historical references (cf. index); cf. also Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 473 sqq.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

OSTĀDĪH (P.), master, teacher, artisan. This word has passed into Arabic, with the plural *ostādhiṇ, asātidha*. It also means eunuch, musician, merchant's ledger, in the modern language particularly teacher. Combined with *dār* the form *ostādār*, "master of the house", major-domo, was applied to one of the great dignitaries of the Mamlūk sultāns [q. v.]. We also find the abbreviated forms *ostā, ostā, oṣṭā*, plural *ostawāt, ostawāt, oṣṭawāt*, which in Cairo is applied to coachmen.

Bibliography: the lexicons of Vullers, Lane, Dozy; C. A. Nallino, *L'arabo parlato in Egitto*, second ed., Milan 1913, p. 185—186.

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OSTĀDSIS, the name of the leader of a religious movement in Khurāsān, directed against the Abbāsids. The rising began in 150 (767) and spread rapidly in the districts of Herāt, Bādghīs, Gandj-Rustāk and Sijjīstān; the sources say that it had 300,000 adherents. The first opposition it met with was at Marw al-Rūdh but the rebels killed the Arab leader al-Adjītham with a number of his officers. On hearing this, the caliph al-Manṣūr sent his general Khāzīm b. Khuzaima to his son al-Mahdī at Nisābūr and the latter ordered Khāzīm to attack the rebels with 20,000 men.

After several checks due to the treachery of subordinates, Khāzīm entrenched himself in a camp at a place, the name of which is not given, and by a number of strategic movements and with the help of reinforcements from Tukhāristān succeeded in defeating the rebels, of whom large numbers were slain. Ostādsīs escaped to the mountains but was captured in the course of the following year. The 30,000 who accompanied him were set free but he and his sons were sent to Baghdād and executed. The rising of Ostādsīs was of a religious character: he represented himself as a prophet and exhorted the people to *kufir* (Tabari, iii. 773); he was one of a series of heretical rebel leaders who appeared in Khurāsān after the death of Abū Muslim [q. v.] like Sinbādīh the Magian, Bih-afrid [q. v.], Yūsuf al-Barm, and al-Mukannā. It is probable that his views were based on Zoroastrian doctrines. The name of the leader is given by Tabari as Ustādīh-Sis, "Lord Sis"; the name Sis is found in several Iranian names (cf. Justi, *Altiran. Namenbuch*, p. 336; Mani's successor was called, according to the *Fihrist*, p. 334: Sis al-Imām and in the Greek sources: Sisinnios). On the other hand this heretic numbered among his adherents, according to the *Kitāb al-Bad' wa'l-Ta'rikh* (ed. Huart, vi. 86), a large number of Ghuzz Turks, as was the case also with the rebel Ishāk al-Turk, who saw in Abū Muslim an incarnation of the deity. In al-Ya'qūbī's story it is said that Ostādsīs declined to recognise al-Mahdī as heir apparent, but the most astonishing statement is that of Ibn al-Athīr, who says that Ostādsīs was the father of Marādīl, wife of Hārūn al-Rashid and mother of al-Ma'mūn, and that Ghālib, son of Ostādsīs and maternal uncle of al-Ma'mūn, assassinated the latter's vizier, the famous al-Faql b. Sahl known as Dhu'l-Riyāsatain. It is impossible to say what can be at the basis of this story but perhaps we may see in it a tradition from a Persian source the object of which was to give al-Ma'mūn a royal or even saintly pedigree. The rising of Ostādsīs broke out about half a millenium after the foundation of the Parthian dynasty and one of its bases was Sijjīstān which may have made this leader be regarded as one of the "saviours" (*saoshyant*) expected in Zoroastrian religious tradition (cf. G. van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination arabe*, in *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, i. 3, 1894, p. 68).

Bibliography: al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Houtsma, ii. 457; al-Tabari, iii. 354—358; Ibn al-Athīr, v. 452 sqq.; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii. 65.

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'OTBA B. GHAZWĀN B. AL-ḤARITH B. DĪĀBIR B. WAḤB (or WUḤAIB) B. NUSAIB ABU 'UBAID ALLĀH or ABU GHAZWĀN AL-MĀZINĪ, belonged to the tribe of Kais 'Ailān, *halif* of the Nawfal or of the 'Abd Shams, one of the oldest Companions of the Prophet, "the seventh of the Seven", i. e. the seventh to adopt Islām and one who had shared in the sufferings to which the first believers had been exposed in Mecca. He took part in both hidjras, the battle of Badr, and in most of the battles and expeditions of the Prophet. — He is best known as the founder of Baṣra. In the caliphate of 'Omar he first of all conducted an expedition which ended in the capture of Obolla. 'Omar then appointed him agent (*'amil*) in "the country of India", i. e. the borderland between Arabia and Persian territory with orders to begin a campaign in the Sawād [q. v.]. He made

his headquarters at a hamlet called *Khuraiba*, where he built all that was necessary for a military base: a mosque (cf. iii., p. 318), a residence for the governor, quarters for the soldiers, their families and all that goes to make a rising town. This was the nucleus of al-Baṣra [q. v.]. The order of events and the chronology generally are far from being settled; the years given vary between 14 and 17. The years 15 and 17 are given for his death. Having performed the pilgrimage, he asked 'Omar to be allowed to resign his governorship but 'Omar refused to permit it. He then prayed God to spare him from returning to Baṣra. On the way back he fell dead from his camel at the age of 57. Another tradition is given by Ibn Sa'd [cf. *Bibl.*]. He was succeeded by al-Mughira b. Shu'ba [q. v.].

Bibliography: al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, index; do., ed. Ahlwardt, p. 14, 140; Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, index; al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, iv. 225; do., *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, in *BGA*, viii. 357—358; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, III/i. 69; Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 22, 71, 163, 166; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, index; al-Dinawari, *Kitāb al-Akhbār al-ḥusnā*, ed. Girgass and Kratchkovsky, p. 122—124; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā'*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 405—406; Ibn Ḥajjar al-Askalānī, *Kitāb al-Iṣāba*, No. 9778; do., *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Haidarābād 1325, vii. 100; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, Cairo 1286, iii. 363 sqq.; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, index to vol. iii.; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. 74; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, index to vol. iii.—v. (A. J. WENSINCK)

'OTBA B. RABĪ' A B. 'ABD SHAMS B. 'ABD MANĀF ABU 'L-WALID, one of the chiefs of the tribe of *Quraysh*, who refused to follow Muḥammad. He met his death in the battle of Badr. His daughter Hind was the wife of Abū Sufyān [q. v.].

Shocked by the number of adherents of Muḥammad, 'Otba having consulted the other chiefs of the *Quraysh*, went to the Prophet to offer him anything he would care to ask if he would only abandon his propaganda. According to the traditional story, Muḥammad in reply only repeated a part of *Sūra XLI*, which made such an impression on him that the effect was still visible when he rejoined his friends, whom he advised not to importune Muḥammad any more. — Tradition puts him in a similar light when it represents him as one of those who on the eve of the battle of Badr endeavoured in vain to persuade the *Quraysh* to withdraw. He himself was mortally wounded in the battle and his body was thrown into the common ditch (*kaṭib*). Muḥammad is said to have thought highly of his gifts.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, index; Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, index; Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 6, 19, 36; Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, Leipzig 1930, p. 183, 191, 242, 252; Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'hégire*, Bairūt 1924, p. 69, 75.

(A. J. WENSINCK)
'OTHMÂN I, very often called 'Othmān Ghāzī, founder of the dynasty of Ottoman sultāns and the first in the traditional series of the members of the dynasty. We are only imperfectly acquainted with the life and personality of this founder of a great empire but we may conclude from the fact that his name

has remained attached to the dynasty of the 'Othmān Oghullarī or Āl-i 'Othmān and is later found in the description of the empire and its inhabitants as 'Othmānī or 'Othmānī, that behind the name of 'Othmān there lies a powerful personality. The most extensive source of information about him is Turkish historical literature and particularly its ancient chronicles, the *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i 'Othmān*, representing the oldest tradition, along with a few poetical compositions of an epic nature dating from the end of the xivth century, like the latter part of the *Iskandar-nāme* of Aḥmedi. The study of the ancient chronicles reveals to us that although they certainly contain some good historical traditions, they are loaded with additions of a legendary character. These additions are explained by the enormous expansion of the power of the earlier Ottoman princes within less than a century of the death of its founder. As often happens in such cases the obscure history of the ancestor was embellished with details of a legendary character foreshadowing the greatness of his descendants. On the other hand, all the chronicles show a tendency to establish a historical connection between the power of the Saldjuks of Asia Minor and that of the first Ottoman rulers by making Ertoghrl or 'Othmān be invested with certain powers by Sultān Ālā' al-Dīn (II). These relations are more than doubtful. A third feature of the traditional accounts of 'Othmān's career, which we find in all the chronicles, is the explanation of a number of geographical names by connecting them with events which took place in the glorious period of the founder of the dynasty. There is further the tendency which we find pushed to its greatest extent in the chronicle of 'Ashīk Pasha Zāde to attribute to 'Othmān events which belong to the tradition of Ertoghrl, like the prophetic dream regarding the greatness of the posterity of 'Othmān and the daughter of Shaikh Edebalī, and the capture of the castle of *Ḳaradja Hışār*; in the same way the chronicles put many feats of arms of Orkhān like the taking of *Brusa* and even the conquest of *Ḳodja Ili* to the reign of 'Othmān, who had then long been an invalid "with a disease of the limbs". While in the chronicles we can still distinguish with some probability the non-historical features, pragmatic Ottoman historiography, with which 'Ashīk Pasha Zāde and Idrīs Bidlisī form the transition, represents these traditions as historical facts. Among the Byzantine historians, Pachymeres and Nicephoros Gregoras alone have preserved historical features independent of the Ottoman tradition, which clearly shows its influence in the later Byzantines (Phrantzes, Ducas, Chalcocondylas). Quite legendary stories of 'Othmān are also found in the hagiographic literature (cf. *Das Vilāyet-Nāme des Hāggi Bektasch*, transl. E. Gross, in *Türk. Bibl.*, xxv., Leipzig 1925, p. 133 sqq.).

According to unanimous tradition, 'Othmān was one of the sons of Ertoghrl [q. v.] whom he succeeded as chief of a semi-nomad Turkish clan which had its winter camp at *Söğüd* [q. v.] in the valley of the *Ḳara Şu*. The date of Ertoghrl's death is uncertain; later sources vary between 1264 and 1282. At this time *Ḳaradja Hışār* and *Eski Şehir* [q. v.] situated considerably to the south of *Söğüd* were perhaps already in the possession of this clan. They formed the frontier district bordering with the lands of the *Germiyan-*

Oghlu. ‘Othmān in the first phase of his career extended this cradle of Ottoman power to the north by taking the fortresses of Inegöl, Khar-mendjik, Biledjik, Yār Hīṣār and Köprü Hīṣār, which had hitherto been in the hands of the Byzantine feudal lords. This country consists of mountains and valleys lying to the west of the course of the Saḳarya [q. v.] and ends in the north in the plain of Yeñi Şehir; the capture of the last place seems to have been of great military importance as it became a base of operations for future conquests (cf. the map *Das Stammgebiet der Osmanen*, attached to the article *Anatolische Forschungen*, by F. Taeschner, in *Z.D.M.G.*, N.S., vii. 83 sqq.). Von Hammer, *G.O.R.* 2, i. 69 thinks the enumeration by Pachymeres (ed. Bonn 1835, ii. 413) of the fortresses taken by the Turks corresponds pretty well with the conquests of ‘Othmān. It is perhaps to this first stage of conquests that belongs the first recital of the *khutba* at Karadja Hīṣār in the name of ‘Othmān by Tursun Faḳīh. The chronicles put this event in 689 (1290). During this time the newly conquered territory seems to have received an increase of population from the side of the Germiyan (‘Ashīk Paṣha Zāde, ed. Giese, p. 20). The second phase in ‘Othmān’s career is that in which from his base at Yeñi Şehir he continued his conquests in the westerly direction towards Brusa and in a northern direction towards Iznīk. The Turks were not strong enough to take these towns but they ravaged the country round. According to the chronicles, there was a battle between ‘Othmān’s Turks and a confederation of lords (*taḳwūr*) of Brusa, Iznīk and several other places at Koyun Hīṣār, near Iznīk, in which the Turks were victorious; this battle has been identified since von Hammer’s time with the battle of Baphaeon, in which, according to Pachymeres (ii. 337), the heterarch Mouzalon was defeated in 1301 as a result of the impetuous onslaught of the Turkish cavalry. This victory enabled Lefke and Aḳ Hīṣār on the Saḳarya to be taken and in the west Tricoccia between Iznīk and Brusa (Pachymeres, ii. 637). In connection with this last victory (in 1308) Pachymeres mentions a personal feud between ‘Othmān and the Byzantine princess Maria, sister of the emperor Andronicus, who lived in Nicaea. She had been promised in marriage to the İlkḫān Olḳaitu Khudābanda [q. v.] and had threatened ‘Othmān with the latter’s intervention. In this second period the Turks extended their conquests as far as Ulubād (Leopadion) to the west of Brusa. The third phase is that in which ‘Othmān no longer took part personally in the military expeditions although, according to tradition, he was still alive. It was Orkhān [q. v.] and his companions in arms who continued the conquests. The first enterprise of Orkhān was the expulsion of a horde of Tatars who had invaded the district of Eski Şehir (perhaps sent by the Mongol allies of Byzantium). In the latest stage, ‘Othmān devoted himself to the closer encirclement of Iznīk and Brusa. This last town finally fell in 726 (1326), according to the chronicles, shortly before the death of ‘Othmān who is said to have received the good news just before he died in Söğüd. The sources are not agreed as to whether ‘Othmān was buried at Söğüd or Brusa. This last town has however for a very long time claimed to have a *türbe* of ‘Othmān.

From the very beginning of his reign ‘Othmān

was surrounded by a group of devoted followers, consisting in part of his brothers and their sons and in part of allies like Shaikh Edebalı — whose daughter Mālkhātun (in the two versions of Urudj Beg her name is Rābi’a) became the wife of ‘Othmān and the mother of his sons Orkhān and ‘Alā’ al-Dīn — and the Byzantine lord of Khirmendjik, Köse Mīkhal [q. v.] who later became a Muslim. The chronicles record how ‘Othmān divided among his friends the civil and military administration of the places he conquered. As to ‘Othmān’s foreign policy, it seems that his relations with the Germiyan Oghlu were not very friendly; it was from their territory that Eski Şehir was exposed to the invasions of the Tatars. The chronicle of ‘Ashīk Paṣha Zāde tells us that he had other independent Turkish allies like Şamsama Ça’uşh with whom he made raids across the Saḳarya.

The chronology of the career of ‘Othmān is uncertain. It is a pure fiction to say his reign began in 700 (1300); this is connected with the popular belief that at the end of each century a new conqueror makes his appearance (cf. ‘Ālī, *Kunh al-Akhbār*, v. 3). Neither does the statement made by several chroniclers that at his death ‘Othmān had reigned nineteen years (*beylik etti*) agree with other records. Perhaps however it gives a hint that his death took place long before the traditional date. The importance of the career of ‘Othmān has attracted research into the true nature of the expansion of the little Turkish clan and the power of its first chief. It has been suggested (Gibbons) that it was the conversion of ‘Othmān to Islām which gave the first impetus to expansion, but that is little probable as most of the available facts suggest a milieu already Muslim; ‘Othmān did just what a number of other Turkish chiefs were doing in Asia Minor about the same time. ‘Othmān’s name, which looks strange among the Turkish names of the members of his family (the name of his grandfather Sulaimān Shāh excepted), has also been the subject of study. While the chroniclers all write ‘Othmān (like the few coins of Orkhān, cf. *T. O. E. M.*, viii. 48 and an inscription of Orkhān at Brusa; cf. *T. O. E. M.*, v. 318 sqq.), Pachymeres has the form Ἀτμαῦν and Nicephoros Gregoras (ed. Bonn 1829, i. 539) Ἀτρουῦν. Some Arabic sources (Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii. 321; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, v. 562) give ‘Othmāndjik (Ibn Faḳl Allāh al-‘Umari, however, has Tāman) and the Italian historian Donado da Lezze (*Historia Turchesca*, Bucarest 1910, p. 4) says that Ottoman was the son of Zich. Now some traditions make the founder of the dynasty be born in the town of ‘Othmāndjik to the south of Sinope (Ewliya Çelebi, ii. 179) which may be a hint of the origin of the name. Moreover, the text of the chronicle of Urudj Beg (p. 6), taken in combination with other texts, shows that Ertoghṛul had three sons with Turkish names which might even make one suppose that ‘Othmān was not a son of Ertoghṛul (cf. J. H. Kramers, *Wer war Osman?*, in *A.O.*, vi. 242 sqq.; W. L. Langer and R. P. Blake, *The Rise of the Ottoman Turks and its historical Background*, in *American Hist. Review*, 1932, p. 496). ‘Othmān Ghāzi then may have belonged to one of the corporations of *ghāzi*’s or *akhi*’s as did several members of his entourage like Edebalı and his nephew Akhi Ḥasan (‘Ashīk Paṣha Zāde, p. 28), corporations which at this period represented a Muslim element more civilised

and more orthodox than the semi-nomad Turks.

Bibliography: The Turkish chroniclers quoted in the text are those of Neshri (ed. Nöldeke, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xiii. 194 sqq.), ‘Ashk Pasha Zāde (ed. Giese, Leipzig 1929), Urūdī Beg (ed. Babinger, Hannover 1925) and the *Anonymous Giese* (Breslau 1922). All the general Ottoman histories give the history of ‘Othmān (*G. O. W.*) as do the histories by v. Hammer, Jorga and Zinkeisen. A careful historical investigation is found on p. 11—53 of H. A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1916. (J. H. KRAMERS)

‘OTHMĀN II, sixteenth sultān of the Ottoman empire, was born on the 19th Dju-mādā II 1012 (Nov. 15, 1603; cf. *Sidjill-i ‘othmānī*, i. 56), the son of Sultān Aḥmad I. After the death of his father in Nov. 1617, the brother of the latter had been proclaimed sultān as Muṣṭafā I [q. v.] but ‘Othmān, taking advantage of the weak character of his uncle and supported by the mufti Es’ad Efendi and the Kızlar Agha Muṣṭafā, seized the throne on Feb. 26, 1618 by a coup d’état. The youth of the new sultān at first assured the promoters of the coup d’état of considerable influence. To them was due the replacement of Khalil Pasha as grand vizier by Oküz Mehmed Pasha [q. v.] in Jan. 1619. Khalil had just concluded a treaty of peace with Shāh ‘Abbās I of Persia, after a campaign which had been indecisive. The relations with the other powers, Austria and Venice, with which the capitulations were renewed, were also peaceful. But after, in Jan. 1620, Mehmed Pasha had been replaced by the very influential favourite Güzel-dje ‘Alī Pasha [q. v.] who removed from the court all possible rivals, the chances of war increased. This time it was a war with Poland which broke out through the intrigues of the wojwod of Moldavia. In the battle of Yassy on Sept. 20, 1620, the Polish army was annihilated by the ser-asker Iskender Pasha. The grand vizier, who held office mainly by satisfying the avarice of the young sultān, never lost an occasion to irritate and provoke the enmity of Austria and Venice. He died on March 9, 1621 and under his successor Ḥusain Pasha of Okhri, ‘Othmān II took part in person in the campaign of 1621 against Poland. This campaign ended in a check for the Turks and the Tartars, who, with great losses, had in vain tried to storm the fortified Polish camp on the Dniester near Choczim. A preliminary peace was signed under the same conditions as before under Sulaimān I and the sultān appointed a new grand vizier Dilāwer-Zāde Ḥusain Pasha. Since the time when ‘Othmān, still considerably under the influence of the Kızlar Agha Sulaimān and his Khodja Molla ‘Omer, had begun to act independently, he had not been able to gain the sympathy of the army on account of his brutal treatment of the Janissaries, nor of the people chiefly as a result of his avarice, nor of the *ulamā*. The latter were particularly horrified at the sultān’s wish to take four legitimate wives from the free classes of his entourage; he actually married the daughter of the Mufti Es’ad. His unpopularity increased still further when he wished to put himself at the head of an army to fight Fakhr al-Dīn, the Emīr of the Druses, and to go on and make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Preparations had already been made for this expedition when on May 18, 1622 a mutiny broke out among the Janissaries

and Sipahis who plundered the house of Molla ‘Omer. Next day the rebels secured the cooperation of the chief *ulamā* and demanded the heads of the Kızlar Agha, the Khodja, the grand vizier, and three other high officials. ‘Othmān at first refused but after the rebels had forced the third wall of the palace he had to sacrifice the grand vizier and the Kızlar Agha. But in the meanwhile his uncle Muṣṭafā had been brought out from his seclusion in the ḥarem to be proclaimed sultān. ‘Othmān tried during the night to secure his throne through the influence of the Agha of the Janissaries, but the latter was killed on the following morning and he became the prisoner of the Janissaries who took him to their barracks. The rebels had no intentions against his life but in the meanwhile the direction of affairs had passed to Dāwūd Pasha, the favourite and son-in-law of Māh-Peiker, the mother of Sultān Muṣṭafā. Dāwūd Pasha being appointed grand vizier had ‘Othmān taken to the castle of Yedi Kule where he was put to death in the evening of May 20, 1622. He was buried in the *türbe* of his father Aḥmad I. — ‘Othmān is praised for his skill as a horseman and for his intelligence. He was also a poet with the *makhlas* of Fārisī. He was the first of three sultāns to lose his life in a rising, the others being Ibrāhīm and Selim III.

Bibliography: The Turkish sources are the works of Na’imā, Peçewī, Hasan Bey Zāde, the *Rawḍat al-Abrār* of Kara Ćelebi Zade, and the *Fedhileke* of Hādjdī Khalifa. — The *Wak’a-i Sultān ‘Othmān Khān* of Tūghī is specially devoted to the deposition of ‘Othmān (transl. by A. Galland; cf. *G. O. W.*, p. 157), while his whole reign is described in a *Shahname* by Nādirī (*G. O. W.*, p. 169). Among contemporary western accounts: the *Relazioni* quoted by von Hammer, in the note on p. 806 of *G. O. R.* 2, ii. and that of Sir Thomas Roe. Cf. also the general histories by von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga. (J. H. KRAMERS)

‘OTHMĀN III, twenty-fifth sultān of the Ottoman Empire and son of Muṣṭafā II, succeeded his brother Maḥmūd I on Dec. 14, 1754. He was born on Jan. 2, 1699 (*Sidjill-i ‘othmānī*, i. 56) and had therefore reached an advanced age when he was called to the throne. No events of political importance took place in his reign. The period of peace which had begun with the peace of Belgrade in 1739 continued; at home only a series of seditious outbreaks in the frontier provinces indicated the weakness of the Empire. In the absence of any outstanding personality the sultān was able to rule as he pleased, but his activities were practically confined to changing his grand vizier frequently (six times). His favourite Siliḥdār ‘Alī Pāshā, grand vizier from Aug. 24 to Oct. 22, 1755, had his career terminated by execution. The appointment on Dec. 13, 1756 of Rāghib Pasha [q. v.] was an important one, as for five years this great statesman showed himself an excellent administrator of the empire under Muṣṭafā III. ‘Othmān III’s other activities were the suppression of cafés, of the liberty of women to show themselves in public and the regulation of the dress of his non-Muslim subjects. His name is associated with the great mosque of Nūr-i ‘Othmānī, which had been begun by Maḥmūd I and was solemnly opened in Dec. 1755. The reign of this sultān is remembered

for the great fires in the capital in 1755 and 1756. He died on Oct. 30, 1757 and was buried, like Maḥmūd I, in the tomb of the Veñi Džami'.

Bibliography: The *Tārīkh* of Wāṣif is the principal source. The reign is described in the great histories of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

'OTHMĀN B. 'AFFĀN, the third caliph (23—35 = 644—655). He belonged to the great Meccan family of the Banū Umayya and to the branch descended from Abū 'l-'Āṣi, whose grandson he was (cf. the genealogy in Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, U, 23). This makes his prompt acceptance of the teaching of Muḥammad quite noteworthy; he became a convert, if not at the very beginning of the Prophet's mission, at least at a very early date, several years before the Hidjra. 'Oṯmān was a rich merchant and an accomplished man of the world; tradition, which likes to represent him as a model of beauty and elegance and deals to a degree which borders on exaggeration with his toilet, may be correct, simply because it is unusual. Whatever was the exact motive that induced him to embrace a cause of which no one could then have possibly foreseen the success is a question that can never be answered with certainty. One set of historical traditions connects his conversion with his marriage to Muḥammad's daughter Ruḳaiya but other sources, probably with more justice, put this marriage after his conversion. The conversion of 'Oṯmān, the first Muslim of high social rank, must have made a sensation and contributed to the success of the new religion, but his personal efforts on behalf of Islām were never remarkable. His indolent character, which was however accompanied by a very living faith and great good nature, is another feature ascribed by tradition to 'Oṯmān and it is unlikely that we have here an invention intended to excuse the inaction of this caliph against his lying officials; just because lack of energy and initiative is evident in 'Oṯmān from the very beginning of his career, this defect must have been a real one. 'Oṯmān is believed to have taken part in the two migrations to Abyssinia and then joined the *muhājirūn* in Medina; but he did not take part in the battle of Badr (it is alleged that he had to attend to a sick wife; the Prophet however regarded him as present and allotted him his share of the booty). After the death of Ruḳaiya the Prophet's alliance with 'Oṯmān was renewed by his marriage with another daughter, Umm Kulṯhum; the doubts raised by Lammens (*Fāṭima et les filles de Mahomet*, Rome 1912, p. 3—5) regarding the actuality of this marriage do not seem to be justified; there is no reason to think that Muḥammad did not lay great stress on this alliance with the only member of the Meccan aristocracy of whom the Muslim community could so far boast.

During the lifetime of the Prophet and those of the caliphs Abū Bakr and 'Omar, the part played by 'Oṯmān was a very humble one; how did it happen then that the council (*shūrā*) appointed by 'Omar on his deathbed chose him as successor to the second caliph? The sources dealing with the history of this laborious conclave have been minutely analysed by Caetani; but it is only too evident that the mysteries of these secret deliberations are never destined to be revealed to historical criticism. What it seems possible to affirm is that, as often happened in the papal

conclaves, the most outstanding candidates ruled one another out; for example 'Alī whose election would have meant the negation of 'Omar's policy; or al-Zubair and Ṭalḥa, also it seems opponents of 'Omar and whose ambition and covetousness was feared. If among the three who remained, Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳās, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf and 'Oṯmān, it was the latter who was chosen, it may be thought that even more than his relationship to the Prophet it was his being a member of the Umayyad clan that proved the decisive argument in his favour. The Umayyads had already regained in the lifetime of the Prophet, and especially during the caliphate of 'Omar, a part of the position they held during the Džāhiliya. There is no need to think as some one has done that Abū Sufyān, the head of the family, was the *deus ex machina* of policy during the first twenty years of the caliphate, and it would be naive to represent the Umayyads as having formed a kind of secret committee dealing with the Islāmic state as it pleased. In reality it was not so much to their noble birth as to a real talent for affairs possessed by several of their members that the Umayyads owed their influence. But this was counterbalanced in the time of 'Omar by the part played by other elements and especially by the oldest Companions. The strong personality of the second caliph had been able to maintain equilibrium among a number of heterogeneous elements, often in opposition to them.

It was otherwise with 'Oṯmān. In reality, as Wellhausen pointed out and Caetani has expounded at length, 'Oṯmān only followed and developed the policy of 'Omar. The difficulties he encountered were only the results of the policy of his predecessor. But it was just here that the difference in their talents became apparent.

The tragedy which put a bloody end to the reign of 'Oṯmān and opened up the period of civil wars has caused the greatest embarrassment to the Arab historians, forced to record the series of grievances which the adversaries of 'Oṯmān raised against his rule and faced with the alternative of either acknowledging that the caliph had sinned against the laws of Islām or that his accusers, among whom were some of the most venerated patriarchs of the faith, had either lied or been deceived. It is owing to this painful dilemma (out of which orthodox tradition extricated itself by means of the theory of the "excusable error" and other subtle distinctions) that there has been preserved for us the long list of these grievances (which are given in great detail for example in Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ al-nāḍira fī Manāḳib al-'Ashara*, Cairo 1327, ii. 137—152). The first and perhaps the gravest charge against him is that he appointed members of his family to the governorships in the provinces; if Syria had already been long in the hands of the Umayyad Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, 'Oṯmān replaced Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳās at Baṣra and Kūfa respectively by his two relatives 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir b. Kuraiz and al-Walid b. 'Uḳba, his half-brother; when the latter was dismissed, having been involved in a scandal, he was replaced by another Umayyad, Sa'd b. al-'Ās, to whom is attributed the celebrated saying: "The *Sawād* of Kūfa is the garden of the *Quraysh*". Egypt, the first conqueror of which, 'Amr b. al-'Ās, seemed to deserve the right to hold the governorship for

life fell to ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa’d b. Abī Sarh, who was not an Umayyad, but whose Muslim past was, to say the least, suspicious. Finally the caliph’s intimate adviser to whom tradition likes to ascribe a baneful influence, was Marwān b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī ‘l-‘Āṣī, first cousin of the caliph, who had recalled his father from the exile to which the Prophet had condemned him. It cannot be denied that these measures of ‘Othmān were not entirely free from nepotism; but we must recognise in them a deeper motive: the intention of establishing unity of government and administration, which was being threatened by the excess of independence which the governors enjoyed. It was practically the same end that ‘Omar had had in view but the latter had succeeded by his energy and prestige in imposing his authority even on governors who belonged to other tribes and clans. ‘Othmān thought he could obtain the same results by using officials connected with him by ties of blood; he was not successful; the parts were reversed and it was the caliph who was under the influence of his relatives (perhaps however to a less extent than the official historians say); besides, popular discontent ascribed solely to this cause the troubles that arose, which were probably quite independent of the personality of the officials. Indeed (and it is one of Caetani’s great merits that he has called attention to this) the *diwān* system instituted by ‘Omar demanded that the plunder taken in war should increase steadily in perpetuity, the regular receipts from the taxation of the *Ahl al-Dhimma* not sufficing for the new recruits who hastened to the provinces from the depths of Arabia. From this came the stimulus to the expeditions which in the caliphate of ‘Omar never ceased to push forward the frontiers of the Arab empire: such were the conquest of the last provinces of the Sāsānian empire (the dynasty of which became extinct with the murder of the last king Yazdagird III), the occupation of Armenia, a series of expeditions along the north coast of Africa, into Nubia, into Asia Minor, and by sea into the eastern basin of the Mediterranean. If we sum up the conquests made or begun by the Arabs in the caliphate of ‘Othmān we shall see that if they do not show the swift expansion of those that took place under ‘Omar, they are nevertheless impressive as they mark on one side the conclusion of the initial stage of the Arab empire and on the other the preliminary to the second period of expansion, that of the Umayyads.

Nevertheless the booty produced by these expeditions was perhaps not so great as had been hoped; besides, ‘Othmān — this is another of the grievances against him — instead of assigning it entirely to the soldiers, reserved a share for his governors and for the members of his family, by developing the system of fiefs (*katā‘i*), which ‘Omar had already made great use of. In this again, we should recognise not a simple scheme for enriching his relations but perhaps rather a conscientious attempt to form domains for the state in contrast to the communistic system of dividing all the booty among the combatants. The Islāmic empire was tending from an innate necessity to give itself a regular administration, for which the Byzantine and Persian afforded models. What ‘Omar had already begun, what the Umayyads to some extent accomplished and the ‘Abbāsids realised, the transformation of the incoherent and anarchistic grouping of the tribes into an absolute monarchy of oriental

type, was also ‘Othmān’s programme. He may be reproached with not having chosen the means best fitted to realise it and described as not being fit for a task of this magnitude; but his plan was a reasonable one and only meant following up ‘Omar’s ideal. Besides, the economic crisis, the inevitable consequence of the sudden enriching of the Arab masses, very soon forced the state to make economies and to cut down the military pensions; this not unnaturally increased the number of malcontents.

One of the steps which contributed very greatly to stirring up against ‘Othmān the religious element, formed of the old Companions of humble or even servile origin (such as ‘Ammār b. Yāsir, Abū Dharr, ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd etc.), whose influence upon the masses was very strong, was the official edition of the *Qur’ān* (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur’āns*, ii. 47–119). What was found most odious in this process was the destruction of the provincial copies. ‘Othmān was no doubt urged to this step by considerations of a religious and liturgical nature, but nevertheless the dominant motive may have been a political one. The *ḥurrā*, who were the receptacles and of course also the expositors of the sacred text, exercised for this reason a tremendous influence on the masses, which made them to some degree independent of the central power, the latter having no way of checking whether the *Qur’ān* passages used by the *ḥurrā* were authentic or not. In depriving them of this weapon and making itself the monopolist of divine revelation, the government was endeavouring to realise unity and to establish its absolute power over the state: but it is only very natural that the opposition to this tendency should have accused the caliph of having mutilated and destroyed the divine word.

‘Othmān therefore made himself enemies in very different quarters: the turbulent elements of the *amṣār* [see *MIṢR*] faced with economic difficulties and disposed to accuse the caliph of confiscating for his own benefit the property of the Muslims; growing pietism to which the assertion of the authority of the state seemed a breach of the principles of equality laid down by the Prophet; lastly the former governors who had been dismissed and the great Companions who, removed from power, were striving for it with all their might: such were Ṭalḥa, al-Zubair and ‘Alī. It may be asked if ‘Othmān, while following the line of conduct imposed upon him, as we have seen, by the necessities of state and the example of his predecessor, could have avoided the fate which overtook him and which so profoundly disturbed the unity of Islām. Although the answer to this kind of question cannot be a definite one in the field of history, it may be supposed that a more intelligent mind and a more energetic temperament than that of the third caliph (or to be more definite a real political genius such as Mu‘āwīya would undoubtedly have revealed if he had then been at the head of the government) might perhaps have overcome these difficulties. Perhaps also his adviser Marwān, who was thirty years later to face a situation not less difficult, lacked as yet experience and prudence. In any case, ‘Othmān, incapable in himself, was also badly advised and the Umayyads, whom he had overwhelmed with riches and honours, thought more of themselves than of their relative in the hour of danger.

The course of development of events can only be briefly indicated here. Tradition divides quite artificially the caliphate of ‘Othmān into two periods of equal length: six years (23—29) of good government and six (30—35) of illegality and confusion. The change is represented symbolically by the loss of the seal of the Prophet which ‘Othmān, according to the story, dropped into the well of ‘Aris in the year 30. It is in any case a fact that it was just at this period that the first movements of rebellion began in the ‘Irāk, the region which was suffering most from the economic crisis and the one where the turbulent elements were the most numerous. The episode of Abū Dharr, one of the precursors of asceticism in Islām, exiled to Syria with several of his companions, and later sent to Rabadha to die there in destitution, although embellished by legend is characteristic as showing the attitude of the growing pietism to the secular transformation of the caliphate. Much more serious troubles broke out in Kūfa in 32—33, led by the *ḡurra*, who combined a religious character with political activity and gathered round them a number of doubtful elements. In spite of severe measures taken against them, the recalcitrant elements succeeded in procuring the deposition of Sa‘id b. al-‘Āṣ who was replaced by the former governor of Baṣra, Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘ari, himself a pietist and opponent of ‘Othmān; Kūfa was henceforth no longer under the central government. Similarly in Egypt, Ibn Abī Sarḥ had to yield to the violence of a group led by the young Muḥammad b. Abī Hudhaifa who although an adopted son of ‘Othmān took the side of his opponents. It seems that the wily ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ who had retired to Palestine after his dismissal was secretly encouraging the revolutionary movement in Egypt. The storm which had been brewing for some time burst at the end of the year 35 when bodies of rebels advanced on Medina from the provinces. The first to arrive were the Egyptians; dramatic interviews took place between them and the caliph; the grievances against ‘Othmān were expounded with great bitterness of language. But the rebels were disarmed by the humble and conciliatory attitude of the caliph who gave in to all their demands, promised to annul his previous measures and to change his governors; the Egyptians left satisfied. But suddenly, on the way back at the halting-place of al-‘Arish, a messenger of ‘Othmān’s was seized and a letter found upon him from ‘Othmān to Ibn Abī Sarḥ confiscated which contained an order to put to death or mutilate the leaders of the movement on their return. The latter turned back furious and retraced their steps to Medina, determined on vengeance. ‘Othmān denied that the letter was genuine, and even insinuated that it had been forged by his enemies in order to ruin him. Although official tradition shows a tendency to attribute this forgery to Marwān, there is also the trace of other versions and even of one (preserved by al-Balādhuri alone), which says that ‘Othmān suspected ‘Alī; this, by the way, is what Caetani had suspected without knowing of this text (*Annali*, viii., p. 159). Whatever we may think of this suspicious episode (we know well that the manufacture of false documents intended to bring ruin upon an adversary who cannot be defeated otherwise has been regularly practised in ancient as well as modern times), it is certain that, while it was the immediate cause of the

tragic end of ‘Othmān, events had already begun to move. A regular siege of ‘Othmān’s house was set up; the conduct of the old Companions who remained in veiled opposition was of the most hypocritical character; without having the courage to share in the deposition of the caliph by violence, and without the desire to help him against the rebels, they, ‘Alī in particular, maintained an attitude of malevolent neutrality. ‘Ā’isha, the widow of the Prophet, who had conducted a violent campaign against ‘Othmān, preferred to slip away at the last moment on the pretext of a pilgrimage to Mecca. Reduced to the last extremity, ‘Othmān mustered all his dignity and refused to abdicate. After a siege, the length of which is given differently in the different sources, a number of men penetrated into the house in the last days of 35 (June 656) led by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (the son of the first caliph and brother of ‘Ā’isha) who raised his hand against ‘Othmān. We do not know if it was he or another (tradition gives several names and it is evident that the exact details were obscure from the first) who gave the coup de grâce to the caliph. His blood flowed, it is said, upon the copy of the *Qur’ān* which he was reading when attacked; his wife, the Kalbī Nā’ila bint al-Furāṣa, was wounded. The house was pillaged. During the night the body was buried with the greatest secrecy by his wife and some friends. The troops sent by Mu‘āwiya from Syria (too late, says tradition, accusing him of duplicity) received the news of the murder when half way there and quickly returned home.

We know how the new caliph was elected in the midst of tumult and terror (cf. Caetani, *Annali*, ix. 321—342); it shows, the author of this article thinks, that there was no previous arrangement among the principal Companions, each of whom probably thought he could deal with events as they arose. The election of ‘Alī was without doubt due, even more than to the prestige given him by his close relationship and alliance with the Prophet, to the support of the Anṣār who in the confusion in the Umayyad party had resumed control over their own town. But the new government from the first was destined to be challenged either by the unsuccessful rivals or by Mu‘āwiya, the only one of the Umayyad governors who had remained master of his province. Political unity, and soon also the religious unity, of Islām was now at an end and the period of schisms and civil wars had begun. The caliphate of ‘Othmān and its bloody end mark a turning point in Muslim history and give to the third caliph an importance which his true personality, a somewhat mediocre one at best, would never have merited.

Bibliography: The sources and earlier works are collected and summed up in Caetani, *Annali dell’Islām*, vii. and viii., Milan 1914—1918 (cf. also by the same author *Chronographia Islamica*, p. 279—388). The only historical text of importance still unpublished, the *Ansāb al-Ashraf* of al-Balādhuri, is in course of publication by the University of Jerusalem. The part relating to ‘Othmān, edited by D. S. F. Goitein (who has lent the writer proofs) corrects and complements on many points the material already available but does not supply much that is new. We may also expect shortly the publication of the long biography of ‘Othmān in the *Ta’rikh*

Dimashq of Ibn ‘Asākir, vol. viii. The *ḥadīths* relating to ‘Oṭhmān are given in A. J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leyden 1927, p. 239–240.

(LEVI DELLA VIDA)

‘OTHMĀN B. MAZ‘ŪN B. ḤABĪB . . . ABU ‘L-SĀ‘IB of the Kuraish clan of D̲j̲umah, one of the earliest Companions of Muḥammad, the thirteenth man to adopt Islām. He took part in the hijra to Abyssinia, returned, like some other refugees, on the false news of a reconciliation between Muḥammad and his pagan enemies and became for some time the client of al-Walid b. al-Mughira. Soon he renounced this privilege, because he preferred to bear his share in the insults offered to his co-religionists in Mecca. On a quarrel between ‘Oṭhmān and the poet Labid see Ibn Hishām, p. 343–344.

‘Oṭhmān took part in the hijra to Medina where he found lodging with Umm al-A‘lā. When Muḥammad formed pairs of “brothers” between the Muhājirūn and Anṣār, ‘Oṭhmān was associated with Abu ‘l-Ḥarith b. al-Taiyihān. He took part in the battle of Badr and died in the following year, 3 A. H.; according to other accounts in the year 4. He was the first Muslim buried in Baḳī‘ al-Gharkād. The affection in which Muḥammad held him was seen in the grief he showed at the sight of his corpse. Nevertheless Muḥammad is said to have reproved his widow Khuwaila bint Ḥakīm al-Sulaimiya for using language, more natural than theological, and saying her dead husband was one of the inhabitants of Paradise.

In Tradition ‘Oṭhmān is the most characteristic representative of the ascetic tendencies which were not entirely foreign to primitive Islām. He abstained from wine before this beverage was prohibited. He neglected his wife who did not fail to complain to ‘Ā‘isha whereupon Muḥammad tried to divert him from a too rigorous asceticism by suggesting that he should follow his example. The tradition is also very well known according to which he asked Muḥammad to permit him to castrate himself, a request which the Prophet did not at all consider with favour.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Index; Ibn Sa‘d, ed. Sachau, III/i., 286–291; Wāḳidī, transl. Wellhausen, Index; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asḳalānī, *al-Iṣḅa*, N^o. 9819; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, iii. 385–386; the references in canonical Ḥadīth in Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muh. Tradition*, s.v. ‘Uṭhmān b. Maz‘ūn; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, Berlin 1861, i. 387 sqq.; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, Leipzig 1930, p. 97, 119, 179. (A. J. WENSINCK)

OTHMĀN DAN FODIO. [See PUL.]

‘OTHMĀN ABŪ BAKR DIGNA (DIGNA), governor and general of the Mahdiyya in the Eastern Sūdān from 1883 onwards, born in Sawākin about 1840 (cf. Shuḳair, iii. 200; Dietrich, p. 50), was according to some a descendant of Kurds of Diyār Bakr who had come in 1517 under Sultān Selim to Sawākin and intermarried with the Hadendowa. The resulting family of the Dignāi (Diknāi) settled in Erkowit (Arkuwait) west of Sawākin. Shuḳair mentions several relations of ‘Oṭhmān: two brothers, Muḥammad Mūsā and the slave dealer ‘Alī, a half-brother Aḥmad Digna, two nephews, Madanī b. ‘Alī and Muḥammad Fāi, emīr of Kassala. ‘Oṭhmān gave them appointments

in the army and in the administration. Aḥmad Digna and Madanī both fell in fighting in the Eastern Sūdān.

Down to the outbreak of the Mahdist rising, ‘Oṭhmān was a trader, dealing especially in slaves between the Hīdjāz and the Sūdān. The prohibition of the slave-trade by the Egyptian government in 1877 affected not only his livelihood and his liberty — he and his brother ‘Alī suffered a period of imprisonment in D̲j̲idda — but also his religious conviction that the slave-trade was a permitted one. Even then his religious fanaticism displayed itself in his joining the ecstatic begging order of the Madjādhib. On hearing of the coming of the Mahdī Muḥammad Aḥmad [q.v.], “he migrated to him” (*ḥad̲j̲ara*), met him shortly after the fall of el-Obeid (al-Ubaiyid) in 1883 and took the oath of obedience to him (*bai‘a*). Henceforth he was blindly devoted to the Mahdiyya and retained his allegiance to it until his imprisonment.

It is evidence of the Mahdī’s keen judgment that he at once recognised ‘Oṭhmān’s extraordinary abilities and in a proclamation to the tribes of the eastern Sūdān on May 8, 1883 (in Shuḳair, iii. 201 sqq.) appointed him governor-general (*‘amil ‘amm*) over the till then peaceful tribes of the Bejd̲j̲a, between the Atbara and the Red Sea (with the towns of Sawākin, Ṭōkar and Kassala). These tribes who did not speak Arabic and had never been ruled by an Arab, readily gave obedience to their kinsman ‘Oṭhmān who was not only well known to them through years of friendly commerce but also knew their language and ways.

‘Oṭhmān’s activity from 1883 to 1900 falls into two periods. In the first (1883–1891) as leader of the Mahdist rising in the eastern Sūdān he carried out the important task of protecting the eastern frontier of the Mahdiyya against the Anglo-Egyptian government, which made it possible for the Mahdī to concentrate his forces on the Nile. In the second period (till 1900) after the loss of the eastern Sūdān, he was still general of the Mahdiyya along with others in the service of the Khālifa ‘Abdullāhi against the English under Kitchener.

I. The events of the first period which he opened from Erkowit with the encounter at Sinkāt on Aug. 5, 1883 were at first concerned with Sawākin. The details of this fighting are given by Shuḳair, iii. 200 sqq., 323 sqq., 400 sqq., 538 sqq., 601 sqq. The main object was not so much the taking of Sawākin and other towns as the command of the roads between Sawākin and Berber, the shortest and most convenient route to the Nile. ‘Oṭhmān is entitled to the merit of having for seven years successfully closed this road to the government. In contrast to this, the results of the actual fighting were of little significance on either side. ‘Oṭhmān defeated the Egyptians under Maḥmūd Pāshā at el-Tēb (Nov. 5, 1883), destroyed an Egyptian expedition at al-Tamanīb (Dec. 1883), undertook the siege of Sawākin, Sinkāt and Ṭōkar, defeated Baker Pāshā in a second battle at el-Tēb (Feb. 4, 1884), on Feb. 8 forced Sinkāt to surrender and on Feb. 24 Ṭōkar, but on Feb. 29, 1884 suffered a severe defeat at el-Tēb and again on March 13 and 27 at Tamāi at the hands of General Graham, which checked him for a time but did not cause him to withdraw. It was not till March 1885 that he began new operations from Tamāi, Tell Hashim and Ṭōkar, with little success

because the tribes which composed his army threatened to disperse, fearing English intervention. Nevertheless, he succeeded again and again in inspiring the undisciplined masses with enthusiasm, not least by the fact that he transferred the centre of his activities to Kassala and Abyssinia. The years 1884—1885 mark the zenith of his career. He incited the people of Kassala by Mahdist pamphlets; after the death of the Mahdī on June 22, 1885 and the fall of Kassala he was sent there by the *Khalifa* 'Abdullāhī, as the only higher official of the Mahdī (not related to the *Khalifa*) who had remained in his position, and from there waged war on the Amārār and the Abyssinians. He compensated himself for the failure of his Abyssinian campaign by a savage treatment of the people of Kassala. As he was continually threatening Sawākin and even went so far as to draw trenches round the town and begin a regular siege from Handūb, Kitchener, who was then in command at Sawākin, forced him after a series of defeats to retire to Tōkar. 'Othmān's popularity now began to decline. The tribes became alienated by his strictness and severity and the continual warfare. The exhaustion of the Mahdists was so great that the *Khalifa* allowed 'Othmān to resume trading between Sawākin and the Mahdiyya via Handūb, but this was stopped on the opening of the final struggle between the Mahdists and the Anglo-Egyptian government, and the result was famine among the Mahdists. The oppression of Kassala by Muḥammad Fāi, sent there as emir by his uncle 'Othmān, induced the *Khalifa* to summon 'Othmān to Omdurmān [q. v.]. He returned with full approval of his conduct and with new military powers but was completely defeated by Holved Smith Pāshā who finally took Tōkar in Feb. 1891; the tribes scattered, 'Othmān fled abandoned by everyone to the mountains between Kassala and Berber. The country between the Atbara and the Red Sea was lost to the Mahdists; Berber and Kassala were open to the English and Italians. 'Othmān was banished by the *Khalifa* to Adārāma on the Atbara, where in addition to busying himself with agriculture he endeavoured to raise a new army which was to hold the Atbara line.

II. When at the beginning of the decisive campaign against the Mahdiyya, Kitchener conquered Berber in 1897, 'Othmān came to the front again. He led an army over the Nile at Shendi and joined his fellow-general Maḥmūd. They were both defeated and Maḥmūd was taken prisoner. In the battle that followed at Omdurmān (Sept. 2, 1898) he attempted in vain to check the flight of the dervishes with a strong force between the Surghām hills and the Nile. After the defeat he accompanied the *Khalifa* on his flight until the latter's death at Gadīd (Nov. 24, 1899), refused to surrender, escaped across the White Nile and Atbara into the Werriba mountains and endeavoured with the help of the *Shaiḫ* of the *Djamilāb* to cross the Red Sea into the *Ḥidjāz*. Through the treachery of the *Shaiḫ* he fell into the hands of the authorities of Sawākin on Jan. 18, 1900, and was sent to prison in Damietta where *Shuḳair* saw and spoke with him in 1903 (see *Bibl.*). To the kindness of the Royal Egyptian Embassy in Berlin I owe the following data of 'Othmān's later life: 'Othmān's imprisonment took place on Jan. 12, 1900; he was brought to Rosetta, from there to Tūra near Cairo, finally, out of climatic reasons, to Wādī Ḥalfa. After some years his lot was relieved; he was

allowed to retain his property in Berber, but did not take any interest therein. In 1924, at a great age, he made the pilgrimage to Mecca; after his return to Wādī Ḥalfa he settled outside the town, where he died in 1926; he was buried there.

'Othmān Digna was the model of a primitive unbroken nature. He was the type of the fanatical Mahdist, noteworthy as the only non-Arab to hold high office in the Mahdiyya. He was an imposing figure as described by *Shuḳair*, iii. 200 (German by Dietrich, p. 49). Not only did he know the languages of the tribes placed under him but he also spoke and wrote Arabic fluently (a specimen of his concise style is given by *Shuḳair*, iii. 206 sq.). Courage verging on foolhardiness and cleverness which seized upon the slightest advantage, strictness to the verge of cruelty, and a stubbornness in following up his goal, from which even the severest defeats could not turn him, were combined in him with an ecstatic piety — *Shuḳair* described his ecstatic fits in prison (iii. 669) — and an ascetic mode of living. From the time of the coming of the Mahdī he went without sandals and shoes and used riding-beasts only for longer journeys. He was therefore, along with Wad Naḍjūmī and Abū 'Andja, the most important Mahdist general and the most dreaded enemy of the government.

Bibliography: Na'ūm Bey *Shuḳair*, *Ta'rikh al-Sūdān*, iii., Cairo 1903; E. L. Dietrich, *Der Mahdi Mohammed Ahmed vom Sūdān nach arabischen Quellen*, Berlin 1925, p. 49 sqq. (with further literature). — Cf. also the article MUḤAMMAD AḤMAD.

(ERNST LUDWIG DIETRICH)

'OTHMĀNDJĪK, the chief town in a *qaḍā* of the sandjak of Amasia in the wilāyet of Siwas [q. v.] in Turkey in Asia, lies in a picturesque position at the foot of a volcanic hill which rises straight out of the plain and is crowned by a castle which formerly commanded the celebrated bridge said to have been built by Bāyazīd I. The settlement is probably very old as is evident from the numerous rock chambers cut out of the cliffs. The number of inhabitants according to Maercker (1893) was about 5,000 and they lived in 920 houses. It is connected by road with Merzifun in the east and with Tosia in the west. The importance of the place however lies entirely in the part it has played in history. The name 'Othmāndjīk is connected with that of 'Othmān I [q. v.], the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, and it is said that 'Othmān I took his name from this place which had been granted him as a fief. This suggestion, which is found as early as the xvth century (probably for the first time in the *Geschicht von der Turkey* of Meister Jörg v. Nürnberg, Memmingen n. d. but about 1496, and again in Spandugino, van Busbeek etc.), has little claim to credibility although it has been revived in modern times e. g., by Cl. Huart, in *J. A.*, ser. 11, vol. ix., 1917, p. 345 sqq. and by J. H. Kramers, in *Acta Orient.*, vi., 1927, p. 242 sqq.; cf. thereon W. L. Langer and R. P. Blake, in *American Historical Review*, xxxvii. (1932), 496, note with other references. It is probable that 'Othmān is the arabicised form of a Turkish name which may have sounded something like Atman, Azman and we must not forget Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's assertion that the founder of the dynasty called himself 'Othmāndjīk, i. e. "Little 'Othmān" to distinguish himself from the third caliph. The

Turkish sources are contradictory: Hādjdī Khalīfa says that the town of ‘Othmāndjīk took its name from the fact that in the xth (1) century a leader named ‘Othmān conquered it, Ewliyā Čelebi (1647–1648) says (ii. 180 sqq.) that many see in ‘Othmāndjīk the birth-place of the emir ‘Othmān. This opinion had become the current one about the middle of the xviith century, as may be seen from a passage in *Les Voyages et Observations* of François le Gouz (Paris 1653, p. 65). The place does not appear in the clearer light of history till 1392 when it was taken by Bāyazīd I from the lord of Kastamuni, Bāyazīd Kötürüm, and definitely incorporated in the Ottoman empire. The fact is worth mentioning that there was evidently a considerable Bektāshī settlement here at an early date and the tomb of the famous Bektāshī saint Koyun Baba [q. v.] in ‘Othmāndjīk has always been much visited. The inhabitants according to Hādjdī Khalīfa belonged almost entirely to the order of the Bektāshīs. Cf. on this point in 1546 *Le Voyage de Monsieur d’Aramon*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1887, p. 66 (where Cochiny-Baba should be read Koyun-Baba). — Makarius of Antioch mentions a place called ‘Othmāndjīk near Mar’ash. He visited the site where there was said to have been formerly a large town of this name also called Osman Dada (= ‘Othmān Dede?) (*Travels*, ii. 453 sqq.).

Bibliography: Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāhat-nāme*, ii. 180 sqq.; Hādjdī Khalīfa, *Djihan-numā*, p. 625, middle; Maercker, in *Z. G. E.*, vol. xxxiv., Berlin 1899, p. 376; F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, i. 199 sq., 205, 216; J. G. C. Anderson, *Studia Pontica*, i., Brussels 1903, p. 103 (with a picture of the bridge built by Bāyazīd II, not I); v. Flottwell, *Aus dem Stromgebiet des Qyzyl-Yrmag*, in *Pet. Mitt.*, 1895, Ergänzungsheft, No. 114, p. 11 (according to whom ‘Othmāndjīk is inhabited by the Kızıl-bash); F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, i., Oxford 1929, p. 95 sqq. (on the saint Pambuk Baba); on the name cf. also F. Giese, in *Z. S.*, ii., 1923, p. 246 sqq. and A. D. Mordtmann, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxx. 467 sqq.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

‘OTHMĀN-ZĀDE AHMED TA’IB, a notable Ottoman poet, scholar and historian of the end of the xviith and first third of the xviiith century. The son of the *rūs-nāmedjī* (māliye *tenkeredjī*) of the pious foundations, ‘Othmān Efendi, he took up a theological career. The year of his birth is not recorded. From 1099 (1687) he held the post of *müderris* in various medreses in Constantinople. At intervals he also worked in other places. For example in 1107 (1695) he went to Damascus with Kemānesh Mehmed Pasha when the latter was appointed governor there. In 1124 (1712) he was appointed *müderris* at the Sulaimāniye, a post he had aimed at from the very beginning. He then went as chief judge (*Haleb mollāsı*) to Aleppo in 1126 (1716) and lastly as *Mişr mollāsı* (chief justice of Cairo) to Cairo, where he died at the end of his year of office on the 2nd Ramaḍān 1136 (May 25, 1724). According to Brusall Mehmed Tāhir, there is in existence a biography of ‘Othmān-zāde composed by Ibn al-Emin Maḥmūd Kemāl Bey.

‘Othmān-zāde was regarded by his contemporaries as the most important poet of his period. He was particularly celebrated for his chronograms (*tā’rīkh*)

and *kiṭ’a*. A chronogram on the birth of prince Ibrāhīm (1133 = 1720–1721) made such an impression on Sultān Aḥmad III (1115–1143 = 1703–1730) that he gave ‘Othmān-zāde the title “king of poets” (*malik [sultān] al-shu‘arā’*) and granted him a special *khaff*. ‘Othmān-zāde left behind him a *diwān* of the usual type (*müretteb diwān*) which consists of 12 *kaşıdas*, 32 chronograms and 77 *ghazels*. Along with these are isolated poems, e. g. a satire (*hidiv*) on Thāḳib Efendi composed in 1124 (1712). He also wrote in verse a commentary on the 40 *ḥadīths* entitled *Sharḥ-i Ḥadīth-i arba’in*, which is also known as *Şiḫḫat-ābād*; it was written in 1128 (1715).

It is however to his prose works that he owes his fame with posterity, especially his historical works, some of which are still popular and valuable at the present day. The most important is his biographical collection *Ḥadīkat al-Wuzarā’*, a most estimable and still important collection of lives of the first 92 grand viziers of the Ottoman empire, from ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Pasha to Rāmī Mehmed Pasha who was dismissed in 1115 (1703). The work was composed six years before his death. It was printed at Constantinople in 1271 (1854). ‘Othmān-zāde’s idea was later taken up by others. His biographical collection was continued by: Dilāwer Agha-zāde ‘Omar Efendi (‘Omar Waḥid), a friend of Rāḡhib Pasha’s who wrote a *Dhail-i Ḥadīkat al-Wuzarā’*, also called *Idjmāl-i Manāḳib-i Wuzarā’-i ‘izām* or *Gül-i Zibā*, which covers the period from the grand vizier Kōwanos Aḥmad Pasha to Sa’id Mehmed Pasha; also by Aḥmad Djāwid Bey, who compiled a continuation entitled *Wird al-Muṭarrā* which covers the period 1112–1217 (1758–1802), from Rāḡhib Pasha to Yūsuf Ziyā Pasha, the conqueror of Egypt; finally by ‘Abd al-Fettāḥ Şheḫkāt-i Baghdādī entitled *Berk-i sebṣ*, covering the period 1217–1271 (1802–1854), from Ziyā al-Dīn Yūsuf Pasha to ‘Alemdār Muṣṭafā Pasha.

All three continuations are printed as an appendix to the *Ḥadīkat* of ‘Othmān-zāde, while the later continuation by Rif’at Efendi: *Wird al-Haḳā’ik* appeared in a lithograph separately while the continuation by Mehmed Sa’id Şhehri-zāde entitled: *Dhail-i Ḥadīkat al-Wuzarā’* or *Gül-i Zibā* or *Gülshan-i Mulūk*, which deals with 31 grand viziers from Nishāndjī Aḥmad or Siliḡdār Mehmed Pasha to Sa’id Mehmed Pasha, is still only available in MSS.

The two sketches of Turkish history by ‘Othmān-zāde also attained great popularity. The longer: *Idjmāl-i Manāḳib* (or *Tewārīkh*)-i *Salāṭin-i ‘Alī* ‘Othmān deals with the first 24 Ottoman sultāns, from the founder of the dynasty to Aḥmad III. The shorter version: *Fihrist-i Şāḡhān* or *Fihrist-i Şāḡhān-i ‘Alī* ‘Othmān or *Mukhtāṣar-i Tā’rīkh-i Salāṭin* or *Tuḡfat al-Mulūk* or *Ḥadīkat al-Mulūk* covers the period from ‘Othmān to Muṣṭafā II. The number of varying titles shows the popularity of the work. The book, sometime quoted as *Faḳḳāl-i ‘Alī* ‘Othmān, dedicated to Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha, seems to be only a variant title of one of these books.

In the year of his death (1136 = 1724) ‘Othmān-zāde wrote a history of Fādīl Aḥmad Pasha entitled: *Tā’rīkh-i Fādīl Aḥmed Pasha*, which like most of his works is only accessible in MSS. The *Munāḡara-i Dewletain* (struggle between the two kingdoms) in the form of questions and answers is also dedicated to Ibrāhīm Pasha (MS. in Vienna)

and is an interesting contribution to the very highly developed *munāṣara* literature.

As further independent works may be mentioned: *Idjās Naṣā’ih al-Ḥukamā’* and *Tuḥfat al-Nu’mān*. Here we may mention his anthology *Djāmi’ al-Laṭā’if* (a collection of anecdotes, jests etc.). His stylistic collection *Munsha’āt-i Tā’ib Efendi* was intended for practical purposes; it is a collection of letters in three *fasl* and a concluding chapter.

His extracts from and editions and translations of other works are very numerous. The greater part of his work is collected in his *Kulliyāt* with an introduction by Aḥmad Ḥanif-zāde. Some titles cited by von Hammer and Brusall Mehmed Ṭāhir which apparently go back to Ḥanif-zāde, the continuator of the *Kashf al-Zunūn* of Ḥājjdji Khalifa, are probably not correct and refer to double or subsidiary titles. — Translations by him are: *Mashāriḥ al-Anwār* and *Mashāriḥ Sherif*, the latter entitled: *Tawālī’ al-Maṭālī’* on *ḥadīth*. — Extracts from or versions of other works are: *Akhṭāk-i Muḥsinī* (or *Mukhtaṣar-i Akhṭāk-i Muḥsinī* or *Khulāṣat al-Akhṭāk*) from the Ethics of Ḥunain b. ‘Alī Kāshifī, who is known as Wā’iz al-Herewī (d. 910 = 1504). The actual work which was written in Persian for Mirzā Muḥsin b. Ḥusain al-Baikara was translated by Pīr Mehmed known as Gharamī, with the title *Anīs al-‘Arifin* in 974 (1566); *Akhṭāk-i ‘Alā’i*, an extract from the work of ‘Alī b. ‘Amr Allāh, known as Ibn Ḥinā’ī (Kīnālī-zāde) which was written for the Emir al-Umarā’ of Shām, ‘Alī Pasha, and therefore called after him; the *Manāḳib-i Imām-i aṣṣam*, i. e. of Abū Ḥanifa. We also have from his pen a synopsis of the *Humāyūn-nāme*. The *Anwār-i Suhailī*, the Persian version of Ibn Muḳaffa’s Arabic version from the original Indian (Pahlawī) of Bidpāi was the work of Ḥusain Wā’iz Kāshifī, court-preacher to Ḥusain Baikara of Herāt. This *Anwār-i Suhailī* was translated into Ottoman Turkish by ‘Abd al-Wāṣī’ ‘Alī Mollā ‘Alī Čelebi b. Šālih, known as ‘Alī Wāṣī’ or Šālih-zāde al-Rūmī with the title *Humāyūn-nāme* and dedicated to Sulṭān Sulaimān. ‘Othmān-zāde abbreviated the *Humāyūn-nāme* to about a third of its length. This version was printed in Constantinople in 1256 under the title *Thimār al-Asmār*. In the *Kulliyāt* this extract is entitled *Zubdet al-Naṣā’ih*.

The version of the *Naṣā’ih* (*Naṣiḥat*) *al-Mulūk* of Re’īs Efendi Sarf ‘Abd Allāh entitled *Talkhīṣ al-Ḥikam* is also described as a synopsis of the *Humāyūn-nāme*. A synopsis of the *Madjālīs al-Akhbār* of ‘Alī is also attributed to ‘Othmān-zāde.

Bibliography: Sālim, *Teskere*, Constantinople 1314, p. 178—181; Faṭīn, *Teskere*, Constantinople 1271, p. 32; Ḥājjdji Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel, esp. however Aḥmad Ḥanif-zāde, *Nova Opera* (*Āthār-i new*) *ibid.* in vol. vi.; do., *Kashf al-Zunūn*, Constantinople 1321, i. 428; Thureiya, *Sidjill-i ‘Othmānī*, i. 242; Mu’allim Nādjī, *Esāmī*, Constantinople 1308, p. 92; Sāmī, *Kāmus al-A’lām*, iii. 1261; Brusall Mehmed Ṭāhir, *‘Othmānī Müellifleri*, ii. 116—117; Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 238; do., *G. O. D.*, iv. 120—131; Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 254 sqq. a. o.; the MS. Catalogues by Flügel (Vienna); Pertsch (Berlin); Aumer (Munich); Rieu (Brit. Museum); Uppsala, N^o. 292.

(TH. MENZEL)

OTRĀR, a town on the right bank of the Sir Daryā (Saiḥūn), a little south of its

tributary the Aris. The name is found as a geographical term for the first time in Yāqūt (i. 310) as Uṭrār but Ṭabarī (iii. 815—816) already knows of a prince called Uṭrār-banda as a rebel vassal of the Caliph al-Ma’mūn. The place that Maḳdisī calls Tarār Zarākh (*B G A*, iii. 263, 274) in the district of Isbīdjab must be quite a different place. Otrār may perhaps be the same as the capital of the district of Fārāb [q. v.], a town which replaced the older one of Kadar (mentioned by Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawḳal) and called Fārāb by Maḳdisī (Bārāb on p. 273). The town of Otrār acquired a melancholy fame through the part it played at the time of Činghiz Khān’s invasion. It was then a frontier town of the empire of the Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad, who had captured it in 1210 from the Kara Khitāy. The town was at that time under the command of Tādj al-Din Bilkā Khān who was giving trouble to his new ruler. In 1218, there came to Otrār a great caravan of 450 people (Djuwainī), all Muslims, sent by the conquering Mongol to open up commercial and peaceful relations with the Muḥammadan empire. Detained at first by the commandant Inālčik, either because he thought they were spies or simply because he coveted their wealth, they were later all massacred and the commandant seized their merchandise. One source (Nasawī) throws upon the sulṭān a part of the responsibility for this deed; in any case when an ambassador came from Činghiz Khān to complain of the outrage and demand the surrender of Inālčik, he refused to hand him over and put the envoy to death. This made war inevitable. In 1219, Činghiz Khān appeared with a Mongol army on the Sir Daryā and laid siege to Otrār. The town was taken after several months’ siege and Inālčik was captured and sent to Karaḳorum to be executed. It was from Otrār that the Mongol armies set out which conquered the empire of the Khwārizmshāhs. Otrār still existed at the beginning of the xvth century for Timūr Lang died there in 1405 (‘Alī Yazdī, *Zafar-nāme*, ii. 646). The site of Otrār is now only indicated by ruins.

Bibliography: The massacre and capture of Otrār are narrated by the historians: al-Djuwainī, *Tārīkh-i Djihān-gushā*, in *G M S*, i. 61 sqq.; al-Djuzjdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāsiri*, ed. Nassau Lees, p. 272, 967; al-Nasawī, ed. Houdas, p. 34 sqq.; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ed. Tornberg, xii. 239 sqq.; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmi’ al-Tawārīkh*, vol. i. (ed. Berezin). — Cf. also the histories of the Mongols by d’Ohsson, von Hammer and Howorth, and W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*², in *G M S*, N. S., v. 177 and *passim* in the historical section; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 485.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

OU DH (AWADH), a district now forming part of the United Provinces of modern India, has an area of 24,154 square miles and a population of 12,794,979, of which 11,870,266 are to be found in the rural districts (Census of India, 1931).

From very early times Oudh and the neighbouring countries of the great alluvial plain of northern India have been the peculiar home of Hindu civilization. The ancient Hindu kingdom of Kosala corresponded very nearly to the present province of Oudh. Its capital, Ayodhyā, the modern Ajodhyā on the river Gogrā, is supposed to have been the residence of Daṣaratha, the father of Rāma whose

exploits are recorded in the *Rāmāyana*. Here too arose a number of religious reactions against the sacerdotalism and the social exclusiveness of Brāhmanism.

Apart from plundering raids, such as Maḥmūd of Ghazni's attack upon Manaiç and the doubtful exploits of Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzī recorded in the *Mir'at-i Mas'ūdī* of 'Abd al-Rahmān Cishtī, it was not until the last decade of the twelfth century, in the days of Kuṭb al-Dīn Aibak [see AIBEG], that the Muslim invaders established themselves in Oudh and annexed it to the Dihli Sulṭānate. It definitely formed a province of Muḥammad b. Tughluq's extensive empire, but, towards the close of the fourteenth century, it was absorbed by the Sharḳī kingdom of Džawnpūr [q. v.]. Under the Lodis [q. v.] it was once more part of the Sulṭānate.

In the days of Akbar [q. v.] it formed a *šūba* of his empire, extending from the Ganges on the south-west to the Gandak on the north-east, and from the river Sai in the south to the Tarai of Nepāl in the north. According to Abu 'l-Faḍl, it was divided into five sarkārs and thirty-eight parganas (*Ā'in-i Akbarī*, in *Bibliotheca Indica*, ii. 170—177 [tr. Jarrett], 1891). Local traditions in Oudh, however, conflict with the Muslim accounts and declare that the Rājput chiefs maintained their authority practically intact throughout the Mughal period (W. C. Bennett, *The Chief Clans of the Roy Bareilly District*, 1895). The weakness of the central government under Awrangzib's successors gave the nawābs of Oudh an opportunity of asserting their independence, although nominally they still acknowledged the authority of the Mughal emperor.

Sa'ādāt Khān Burhān al-Mulk, the real founder of the Oudh dynasty, was descended from a respectable Saiyid family of Nishāpūr (*Muntakhab al-Lubāb* of Khāfī Khān, ii. 902). During his nawābship (1722—1739) he both maintained internal order and extended his dominions so as to embrace Benares, Ghāzipūr, Džawnpūr and Čunār. His successor, Šafdar Džang (1739—1754), was appointed wazīr of the empire in the year 1748. It was he who invited the Marāṭhās to assist him against the Rohillas, the engagements entered into at that time forming the basis of later Marāṭhā claims on Rohilkhand. His son and successor, the nawāb-wazīr Shudjā' al-Dawla (1754—1775), came into conflict with the rising power of the English East India Company and was totally defeated at Baksar in 1764. This left Oudh at the disposal of the Company. By the treaty of Allāhābād (1765) Oudh was restored to Shudjā' al-Dawla with the exception of Kora and Allāhābād, which were given to the emperor for the upkeep of his dignity. British relations with this buffer state between Bengal and the Marāṭhās were placed on a firmer footing by the treaty of Benares (1773) which fixed the subsidy for British troops at 210,000 rupees a month. At the same time Kora and Allāhābād were sold to the ruler of Oudh for fifty lakhs of rupees, because the emperor had deserted the Company and surrendered these districts to the Marāṭhās.

The accession of the incapable Āsaf al-Dawla (1775—1797) enabled the hostile majority on Warren Hastings's council to raise the subsidy to 260,000 rupees per mensem and to force the new nawāb to cede Benares, Džawnpūr and Ghāzipūr in full sovereignty to the Company. At Čunār, in

1781, Hastings attempted to reform the wazīr's administration and to afford him relief by reducing the number of English troops in Oudh. His share in the resumption of the *džāgīrs* and in the sequestration of the treasures of the bēgams of Oudh formed one of the charges against him on impeachment.

In 1801 Lord Wellesley forced Sa'ādāt 'Alī Khān (1798—1814) to cede the whole of Rohilkhand and part of the Dōāb, the revenues of which were devoted to the payment of the subsidiary force. Sa'ādāt 'Alī Khān was succeeded by his eldest son, Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaidar, who was the first ruler of Oudh to assume the title of king. The remaining kings of Oudh were Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḥaidar (1827—1837), Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh (1837—1842), Amdjad 'Alī Shāh (1842—1847) and Wāḍjid 'Alī Shāh (1847—1856).

It was a provision of the treaty of 1801 that the ruler of Oudh should introduce into his country a system of administration conducive to the prosperity of his subjects and calculated to secure their lives and property. In spite of repeated warnings nothing was done and misgovernment continued unchecked. On these grounds Oudh was annexed by Lord Dalhousie in 1856. Wāḍjid 'Alī Shāh received a pension and was allowed to reside at Calcutta where he died in 1887, his title expiring with him.

On annexation Oudh was controlled by a Chief Commissioner, until, in 1877, both Agra and Oudh were placed under the same administrator, who was known as the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Chief Commissioner of Oudh. The title of Chief Commissioner was dropped on the formation of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in 1902. It was not, however, until 1921 that this administration was raised to the status of a Governor's province.

The first land revenue settlement after annexation was carried out with a lack of consideration for the great taluqdārī families of the province, who were ousted from the greater part of their estates. This was reversed after the Mutiny when Canning reverted to a taluqdārī settlement and confirmed the rights of the taluqdārs by sanads.

To-day in Oudh Muḥammadans are to be found chiefly where they held sway in the past, their preference for urban life explaining their presence in the chief towns. Although the population is predominantly Hindu it is interesting to note that in the last decade Muslims have increased nearly twice as rapidly as Hindus. This is largely the result of social customs which permit Muslim widows to remarry and do not favour early marriages. Conversion has not affected these figures, for the *tabligh* movement on the part of Muslims was countered by the *shuddhī* and *sangathan* movements on the part of Hindus.

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OUJDA (WADJDA), a town in Eastern Morocco, eight miles from the Algerian frontier in the southern part of the vast plain of Angad. It was founded in 384 (994) by ZIRI b. 'Aṭiya chief of the great Zenāta tribe of the Maghrāwa [q. v.]. We shall give a résumé of the events that led up to its foundation. In the course of the fighting between the Ṣanḥādja and the Zenāta, the latter had been driven towards the extreme Maghrib. Supporters of the Umayyads of Cordova, they had loyally defended their imperial policy in Barbary, especially in the time of the great minister Ibn Abi 'Āmir al-Manṣūr. ZIRI b. 'Aṭiya al-Maghrāwī, who had proved himself a particularly valuable ally, was allowed to occupy with his tribe the environs of Fās. He seized the opportunity to expel from the city the Banī Ifran, another family of the Zenāta who had established themselves there. Not however having full confidence in the Umayyad minister, of whose policy he disapproved, and not feeling secure in the vicinity of or in the town of Fās, and wishing to be in touch with the central Maghrib which was the real country of his tribe, he founded the town of Oudja and garrisoned it with his troops; he brought his possessions there and put one of his relatives in it as governor. The foresight of the founder was justified; in 424 (1033) the Banī Ifran having reoccupied Fās the emir Hammāma, one of the successors of ZIRI, took refuge in Oudja.

According to al-Bakrī, about the middle of the xth century (after 440 = 1048), a new quarter surrounded by a wall was added to the original nucleus by a chief of the Ourtaghnm (?). The great mosque was outside of the two towns.

During the period of Umayyad expansion Yūsuf b. Tāshfin occupied Oudja in 472 (1079). In the middle of the xiith century it became an Almohad town. In the reign of the Almohad al-Nāṣir, when the Banū Ghāniya, hoping to restore the power of the Almoravids, came from the south of Tunisia and extended their ravages into the region of Tlemcen, the fortifications of Oudja were repaired and strengthened (*Ḳirās*, p. 203; transl. p. 194).

It was however mainly after the installation of the 'Abd al-Wādids in Tlemcen [q. v.] that the town of Oudja "the bulwark of the frontier which separates the central from the extreme Maghrib" (Ibn Khaldūn) was summoned to play an important strategic part. Belonging to the kingdom of Tlemcen, it was the first place encountered by the Marinids of Fās when they invaded the lands of their hereditary enemies and the first victim of their attacks. In 670 (1271)

the Marinid Abū Yūsuf having defeated Yaghmurāsan, the king of Tlemcen, near Oudja, laid the town in ruins. In 695 (1296) the Marinid Abū Ya'qūb having fortified his own frontier town of Taurirt seized Oudja and destroyed its defences. In the following year he seems to have wished to make Oudja a base for his future expeditions. Herebuilt it; he erected a palace there, a citadel and a great mosque (probably that which still exists) and began the siege of Tlemcen which lasted eight years. In 714 (1314) the Marinid Abū Sa'īd delivered a fierce attack on Oudja which resisted and, presumably leaving troops in front of it to immobilise the garrison, he went on towards Tlemcen. In 735 (1335) Abū 'l-Ḥasan besieged Oudja: it was taken and the fortifications dismantled. In 772 (1371), Tlemcen being been occupied by the Marinids and Oudja being also in their hands, the Arab tribes of the region took the side of the dispossessed 'Abd al-Wādids and laid siege to the town.

If these Arabs, the Dhawi 'Ubaid Allāh of the great tribe of Ma'kil, were on this occasion supporting the cause of Tlemcen, it was not always so. They were for a long time on the side of the Marinids and were a serious danger to the 'Abd al-Wādids on whose frontiers they were.

The tribes of the region, Arab as well as Berber, were also closely involved in the fighting in the xvth down to the xixth century between the Turks of Algeria and the Moroccan sultāns. In the town itself there were clans which supported each side. Authority passed from one side to the other, but it was only a relative authority, enjoyed precariously and intermittently. "When peace reigned in the Maghrib and the sultān's orders were fully carried out, Oudja formed part of his empire; if on the other hand the country was troubled and the power of the sovereign weakened, Oudja went with the province of Tlemcen and belonged to the Turks" (Voinot). One of the few periods during which the authority of the shērīf was firmly established in this remote province was the reign of Mūlāy Ismā'īl (1082—1139 = 1672—1727), who brought to Oudja Arabs from the south of Marrākesh, formed them into a *djish* [q. v.], strengthened the defences of the town, built several *ḥaṣbas* around it and organised the tribes of the plain. After his death the country lapsed into insecurity and anarchy. The Turks reappeared. Finally in 1795, a Sherifin force again took possession of Oudja which henceforth remained under Moroccan rule. An 'āmil (governor) represented the sultān in it.

In 1844 after the battle of Isly, the town was temporarily occupied by the French as a punishment for the help given to 'Abd al-Ḳādir by the sultān. The French troops reappeared there in 1859 and finally occupied it in 1907.

Oudja, a town of old Morocco, where local government was non-existent had become a haunt of smugglers and fugitives from Algerian justice; it has been cleansed of all suspicious elements. The town, surrounded by its wall which however only dates from 1896, is surrounded by modern suburbs and beautiful gardens. The population is now about 30,000 of whom half are Europeans.

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OXUS. [See ĀMŪ DARYĀ.]

P

PĀ' (*pe*); *bā'-i fārsī* or *bā'-i 'adjamī*: the *bā'* with three points subscript, invented for Persian as supplement to the soft Arabic *bā'* and to represent the hard labial. It is sometimes interchangeable with *bā'* (e. g. *asp* and *asb*, *dabir* and *dapīr*) and, more frequently, with *fā'* (e. g. *sapīd* and *safīd*, *Pārs* and *Fārs*). The regular use of the letter in manuscripts is comparatively modern, but it is found in good ones of the viii–xiii century while at the same time it is often omitted in manuscripts of much later date (*G. I. Ph.*, i/iv., p. 74).

(R. LEVY)

PĀDISHĀH, the name for Muslim rulers, especially emperors. The Persian term *pād-i shāh*, i. e. (according to M. Bittner in E. Oberhummer, *Die Türken und das Osmanische Reich*, Leipzig 1917, p. 105) "lord who is a royalty" in which the root *pad* is connected with Sanskrit *patis*, lord, husband, fem. *patni*, Greek *πόρνια*, *deo-pōria*, Lat. *potens* (G. Curtius, *Griech. Etymol.*, p. 377), was originally a title reserved exclusively for the sovereign, which in course of time and as a result of the long intercourse of the Ottomans with the states of the west also came to be approved for certain western rulers. In the correspondence of the Porte with the western powers, the grand vizier Kuyudju Murād Paşa (d. Aug. 5, 1612) probably for the first time applied the title *pādishāh* to the Austrian emperor Rudolf II. At the conference of Nemirow (1737) Russia demanded the title for its Czars (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 488) and claimed it again at the negotiations at Bucharest (1773; cf. *ibid.*, viii. 412). When *pādishāh* came to be applied to the sultān, the *pādishāh-i ʿalī* 'Othmān, does not seem to be exactly known. In any case it is found in conjunction with all kinds of rhyming words as early as the beginning of the xvth century in Ottoman documents. *Pādishāh* therefore may have come to be used towards the end of the xvth century, presumably instead of *khunkār* (from *khudāwendkār*; cf. *J. A.*, ser. ii., vol. xv., p. 276 and 572), an obsolete word, as well as *sultān* (cf. *Isl.*, xi. 70) already found in dervish Sūfism, and was regularly used till the end of the sultānate (cf. the cry of *pādishāhimiz ʿok* or *biñ yaşa* with which the sultān was until quite lately greeted by his troops and subjects).

Bibliography: St. Kekulé, *Ueber Titel, Aemter, Rangstufen und Anreden in der offiziellen osmanischen Sprache*, Halle a. d. S. 1892, p. 3 and P. Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1893, p. 61, N^o 266 (where however another derivation is given, from Old Persian *pad*, protector, and *shāh*, ruler; cf. thereon Horn, in *G. I. Ph.*, i/i. 274,

309 and i/ii. 41, 88, 97, 159, where the Old Persian, Pahlavi etc. forms are given).

(FRANZ BABINGER)

PADRI. "Padries" or "Padaries", also "Pedaries" is the name given in Dutch literature to the people who wished to carry through by force a reformation of Islām in the early decades of the xixth century in Minangkabau (Central Sumatra). In explanation of this expression it may be said that, according to one opinion, the word is connected with Pedir, a harbour on the north coast of Sumatra, while, according to another, it corresponds to the word *padri* (Port. *padre*) used in several Indonesian languages meaning "Christian clergyman", whether Roman Catholic or Protestant. The first derivation cannot be supported, but the second is probably correct. It may be that Malays, when asked by Dutchmen after the troubles, accommodated themselves to the linguistic level of the interrogators by designating the instigators as *padri* as they laid special stress on the religious life. Such a case would not be unique in dealings of Dutchmen with natives. The Dutchmen then adopted the word and retained it; it also occurs sometimes as *pidari* in native sources. The usual native name however for the people called *padri* by us was *urang putih*—"white men", a common term among Indonesian peoples for those who take their religious duties with particular seriousness and are distinguished by their white robes (van Ronkel, in *Indische Gids*, 1915, ii. 1103). In the official reports and Dutch colonial literature of the time, those who did not join the Padris are called "Malays", a misleading designation as the Padris were also Malays. Padris and non-Padris were of the same stock. A better name for those who held by the old customs is the "Adat party"; they formed the party who on every occasion tried to base their action on the traditional usage.

The Minangkabauans or Minangkabau Malays inhabit the central Sumatran highlands between about 1/2° N. lat. and 1/2° S. lat. From this mountainous country they have extended eastwards over the highlands which form the transition to the eastern Sumatran lowlands. To the west they reached the coast of the Indian ocean. Here there are several harbours which gave a connection with the outer world. It is generally supposed that the country was converted to Islām from Atjeh. The Atjehnese held several points on the coast when the Dutch and English Trading Companies established themselves here.

Islām was firmly established in the country when the activity of the Padris began. There was a burning zeal for the faith, in certain circles at

least. In 1785, a spiritual leader came down from the mountains with some thousands of followers and disciples in order to circumcise the Christian population of the port of Padang, then the principle possession of the Dutch, and force them to adopt Islām (*T. B. G. K. W.*, v. 55). The Minangkabauans managed to combine a strongly Muḥammadan outlook with the retention on a large scale of their old popular institutions. Matriarchy still prevails among them. The administration of a village is conducted by the leading heads of families, the various *suku*, i.e. union of families of different descent in common council. The form of government is republican. Every matter of any importance is considered by all the prominent families, their chiefs and other leading men (*mupakè'*, Ar. *muwāḩaka*). It is a wearisome process, not calculated for speedy decisions. A society organised on these lines is naturally at a disadvantage against vigorous and powerful attacks.

In the beginning of the sixth century three Minangkabau pilgrims came home. They had seen Wāḩḩābī rule in Mecca (after 1806). Filled with the puritan zeal of the Wāḩḩābīs, they set out to purify the religion of their own land. They were able to win over to their views a prominent theologian of the central district of Agam named Tuanku nan Rëntjèh (*tuanku* is a title for a theologian). He at once set to work. He first of all insisted on the exact observance of the law, particularly in ceremonial. Popular customs which in his opinion were contrary to the *shari'a* were attacked, such as cock-fighting, which was associated with betting and was the most popular pastime of the people, dice, drinking of palm-wine, opium-smoking, betel-chewing, filing the teeth, wearing long nails, smoking tobacco. All these were forbidden. The prohibition of interest was insisted upon. The men were to cut their hair, let the beard grow and wear white clothes in the Arab style. The women were to wear veils. Finally the Padris dealt a blow to the matriachal institutions by taking their women into their houses with them (de Stuers, i. 183, footnote 3). The prohibition of tobacco seems to be directly taken from Wāḩḩābī practice, while the other prohibitions and commands all find a place in the Shāfi'i school. It is also evident from Tuanku nan Rëntjèh's attitude that he did not intend to institute Wāḩḩābism. In the same district of Agam lived a highly respected and very influential teacher: Tuanku Kotā tuā; he was *guru tarikat* (Ar. *ṭarīqa*), a master of mysticism; to what order he belonged is not known. Mysticism of a popular kind is much cultivated in Minangkabau; Tuanku nan Rëntjèh turned to him, not to quarrel with him but to seek his cooperation. The Tuanku Kotā tuā agreed that a strict observance of the law should be aimed at; but when Tuanku nan Rëntjèh insisted that if any one did not perform the *ṣalāt* correctly he was a *murtadd* and was liable to the penalty of death as *ḥadd*, Tuanku Kotā tuā met him with the milder doctrine that the *murtadd* should not be put to death, unless every effort to bring him to the true faith had failed, a case which however did not exist and was not to be expected. Tuanku nan Rëntjèh now went his own way. After the Minangkabau custom, he summoned an assembly which was to approve his views. He met with enthusiastic approval from the theologians but with opposition from the chiefs;

for the latter recognised at once that the Padri demands attacked their positions and would overthrow the whole social system. Tuanku nan Rëntjèh went vigorously forward. With his own hand he stabbed his mother's sister whom he caught smoking: the body was thrown into the forest and not allowed to be buried. The effect was considerable; his followers applauded the deed, his silent or open enemies shrank back; he who had done such an unprecedented thing as not to heed the bonds of blood must be acting under a higher inspiration: it was not cruelty but self-sacrifice; the reformation went on with fanatical zeal. Whoever omitted a *ṣalāt* had to pay a fine; for a second offence the punishment was death. Opponents were overcome by force, their villages burned, themselves killed or made slaves or at least made to pay an indemnity. Soon the greater part of Agam and of the district of Tuanku Kotā tuā were in his power. Several villages which had already yielded to pressure and adopted the stricter teaching of Tuanku Kotā tuā were also plundered and burned. In the end the doings of his followers were too much for the leader and he retired after about eight years. It was only at a later date when the Dutch troops entered the country that he again placed himself at the head of the movement. He died in 1832.

The procedure adopted by Tuanku nan Rëntjèh was as follows: after a village had been taken, he appointed on his own authority an *imām* and a *kali* (Ar. *ḩaḩī*); the former was head of the mosque and had control of all religious matters; the sphere of activity of the *kali* is not quite clear. In any case, this proceeding was revolutionary; by constitutional law the offices were hereditary with certain limitations; important decisions could only be made by *mupakè'* (see above).

Another teacher, Tuanku Pasaman, also called Tuanku Lintau, was active in the south east in the district of Lintau. Less well known than Tuanku nan Rëntjèh he in no way yielded to him in fanatical ardour. Lintau was soon in his power. He then entered the adjoining territory of Tanah Data(r). Here in the old capital lived in the faded glory of their former greatness the descendants of the royal house of Minangkabau. Well led, their power might have resulted in a restoration of their former greatness. Tuanku Lintau had them all murdered, except one who escaped across the frontier. Burning and murdering, he brought the whole land under his rule.

A third centre of Padri activity was Alahan-pandjang in the north. The movement began here at the same time as in Agam and Lintau. Very soon there came to the front here a man who is best known by his later name of Tuanku Imām, first as an adviser and then as the leading figure. We possess exceptionally a native source for the life and deeds of this important figure. Quite recently a Malay work, a kind of biography written by one of his sons, has been discovered and published (see Ronkel, *Indische Gids*, 1915). The Padris of Alahanpandjang began by building a fortress which they called Bondjol. Here the strict doctrine was observed and it was the central position of their power from which they sent out expeditions in all directions. Invited by sympathisers they would go to a village, subject it, appoint a *kali* and *imām*, as Tuanku nan Rëntjèh did, and return to Bondjol with rich booty. The bio-

graphy relates that campaigns were undertaken at intervals of about a year. This was the period of Tuanku Imam's rise to be *imām* "for in many matters he was *imām*, *imām* in religion, *imām* in all matters requiring intelligence and reflection so that all quarrels and disputes were finally brought to him". — Four men were sent to Mecca to guarantee the purity of the doctrine. After a long time they returned, even more strict. There was not yet regular spiritual intercourse with Mecca. Pilgrims were very few in number.

As soon as the Padris had overcome or driven away the supporters of the Adat, the latter tried to involve the English who had occupied Padang in 1795 in their agitation, but they could get no help from them. It was not till 1818 that the first post was established in the highlands by Sir Stamford Raffles. But its weak garrison could effect nothing; it was attacked by the Padris but without success. When in 1819 Padang was again handed over to the Dutch, they maintained and strengthened this post. In 1822 the offensive was assumed and lasted with some interruptions for 15 years. The Dutch colonial government troops were as a rule superior to the natives in the fighting but the attacks of the latter were continually resumed. Finally in 1832 all activity by the Padris stopped. Tuanku Imam, who had till then held out in Bondjol, surrendered. He then secretly prepared a rising which broke out in the beginning of 1833. The Dutch colonial troops who were distributed in small detachments over the entire country were almost wiped out. It soon became clear that members of the party who had invited the foreigners into the country were on the side of the Padris. Historians have shown that errors of policy by the military leaders and the not always tactful conduct of officers and men contributed to produce this misfortune. The truth of this cannot be disputed, but it should be pointed out to explain the altered attitude of many Malays that the very strict rules laid down by the Padris of the early period had become less rigid in course of time. The strength of the movement had been weakened by internal quarrels. Tuanku Kotā tuā, at one time attacked by Tuanku nan Rēntjēh's successors, was revered as a saint in 1827, soon after his death. Padri and non-Padri made pilgrimages to his tomb. With the presence of the Dutch-Indian troops the Padris could no longer deal so harshly and arbitrarily with their fellow-countrymen. Their popularity had increased. It is said in the biography of Tuanku Imam of Bondjol, the bulwark of extremism: "the country was governed according to the *shari'at*; the tribal chiefs relied upon it; when disputes arose the matter was brought before the four legists, in matters of common law however, the decision was left to the chiefs". Tuanku Imam a little later told his son: "the authority of the common law shall be recognised by you, and follow as faithfully as possible the *adat*!" [q. v.]. During the pauses in the siege of Bondjol the Padris used to exchange tobacco with the soldiers; Padri and non-Padri had drawn nearer to one another. When the Padris summoned their compatriots to fight against the unbelievers, the appeal found an echo in wide circles.

After the rising the colonial troops again assumed the offensive. Gradually the conquerors enforced their authority. Only the Padris of Bondjol still resisted, they now formed the war party; any one

of like views joined them. When the fortress was finally stormed in 1837, the Padri movement came to an end. Tuanku Imam finally surrendered and was banished.

The object which the Padris had originally aimed at was not attained; the matriarchal institutions still survived. If the movement had exerted any influence at all, it was in the direction of a more accurate and general observance of the law especially of ceremonial. Nothing very definite can be said about it. We have no information about the situation in the country before the rise of the Padris. The movement can hardly have passed without leaving any trace at all.

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PAHANG. [See MALAY PENINSULA.]

PĀĪ (Hind.), anglicé pie, the smallest copper coin of British India = $\frac{1}{12}$ of an anna. Originally, in the East India Company's early experiments for a copper coinage, the pie as its name implies, was the quarter of an anna or pice [cf. PAISĀ]; since the Acts of 1835, 1844 and 1870, however, the pie has been $\frac{1}{3}$ of a pice. (J. ALLAN)

PAISĀ (Hind.), anglicé pice, a copper coin of British India = 3 pies or $\frac{1}{4}$ anna. Under the Moghuls the name *paisā* became applied to the older *dām*, introduced by Shēr Shāh, 40 of which went to the rupee, as the unit of copper currency; the name found on the coins however is usually simply *fulūs* or *rewānī*. Paisā is the general name for the extensive copper coinage coined in the xviiith and xixth centuries by the numerous native states which arose out of the Moghul empire (cf. J. Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, ed. E. Thomas, London 1858, p. 62 sq.). (J. ALLAN)

PĀLĀHENG, PĀLHENG (P.), lit. string, rope, halter, cord, is applied to the cord worn by dervishes around the neck, at the end of which hangs a many-rayed star of carnelian, the size of a crown piece, called *teslīm tash*, which is given to the young dervish at the end of his discipleship. With some, especially the Bektashī dervishes [cf. BEKTASHĪ], a number of olive-shaped, whitish-grey, transparent stones are strung on the cord; these are found in Mesopotamia and called *dürr-i Nedjef* ("Pearls of Nedjef"). The jasper (Turkish *yeshem*) from which the *teslīm* stones of the Bektashī monks are made is said to be found in the neighbourhood of the tomb of Hādjdjī Bektash.

Bibliography: Th. Ippen, *Skutari und die nordalbanische Küstenebene*, Sarajevo 1907,

p. 78 (with reference to the Bektashi of Kruja in Albania); John Porter Brown, *The Dervishes or Oriental Spiritualism*², ed. H. A. Rose, London 1927, p. 214. (FRANZ BABINGER)

PĀLANPŪR, a Muslim state in India now included in the Western India States Agency. The territory incorporated in this agency includes the area formerly known as Kāthiāwār together with the Cutch and Pālanpūr agencies. Its creation in October 1924, marked the end of the political control of the Government of Bombay and the beginning of direct relations with the Government of India. The old Pālanpūr Agency with its headquarters at the town of Pālanpūr was a group of states in Guḍjarāt [q. v.] lying between 23° 25' and 24° 41' N. and 71° 16' and 71° 46' E. It was bounded on the north by the Rājput states of Udaipur and Sirohi; on the east by the Mahi Kāntha Agency; on the south by the state of Barōda and Kāthiāwār; and on the west by the Rann of Cutch.

The state of Pālanpūr was conquered towards the end of the sixteenth century by Lohāni Pathāns, subsequently known as Dīhāloris. A short account of its history under the Mughal emperors will be found in the *Gazetteer of Bombay*, v. 318—324, and in the *Mirāt-i Ahmadi* (Ethé, No. 3599, fol. 741). British relations with this state date back to the year 1809, when, through British influence, arrangements were made for the payment of tribute to the Gaekwar of Barōda (Aitchison, vi., lxxxix.). This engagement was further strengthened by an agreement signed on November 28, 1817 (*op. cit.*, xci.). In 1848, the appointment of agent from the Gaekwar was abolished and the finances of the state remained under British supervision until 1874 when the ruler of Pālanpūr was entrusted with the management of his own finances.

Pālanpūr is still ruled by Lohāni Pathāns. It has a population of 264,179, of whom 245,000 speak Guḍjarātī. The distribution of population according to religion is as follows: Hindus, 222,714; Muḥammadans, 28,690 and Jains, 12,542.

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(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

PALMYRA, Tadmur, now Tudmur, the ancient Tadmor, called Palmyra by the Greeks (probably a corruption of the older name by a popular etymology; cf. Hommel, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xlv. 547; M. Hartmann, in *Z.D.P.V.*, xx/ji. 128 sqq.) lies northeast of Damascus in the great desert in an oasis watered by two springs. The water is sulphurous but drinkable after it has settled. The climate is unfavourable, having great differences of temperature between day and night and being unbearably hot in summer and sometimes having snow in winter. What it lacked in climatic conditions was compensated for by its situation which made Tadmur an important junction on the caravan routes connecting east and west, notably that from the Euphrates to Damascus. The natural supposition that the place was already of importance and settled in very early times has been confirmed by several inscriptions of Tiglat-Pileser I of the xiii

century B.C. because the "town of Tadmur in the land of Amurru", which the Assyrian king mentions, can hardly be anywhere else (R. Meissner, in *O. L. Z.*, 1923, p. 157; Dhorme, in *R. B.*, 1924, p. 106). Otherwise the city is not mentioned till shortly before the beginning of the Christian era and in the Old Testament only in a peculiar *quid pro quo*. While in I Kings ix. 18 in the accepted text it is said that Solomon built Tamar (in southern Palestine) among other towns, the Chronicler (ii. 8, 4) followed by the variants and by Josephus, *Archaeology*, viii. 6, 1, gives Tadmor instead. From this it appears that the latter in his time must have been of some fame and size and also that the later widely known legend according to which Solomon built the wonderful city, was already in existence. This story was known at a later date to the Arabs among whom it was related, in keeping with the fantastic elaboration of the legend of Solomon, that the djinn helped the king in the work (cf. Nābigha, v. 22 sq.; Bakri, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 514 and several of the Arab geographers mentioned below; according to Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, i. 166 the queen Bilqis visited Solomon in Tadmur and is buried there).

Its incorporation in the Roman empire was of the greatest importance for Palmyra. Its already busy trade increased enormously and great wealth poured into the town, surrounded by the dreary desert (on the roads connecting Palmyra with the outer world see Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, 1927, p. 248—270). From this period dates the brief but accurate account of Palmyra by Pliny (*Hist. nat.*, v. 25). The merchants were able cleverly to use the enmity between Rome and Parthia for their own advantage, and the conditions, when the emperor Hadrian, by the clever stroke of policy of leaving Assyria and Mesopotamia to the Parthians, inaugurated a long period of peace, contributed still more to the prosperity of the town. The customs tariff of the year 136 written in Aramaic and Greek gives a vivid picture of the business life of the Palmyrene republic in this period, while the splendid ruins of the temple of the sun and of several other fine buildings show how highly developed was the artistic sense of its citizens under Greek influence. In the third century, further prospects opened up which induced the Palmyrenes for a brief period to dream of a new power in the east with their city as its centre. At the beginning of the third century arose the new Persian dynasty of the Sāsānians which revived the ancient bitter feud with the Romans so that the Palmyrenes again had an opportunity to use their diplomatic ability. The Palmyrene prince Odenathus (Udhaina) II at first wanted to join the Persians under Shāpūr (241—272) but, when his offer was rejected, he joined the Roman general Ballista in Asia Minor and inflicted a heavy defeat on the retreating Persians. Under Gallienus he became the actual ruler of the whole of the east and was given the title Augustus by the emperor. When in 266—267 he was murdered, his dignity passed to his son Vaballathus, but the real power was in the hands of his widow Zenobia (Zainab), a highly gifted lady who extended her kingdom, notably by the conquest of Egypt. This was done with the approval of the emperor Aurelian, but Palmyra soon rebelled against the Romans and in 270 a battle was fought in which Zenobia was

defeated. Palmyra then surrendered. When it rebelled again, Aurelian had the city with its fine buildings destroyed. Zenobia fled, was captured and brought to Rome. This queen, distinguished alike for her beauty and intellect, made a great impression on her contemporaries and her memory survived among the Arabs under the name of al-Zabbā' although only in fabulous tales in which little of history remains. She is said to have enticed the Arab king *Djadhīma* [q. v. and the article *ḤĪRA*] to her and then killed him by opening his arteries. His nephew 'Amr b. 'Adī wished to evade his obligation as avenger of blood but was forced by the cunning *Qaṣīr* to do so and when the latter by stratagem got the cunning queen in his power, she took poison which she always carried in a ring she wore, in order not to be put to death by him.

With the fall of Zenobia, Palmyra lost its importance. The walls however were rebuilt although not on the former scale but the trade, the source of the town's livelihood, began to dry up. In this period Christianity began to spread in the town; bishops are mentioned and Justinian among others built a church there. Palmyra remained under Roman rule for about 3½ centuries until the Arab conquest put an end to it. When *Khalīd* b. al-Walid approached the town on his celebrated campaign, the inhabitants thought of defending the town against him but abandoned the idea and capitulated voluntarily in order to secure the status of *dhimmis* [q. v.]; they seem however to have rebelled again for it was only when Yazīd sent *Dihya* against it, after the taking of Damascus, that it was finally subjected.

Palmyra never regained its former prosperity under Muslim rule. It was inhabited mainly by Kalbis and was one of the towns which rebelled against Marwān II who set out with an army against it. An agreement was come to however, but according to Ibn al-Faḳīh (298 = 902), Marwān had a part of the walls destroyed. According to the legend, he abandoned the idea of destroying the town completely when he came upon the corpse of a richly dressed woman on whose forehead was a plate of gold with an inscription warning him against doing so.

Several Arab geographers mention Tadmur but very briefly. Some of them speak of the wonderful buildings and ruins, and as a rule they repeat the old legend that the town was built by Solomon with the help of the djinn. *Yāqūt* makes the intelligent observation that people are everywhere inclined to attribute great buildings to this king. The terrible earthquake of 1157 affected Palmyra. Benjamin of Tudela (1173) makes the rather remarkable statement that no fewer than 2,000 Jews able to bear arms lived in the town. *Dimishki* mentions along with incomparable ruins the *djāmi'* the roof of which was formed of 15 stones. The strong citadel of *Kal'at al-M'an* north of the town is ascribed by the inhabitants to the famous Druse king *Fakhr al-Din* [q. v.] but this is doubtful. Palmyra disappeared in the period of great decline in the east; its inhabitants finally lived in a wretched village built on the court of the temple of the sun, quite forgotten by the west. Not till 1678 was the once so famous city again discovered by members of the English factory at Aleppo and in 1751 it was more closely explored by Robert Wood and described in a handsome

volume. When traffic began to revive again, Palmyra resumed its importance as a station on the caravan routes and in quite recent times new life has been given it by the motors, the new means of transit across the desert; these give a rapid and comfortable connection between Palmyra and the cities of east and west.

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(FR. BUHL)

PAMPELUNA, Sp. PAMPLONA, Ar. BANBALŪNA, a town in the north of Spain, capital of the province of Navarre, has at the present day about 30,000 inhabitants. It was conquered by the Arabs in 121 (738) during the rule of the *wālī* 'Oḳba b. al-Ḥadīdjādī. But the occupation of the town and its territory was of very short duration. It soon became the capital of the province of Navarre when Garcia Iñigo tried to found a small independent state; later at the beginning of the tenth century, it was the capital of the first king of Navarre, Sancho Abarca. Several expeditions were sent against Pampeluna by the Umayyad emirs of Cordova, in 228 (843), 246 (860), and in 260 (874). 'Abd al-Raḥmān III succeeded in taking it for a time in 312 (924) in the course of his campaign against Navarre and destroyed it. Other attempts against Pampeluna were made by the Muslims in 322 (934) and during the rule of the two 'Āmirid ḥadībs al-Manṣūr [q. v.] and al-Muẓaffar [q. v.]

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

PANDJĀB, the land of the five rivers, is a province of modern India which, together with the North-West Frontier Province and *Kashmīr* [q. v.], occupies the extreme north-western corner of the Indian Empire, and, with the exception of

the recently-constituted Delhi province, comprises all of British India north of Sind and Rājipūtāna and west of the river Djamna. Geographically therefore it includes more than its name implies, for, in addition to the country watered by the Djhelum, Čināb, Rāwī, Beās, and Satleđj, it embraces the table-land of Sirhind between the Satleđj and Djamna, the Sind-Sāgar Dōab between the Satleđj and the Indus, and the district of Dera Ghāzi Khān.

Administratively the province is divided into two parts, British territory and the Pandjāb States. British territory, which has an area of 99,265 square miles and a population of 23,580,852, is divided into 29 districts, each administered by a deputy-commissioner. These districts are grouped into the five divisions of Ambāla, Džullundur, Lahore, Rāwalpindi, and Multān, each under a commissioner. The Pandjāb States have an area of 37,699 square miles and a population of 4,910,005. The conduct of political relations with Dudžānā, Patawdi, Kalsia, and the 27 Simla Hill States is in the hands of the Pandjāb Government. The remaining states of Lohāra, Sirmūr, Bilaspūr, Mandi, Suket, Kapurthālā, Malēr-Kōtla, Faridkōt, Čambā, Bahāwalpūr, and the Phūlkian states of Pattialā, Džind, and Nabhā, are directly under the Government of India.

The history of this area has been profoundly influenced by the fact that the mountain passes of the north-west frontier afford access to the Pandjāb plains. For this reason it is ethnologically more nearly allied to Central Asia than to India. The recent excavations at Harappa in the Montgomery district are evidence of a culture which probably flourished in the Indus valley about 3000 B.C., and which bears a general resemblance to that of Elam and Mesopotamia (Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, 3 vols., 1931). But the first migration of which we have any evidence is that of the Aryan-speaking peoples who established themselves on the Pandjāb plains in pre-historic times. Centuries later successive waves of invaders swept like devastating torrents through the mountain passes of the north-west. Persian, Greek, and Afghān, the forces of Alexander and the armies of Maḥmūd of Ghazni, the hosts of Timūr, Bābur, and Nādir Shāh, and the troops of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [cf. these articles], all advanced by these routes to lay waste the fertile plains of the Pandjāb. All these migrations and invasions added to the heterogeneity of the existing population in the land of the five rivers. The history of invasions from Central Asia proves that the Pandjāb and the frontier zone from the banks of the Indus to the Afghān slopes of the Sulaimān range have never presented any real barrier to an enterprising general. The Sulaimān range itself has seldom formed a political boundary, for the Persians, Mauryas, Graeco-Bactrians, Sakas, Pahlawas, the Kushān branch of the Yüeh-ti, and the Hūnas all bestrode this mountain barrier.

The capture of Multān [q.v.] by Muḥammad b. Qāsim [q.v.], in 713 A.D., extended Arab power to upper Sind and the lower Pandjāb, but the real threat to Hindustān came from the direction of modern Afghānistān. The Ghaznawid invaders found the powerful Hindūshāhiya dynasty of Waihand ruling between Lamaghān and the Čināb. The power of this Hindu state was completely shattered by Maḥmūd of Ghazni who annexed the Pandjāb, which became a frontier province of his

extensive empire and the sole refuge of his descendants when driven out of Ghazni by the Shansabānī sultāns of Ghōr [see GHŌRIDS]. Multān and the surrounding country had remained in Muslim hands since the days of the Arab conquest, but the fact that its rulers were heretical Karmatians [q.v.] was one reason for Maḥmūd's attack in 1006 A.D. Muḥammad Ghōrī annexed the Pandjāb in 1186 A.D. and on his death in 1206 A.D. it definitely became a province of the Sultānate of Dihli under the rule of Kuṭb al-Dīn Aibak. With the exception of occasional rebellions and raids from Central Asia it remained under the Sultāns of Dihli until the defeat of Ibrāhīm Lodi [q.v.] by Babur at Pānipat [q.v.] in 1526 A.D. paved the way for the foundation of the Mughal empire. Under Akbar [q.v.] the modern province of the Pandjāb was included in the *sūbas* of Lahōr, Multān, and Dihli, a detailed description of which will be found in the *Āin-i Akbari* (transl. Jarrett, ii. 278-341).

The persecuting policy of Akbar's immediate successors led to the growth of Sikh political power in the Pandjāb and transformed a band of religious devotees, founded by Guru Nānak in the second half of the fifteenth century, into a military commonwealth or Khālṣa animated with undying hatred toward Muslims [cf. the art. SIKHS]. The weakness of the central government and the unprotected condition of the frontier provinces under the later Mughals exposed Hindustān to the invasions of Nādir Shāh [q.v.] and Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [q.v.]. On the bloodstained field of Pānipat, in 1761, the Marāṭhās, who were aspiring to universal sovereignty, sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of the Afghān invader. In the following year, at Barnāla near Ludhiāna, Aḥmad Shāh disastrously defeated the Sikhs who had taken advantage of his absence in Kābul to possess themselves of the country around Lahore. The Sikhs, however, soon extended their sway to the south of the Satleđj and ravaged the country to the very gates of Dihli, but their further advance was checked by the Marāṭhās who had rapidly recovered from their defeat at Pānipat. It was the defeat of the Marāṭhās by Lord Lake, in 1803, which facilitated the rise of Randjit Singh and enabled him to found a powerful Sikh kingdom in the Pandjāb. His attempts to extend his authority over his co-religionists, the cis-Satleđj Sikhs, brought him into contact with the British, and, by the treaty of 1809, he pledged himself to regard the Satleđj as the north-west frontier of the British dominions in India (Aitchison, viii., N^o. liii.). After the death of Randjit Singh, in 1839, his kingdom rapidly fell to pieces under his successors. Revolution succeeded revolution, and during the minority of Dalip Singh the Khālṣa soldiery became virtually rulers of the country. Unprovoked aggression on British territory produced two Sikh wars which ended with the annexation of the Pandjāb in 1849.

At first the newly-conquered territories were placed under a Board of Administration. This was abolished in 1853, its powers and functions being vested in a Chief Commissioner. In 1859, after the transfer of the Dihli territory from the North-Western (now the United) Provinces, the Pandjāb and its dependencies were formed into a Lieutenant-Governorship.

The annexation of the Pandjāb by advancing the British administrative boundary across the Indus

brought the Government of India into closer contact with the Pathān tribes of the north-west frontier and the Amir of Afghānistān [q. v.]. Because this frontier was too long and too mountainous to admit of its being defended by the military alone, much depended upon the political management of the tribes. At first there was no special agency for dealing with the tribal tracts, and relations with the tribesmen were conducted by the deputy-commissioners of the six districts of Hazāra, Peshāwar, Kohāt, Bannu, Dera Ismā'il Khān, and Dera Ghāzi Khān. In 1876, the three northern districts formed the commissionership of Peshāwar, the three southern ones that of the Deradjāt. The system of political agencies was not adopted until 1878, when a special officer was appointed for the Khyber during the Second Afghān War. Kurram became an agency in 1892, while the three remaining agencies of the Malakand, Tochi, and Wāna were created between 1895 and 1896. The Malakand was placed under the direct control of the Government of India from the outset, all the other agencies remaining under the Pandjāb Government. This was the arrangement until the creation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901.

The Pandjāb attained its present dimensions in 1911 when Dihli became a separate province. It was not however until 1921 that it was raised to the status of a governor's province. To-day it contains 14,930,000 Muhammadans, 8,600,000 Hindus, and 4,072,000 Sikhs. Unfortunately the spirit of communal antagonism has been fanned in the province by the activities of the *tanẓīm*, *ishā'at-i Islām*, and *tabligh* movements organized by Muslims for the purpose of combating the proselytizing activities of the Hindu community known as the *shuddhi* movement. In 1926 Swami Shardhanand, a leader of the *shuddhi* movement, was murdered in Dihli by a Muslim. Communal relations were further embittered by the murder in Lahore of a Hindu bookseller who had published a libellous attack on the character of the Prophet of Islām in his book entitled the *Rangila Rasul*. Far more serious than this communal strife were the political disturbances culminating in the Djalīanwāla Bagh incident of 1919 (Sir M. O'Dwyer, *India As I Knew It, 1885—1925*).

At least 90 per cent. of the total population live in villages and 60 per cent. is supported by agriculture, for the Pandjāb is a country of peasant proprietors. But the bulk of the cultivators are born in debt, live in debt, and die in debt. Almost the whole of this money has been advanced by Hindus and Sikhs who are not debarred by religion from the taking of interest, but, unfortunately, well over half of this debt has been incurred by Muhammadans. No community can hope to thrive under so great a handicap and some organization to combat this evil is essential to the prosperity of the Muhammadan community.

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(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

PANDJDIH, (PENDJDEH) a village in the Turkoman republic of the U. S. S. R., situated to the east of the Kushk river near its junction with the Murghāb at Pul-i Kishṭi. The fact that the inhabitants of this area, the Sarik Turkomans, were divided into five sections, the Suktis, Harzagis, Khurāsānlis, Bairač, and the 'Alī Shāh, has been put forward as a possible explanation of the origin of the name Pendjdeh, but it carries no weight as the Sariks were only nineteenth century immigrants whereas the name was in use in the fifteenth century.

This obscure oasis owes a somewhat melancholy importance to the "Pendjdeh Incident" of 1885, when an Afghān force suffered heavy losses in an engagement with Russian troops. History proves that an ill-defined boundary is a potential cause of war. It was a knowledge of this and the Russian occupation of Merw, in 1884, that gave the necessary impetus to negotiations which ended in the appointment of an Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission for the delimitation and demarcation of the northern boundary of Afghānistān. Trouble immediately arose in this quarter for while the Russians contended that the inhabitants of Pendjdeh were independent the British held the view that they were subjects of the Amir of Afghānistān. According to the British, the district of Pendjdeh, which comprised the country between the Kushk and Murghāb rivers from the Band-i Nadir to Ak Tepé, together with the rest of Badghis, formed part of the Herāt province of Afghānistān. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century Pendjdeh had been occupied by Djamshidis and Hazaras. Towards the end of this period some Turkomans of the Ersari tribe, whose settlements were scattered along the banks of the Oxus between the Čardjui and Balkh, moved to Pendjdeh and obtained permission to settle there. Salor Turkomans had also settled in this area. About 1857 the Ersaris migrated from the oasis of Pendjdeh and soon afterwards the Sarik Turkomans, forced southwards by their more powerful neighbours, the Tekkés, occupied Yulatan and Pendjdeh and compelled the Salor families to migrate elsewhere. Although, therefore, Pendjdeh had from time to time been occupied by various tribes, they had all, whether Djamshidis, Hazaras, Ersaris, Salors or Sariks, acknowledged they were on Afghān soil and paid tribute to the *nāib* or deputy of the Afghān governor of Herāt. The Sarik Turkomans had even supplied the Amir with troops. The British therefore contended that the district of Badghis, of which Pendjdeh formed a part, had long been under Afghān rule (Foreign Office MSS. 65, 1205).

The Russians on the other hand contended that

the people of this oasis had always enjoyed independence. Lessar, a Russian engineer, who visited Pendjeh in March 1884, discovered no trace of Afghān authority, but a Russian doctor, named Regel, who visited it in June of the same year reported the presence of an Afghān detachment. In their opinion therefore Pendjeh had only recently been occupied by Afghān troops.

The fact that the Afghāns had not permanently garrisoned this area was no proof of its independence. On the contrary, it was only natural that, after the Russian occupation of Merw and Pul-i Khatun, 'Abd al-Rahmān Khān should have taken steps to indicate his sovereign rights over this area. When, therefore, an Afghān garrison occupied Pendjeh, the Russian Government immediately protested and disputed the Amīr's claim to the territory. While negotiations were taking place between London and St. Petersburg events moved swiftly on the frontiers of Afghānistān. On March 29, 1885, General Komarov sent an ultimatum demanding the withdrawal of the Afghān garrison. The Afghāns resolutely refused to withdraw whereupon the Russians attacked them driving them across the Pul-i Kishti with the loss of some 900 men. It must be admitted that the posting of Afghān troops in Pendjeh, and the Russian advance to Yulatan on the Murghāb and to Pul-i Khatun on the Hari Rūd, were regrettable actions almost certain to precipitate war. The whole incident should have been avoided, but the confusing reports of Lumsden, the British Commissioner, to the Foreign Office, and the delay of Zelenoi, the Russian Commissioner, in arriving at Sarakhs complicated matters still more.

At the time this incident seemed likely to embroil Russia and Britain in war, but, fortunately, the good sense of the Amīr, who was at this critical moment on a visit to the Viceroy, and the diplomatic skill of Lord Dufferin prevented this, for even the pacific Mr. Gladstone had proposed to Parliament that £11,000,000 should be expended on preparations for war.

It was finally agreed that Pendjeh should be handed over to Russia in exchange for Dhu'l-Fiḳār, and by the year 1886 the northern boundary of Afghānistān had been demarcated from Dhu'l-Fiḳār to the meridian of Dukṭi within forty miles of the Oxus. After a dispute as to the exact point at which the boundary line should meet the Oxus, the process of demarcation was completed in 1888. This recognition of a definite frontier between Russia and Afghānistān led to a decided improvement in the Central Asian question.

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(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

PANGULU (Jav.), *panghulu* (Sund.), *pangòlò* (Madur.), literally "headman, director" used in the east Indian Archipelago as the name for secular and religious chief administrators, in the islands of Java and Madura the name of a mosque official, namely the chief in his area. The official representatives of religion are organised there on the same scheme as the native administrative officials. Alongside of the regent, the highest

administrative official, is the pangulu of the regency, alongside of the head of the district is the pangulu of the district, called the *pangulu naib* or briefly *naib*, and so on. The officials of the mosque are graded in a hierarchy; the pangulu at the capital of the regency is at the head of all the personnel of the mosques of the regency. The village official in charge of the divine services is of a different origin. He is a member of the village authority for attending to the religious requirements of the village and does not belong to the staff of the mosque. This man is exceptionally called pangulu in Bantēn (Western Java); elsewhere he is known by other names.

The pangulu is the director of the mosque and the chief of its personnel; according to *adat* law, he is appointed, like the rest of the staff of the mosque, by the regent, usually being chosen from the staff of his own or another mosque. This procedure does not always guarantee that the man appointed is specially qualified (see below).

Theological training is quite free from special prescriptions. The student of theology, whether he intends to take up an official position or remain a private student, studies at schools (all private institutions of which there are many in the land). Each studies as he pleases, for shorter or longer period, just as he likes; an effort is made to attend lectures at several schools.

The functions of the pangulu are very varied, but not uniform throughout the whole regency. The office of director of the mosque has already been mentioned; in larger villages, especially at the capital of the regency, the staff is large: there the pangulu does not himself take part in the work. The pangulu has charge of marriages which are concluded in his presence: *ṭalāk* and *rudjū'* are pronounced by him and marriages are registered by him. The pangulu of a regency only performs this office in the case of very prominent families: in this case it is the custom to conclude the marriage in the house of the family. The pangulu also performs the ceremony when the *wālī* of the bride appoints him *wakil*, a regular custom, observed by the majority without the reason being quite clear to them; to the popular mind the pangulu is the person who binds in marriage. It is therefore a very old custom to have the marriage performed in the mosque by the pangulu: this unwritten custom has now been given the force of law by a colonial enactment (since 1895, the law in question is of 1929). This law also regulates the fees to be paid at marriages, proclamations of *ṭalāk* and *rudjū'*, taking the old customs as the guiding principle. These fees form the most important part of the income of the pangulu and his staff; the latter also receive their share; if properly qualified they frequently act as deputy for the pangulu at marriages. Women who have no *wālī* are married by the pangulu as *wālī ḥakim*. The number of pangulus with this qualification is always less than the number of officials appointed to perform marriages. In some districts the regent appoints himself *wālī ḥakim* but in practice he leaves the exercise of his rights to the pangulu.

The *djakat* (Ar. *zakāt*) is of course not collected in Java and Madura by the authorities; it is, if it is levied at all, a free-will offering and in many places insignificant. Only in Western Java was the collection at one time organised and in the

hands of the mosque officials. The revenue went to them. To this day the *djakat* is still a considerable source of revenue for the pangulus, especially in western Java.

The pangulu — this is true only of the pangulu of the regency — is also the *kādī*; but his jurisdiction is limited to family law and the *wakaf* (Ar. *wakf*) estates. The office of *kādī* is his main sphere of activity. These judicial functions of the pangulu have a curious history. The colonial authorities thought from the official position of the mosque officials that they were priests; they further thought that they had to deal with a *collegium* because the pangulu sits with some of his subordinates to assist him when in legal session. This misunderstanding was perpetuated fifty years ago in colonial legislation. The pangulu was made president of a bench of judges; his assessors were appointed by the authorities and chosen from the subordinates of the pangulu and private individuals learned in law. In this way a pangulu of lower rank may be a member of a "priestly college". It is now intended to restore the old state of affairs. The "college" is to be abolished and the pangulu's court i. e. one in which the pangulu, sitting with assistants, will be sole judge, will take its place. The law is prepared but has not yet been put into operation (1934). The "priestly college" holds its meetings in a room in the mosque. Most of the cases are brought by women. In Western and Central Java it is the regular custom for the husband immediately after the wedding to be forced to pronounce the *ta'lik* in a way which, from the legal point of view, is not quite free from objection. If he does not fulfil the obligations which he takes upon himself in the *ta'lik* formulae and if the wife is not satisfied she brings the matter before the "college" and the latter pronounces that a *talāk* has taken place. These are the most common cases. In Eastern Java and Madura a facilitated *faskh* takes the place of the *ta'lik*. We also find cases in the rest of Java where the "priestly college" decides questions of *faskh*. Women who are refused *nafaka* also apply to the "college". If there are difficulties after a divorce about the division of property acquired during marriage, or if the heirs to a property are dissatisfied with the decisions of an ordinary pangulu, the matter is referred to the "college" for decision. The method of procedure is as follows. The "college" gives its verdict as to how the property should be divided according to the *shar'ā*. If the parties prepare to carry this out but all are not ready to do so, the scheme can only be legally enforced when the secular court has given authority. This is always done if the verdict of the "priestly college" is formally in order; no test is made of its material correctness. Fees have to be paid whenever application is made to the "college"; a considerable revenue is gained from the division of estates as in such cases the "college" gets a percentage of the objects in dispute, often 10% — hence the name *usur*. The "college" is consulted also in other matters of family law but these are of less importance.

Finally there are *wakaf* foundations the founders of which intended the revenues for mosques, schools of religion, or cemeteries. It is the task of the "priestly college" to decide according to the *shar'ā* such disputes as arise and in general to supervise the administration.

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLĀM, III.

The pangulus in the native states are appointed by the princes; their sphere of activity is the same. Whenever a new pangulu is appointed he is given his appointment as *kādī* by an edict "in confirmation of my oral command", as the phrase is, in order to comply with the demands of the *shar'ā*. In this edict the phraseology suggests that the ruler hands over his jurisdiction to the pangulu.

The Netherlands Indies colonial law requires the presence of the pangulu when Muslims appear in the government courts as accused in civil or criminal cases. A number of such assessors are attached to each court according to its requirements. They are appointed by the government and chosen from the personnel of the mosques. It is arranged that the director of the mosque is at the same time an assessor. The right of appointing pangulus has thus gone out of the hands of the regents into those of the colonial administration. As the pangulu is usually chosen from the lower staff, the government has been able to secure influence over the appointment of these minor officials so far as they are capable of being pangulus. The object is to choose as competent men as possible, so that the prestige of the pangulu has increased in the Muslim community. This is less true of their position as assessors at the courts; the colonial law intended that the court should be advised regarding the *adat* (traditional) law. The choice of the pangulu was therefore a mistake, as the latter goes by the *fiqh* books.

The word pangulu as the name of a mosque official is not unknown outside the islands of Java and Madura. In some places there are pangulus whose work resembles that of the pangulus of Java, e. g. in the centre of the former sultanate of Palembang (Sumatra). The colonial authorities have retained the name; they have also given the name to the court assessors appointed by them in districts where the name was not previously in use.

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(R. A. KERN)

PĀNĪPAT, a town and *tahsil* in the Karnāl district of the Pandjāb [q. v.]. On three occasions has the fate of Hindustān been decided on the plain of Pānīpat: in 1526, when Bābur [q. v.], the Barlās Turk, defeated Ibrāhīm Lodī; in 1556, when Akbar [q. v.] crushed the forces of Hēmū; and lastly, in 1761, when the Marāṭhās were defeated by Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [q. v.]. The geographical factor combined with internal decay and a weak system of frontier defence has been chiefly responsible for this. From the strategic background of Afghānistān the path for invaders lay along the lines of least resistance, the Khyber, Kurram, Tochi, and Gomal passes, on to the Pandjāb plains, for the Indus has never proved an obstacle to an enterprising general. Checked on the south by the deserts of Rāḍiputāna, invading armies were forced to enter the Ganges and Djamna valleys through the narrow bottleneck between the north-eastern extremity of the desert and the foot of the Himālāyas.

Bābur's success over Ibrāhīm Lodī, in 1526, has long been regarded as resulting from the extensive employment of artillery. The source of this error is to be found in an inaccurate translation of the word *araba*. It is true that 700 *arabas* were used

by Bābur, but it is incorrect to regard these as gun-carriages, for the word simply means "carts". There is no textual or circumstantial evidence for supposing that Bābur had guns in such numbers as to demand 700 gun-carriages for their transport. Indeed, from Bābur's "Autobiography" it may be inferred that he possessed two guns only and Bābur himself makes his victory a bowman's success. The importance of the first battle of Pānīpat is that it decided the fate of the Lodī dynasty. Far more formidable was the resistance offered by the Rājputs at Kḥānuā in the following year.

The second battle of Pānīpat, in 1556, when Akbar defeated Hēmū, is of outstanding importance in the history of India, for there was no Mughal empire before Akbar, only the attempt to create one.

After his victory over the Marāṭhās in 1761, Ahmad Shāh Durrāni made no attempt to consolidate his position in Hindustān but returned to Afghānistān. The Marāṭhās were only temporarily crushed, for they rapidly recovered from this defeat and, by 1771, were once more a menace to the peace of India. The importance of this battle is that it facilitated the growth of British power.

Bibliography: A. S. Beveridge, *Bābur-nāma*, ii., 1921; H. Beveridge, *Akbar-nāma*, ii. 58 sqq.; 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, *Mir'āt-i Aḥmadī* (Ethé, No. 3598, fol. 583 sq.); *Nigār-nāma-i Hind*, Orme 1896 (see also *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii., and Elliot and Dowson, viii. 396-402); *Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar, Letters and Dispatches relating to the Battle of Panipat, 1747-1761*, 1930. (C. COLLIN DAVIES)

PĀRA, a Turkish coin, originally a silver piece of 4 *aḳēs*, first issued early in the xviii century; it soon replaced the *aḳē* as the monetary unit. The weight, originally 16 grains (1.10 grammes), sank to one quarter of this weight by the beginning of the xixth century and the silver content also depreciated considerably. The multiples of the silver pāra were 5 (*beṣḥlik*) pāras; 10 (*onlik*); 15 (*onbeṣḥlik*); 20 (*yigirmiparalik*); 30 (*zolota*) and 40 *ghurūsh* or piastre. Higher denominations: 60 (*altmishlik*); 80 (*ikilik*) and 100 (*yūsluk*) pāras were occasionally issued.

In the new Medjidiye currency of 1260 (1844) the pāra became a small copper coin with multiples 5 (*beṣḥparalik*), 10 (*onparalik*), 20 (*yigirmiparalik*) and 40 (*ghurūsh*). In the later years of the Turkish empire, the larger copper pieces were replaced by nickel. The pāra under the republic is a money of account, the 100 pāra or 2½ piastre piece of aluminium bronze being the smallest denomination issued.

When Serbia became independent it retained the name para for its smallest coin as did Montenegro also. The name survives in Yugo-Slavia, where the nickel 50 para piece is the smallest coin issued. During the Russian occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1771-1774 copper coins were issued with the value in paras and copecks.

Bibliography: Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. viii., London 1881; Belin, in *J.A.*, ser. 6, iii., p. 447-451. (J. ALLAN)

PARGANA, the Indian name for an aggregate of villages. The first reference to this term in the chronicles of the Sultānate of Delhi appears to be in the *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhi* of Shams-i Sirāj 'Afīf (*Bibliotheca Indica*, 1891, p. 99), for it is not used by Ḥasan al-Niẓāmī in

his *Tādī al-Ma'āsir* or by Minhādī al-Dīn in his *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri*. Although it first came into prominence in the xivth century partially superseding the term *kaṣba*, it is, in all probability, based on still more ancient divisions in existence before the Muslim conquest. The exact date of its creation is therefore uncertain.

An account of the internal working of a pargana occurs in the chronicles of the reign of Shīr Shāh who learned the details of revenue administration in the management of his father's two parganas at Sasarām in Bihār. When he became ruler of Hindustān he organized his kingdom into administrative units known as *sarkārs* which were divided into collections of villages termed parganas. Each pargana was in charge of a *shikḍār* or military police officer who supported the *amin* or civil officer. The *amin* had for his civil subordinates a *fotadār* or treasurer and two *kārkuns* or clerks, one for Hindi and the other for Persian correspondence. It does not seem correct to hold the view that in this respect he was an administrative innovator, for the provincial officials and institutions which he has been credited with creating were already in existence before he ascended the throne. This remained the administrative system until Akbar organized the Mughal empire into *sūbas* (provinces) which were divided into *sarkārs* (districts). The smallest fiscal unit under Akbar was the pargana or *maḥall*. Thus, for example, the *sūba* of Oudh was divided into five *sarkārs* and thirty-eight parganas (*Ā'in-i Akbarī*, in *Bibliotheca Indica*, ii. 170-177 [tr. Jarrett], 1891).

Under the Mughal emperors the chief pargana officials were the *kanungo*, the *amin*, and the *shikḍār*, who were responsible for the pargana accounts, the rates of assessment, the survey of lands, and the protection of the rights of the cultivators. Similarly in each village a *patwāri* or village accountant was appointed whose functions in the village resembled those of the *kanungo* in the pargana. It must not be imagined that the pargana was a stable and uniform unit. Not only did it vary in area in different parts of the country, but often a new land settlement was followed by a fresh division and re-distribution of these fiscal units. The co-extensiveness of a pargana with the possessions of a clan or family has given rise to the suggestion that it was not only a revenue-paying area, but that it was founded on the distribution of property at the time of its creation.

The Twenty-four Parganas: a district of Bengal lying between 21° 31' and 22° 57' N. and 88° 21' and 89° 6' E. It derives its name from the number of parganas comprised in the *zamindārī* ceded to the English East India Company in 1757 by Mir Dja'far, the Nawāb Nāẓim of Bengal. This was confirmed by the Mughal emperor in 1759 when he granted the Company a perpetual heritable jurisdiction over this area. In the same year Lord Clive, as a reward for services rendered by him to Mir Dja'far, was presented with the revenues of this district. This grant which amounted to £ 30,000 per annum, made Clive both the servant and the landlord of the Company. The sum continued to be paid to him until his death in 1774, when, by a deed sanctioned by the emperor, the whole proprietary right in the land and revenues reverted to the Company.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

PĀRSĪS. Under this name (Pahl. *pārsik*, Mod. Pers. *pārsī* literally "inhabitant of Fārs") are known the Zoroastrian Irānians, who, after the Arab conquest, refusing to adopt Islām fled and after various vicissitudes finally settled in India in Guḍjarāt, where they now form an ethnical and religious group of 100,000 persons (101,778 according to the census of 1921). At the present day the name Pārsī is beginning to be used also for the Zoroastrians remaining in Irān instead of *geber*, the somewhat contemptuous significance of which [cf. *MAḌJŪS*] is no longer in keeping with the spirit of tolerance which is increasing every day in Irān.

What we know of the wanderings of the Pārsīs before their arrival in their present abode in India is based principally on two narratives: *Ḳiṣṣah-i Sandjān*, written in verse by a Zoroastrian priest named Bahman Kai Kobad of Nawsāri in the year of Yazdagird 969 (1600 A. D.) and *Ḳiṣṣah-i Zar-tushtyān-i Hindustān wa-Bayān-i Ātash Bahrām-i Nawsāri*, a work written at the end of the xviiith century by the Dastur Shapurji Manockdji Sandjana (1735—1805).

According to these sources, the first group was composed of Zoroastrians who about a century after the Arab conquest went from *Khurāsān*, where they had sought refuge, to the south, reaching the island of Hormuz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf (751 A. D.). After a short sojourn there they crossed to Diu on the Gulf of Cambay to the south of the coast of Kāthiāwār (766) and remained there 19 years. Continuing their journey southwards they landed at Sandjān (785) and installed the sacred fire there. According to the tradition of the Pārsī priests, before obtaining permission to settle there they drew up for the lord of Diu, *Djādi Rānāh*, in a series of 16 *śhlokas* the principal articles of their faith. In these *śhlokas*, of which several versions exist in Sanskrit and Guḍjarātī, several points of contact between Hinduism and Zoroastrianism are cleverly brought out. At Sandjān they were twice joined by other bodies of refugees and these formed a community which prospered rapidly and spread to Cambay, Bariāw, Bānkāner and Ankleswar. After the year 1000 Pārsīs are also found in upper India, but it is probable that these were isolated bodies who came directly from Irān.

In 1490 A. D. the Pārsīs who had made common cause with the Hindus were forced by the troops of sultān Maḥmūd Bigara to abandon Sandjān and take refuge with their sacred fire among the mountains of Barhūt. When the Muslim pressure ceased, the Zoroastrian community resumed its development. According to the date given in *Ḳiṣṣah-i Sandjān*, the sacred fire was installed at Nawsāri in 1491 after the sack of Sandjān, and after a brief period at Barhūt and Bansdah it was brought back in 1516.

The sacred fire was installed at Sūrat in 1733 as a result of the raids of the Pindarris but the settlement of the Pārsīs in the town dates from the second half of the xviith century. We do not know the exact date when the Pārsīs went to Bombay, which is now the principal centre of the Pārsī community in India.

The Pārsīs were able to settle in India without meeting any opposition mainly owing to the excellence of the moral principles of the Mazdaean religion observed in the threefold rule of *humata*,

hūxta, *hwarshā* — "good thoughts", "good words", "good works" — which is found in the Avesta. Although they have always abstained from any proselytising activities, they had the good fortune to attract the great emperor Akbar to the Mazdaean religion. Trustworthy and active, assisted by the fact that the social character of their religion does not prevent adaptation to the forms of western life, they are at the present day a flourishing and well organised community much appreciated for the high standard and dignity of their lives.

The old religious inheritance of Zoroastrianism has been preserved by the Pārsīs with remarkable piety. In the xviith century on the initiative of the *desai* Čāngā Asā of Nawsāri a mission was sent to Persia to obtain from the Zoroastrians who had remained there information regarding certain details of the religion. As a result the study of the manuscripts of the Avesta and of the exegetic literature was intensified and at the present day Pārsī scholars are displaying a laudable activity in the publication of the old texts.

The sacerdotal class still occupies a predominant place in the community; its hierarchy (*dastūr*, *mōbadh*, *hērbadh*) is a hereditary one.

The interests of the community are managed by a committee (*pančāyat* composed of 6 *dastūrs* and 12 *mōbadh*) but with incorporation in the public life of British India the functions of such a committee are gradually diminishing.

The mass of the faithful (*behadīn*) conform — with a few concessions to the demands of modern life — fully to the ritual prescription of Zoroastrianism. Birth must take place on the floor of the house to show detachment from the things of the world. At the age of 7 there is the investiture with the *kusti*, the sacred cord formed of 72 threads which winds three times round life. The funeral rites consist of exposure of the corpse on the tower of silence which is frequented by vultures (*dakhm*). In the ceremony of marriage, which tends more and more to monogamy with the marriage of full rights (Pahl. *zanih-i pātikhshāyihāh*) to the exclusion of secondary marriages, Hindu customs have prevailed.

The prohibitions regarding contamination of the sacred elements of fire, water, earth are still scrupulously observed and the greatest care taken in purification after contact with impure objects, especially corpses. The Zoroastrian principles of morality are faithfully observed in all activities of life; hatred of falsehood, honesty in all dealings, assistance of the poor are the regular rules of piety.

The Zoroastrian community in India is keenly interested in the lot of their co-religionists in Irān and it was through the intervention of the Pārsī "Persian Zoroastrian Amelioration Fund" that the *djizya* paid by the Zoroastrians of Yazd and Kirmān was abolished in 1882 by the Persian government. As a result of the decline of religious intolerance in Persia, there has been increasing intercourse with the Zoroastrian communities still existing in Irān and the Pārsī community has frequently sent appeals to the Muslims of Persia to ask them to return to the ancient religion.

While as regards doctrine perfect harmony still exists in the community, as regards ritual controversies have not been wanting and are not lacking within it. In 1686 the question of precedence was raised between the priests of Nawsāri and those

of Sandjān. Another question which has been a subject of controversy even since the xviiith century, is the question whether the use of the *padān* — i. e. a kind of veil placed in front of the mouth to prevent the sacred fire from being contaminated by the breath — should also be put on the dying, thus violating the laws of piety.

Much more serious however is another controversy, that regarding the calendar; it goes back to the xviiith century and divides the community into two sects: the *Shahenshāhis* and the *Qadimis*.

According to the Avestic calendar adopted by the Pārsis, to make up for the loss of a quarter of a day each year, a month is added every 120 years but this system was not observed during the period of persecution following the Muslim conquest. In 1745 a group of the faithful felt the need for a reform of the calendar; but this group, which took the name of *Qadimis*, was opposed by those who wished to adhere to the Hindu system of calculating the months and who took the name of *Shahenshāhis*. The result is that the calendar adopted by the latter is a month behind that adopted by the *Qadimis*. The Pārsis follow the era of Yazdigird which dates from the accession of the last Sāsānid (June 16, 632).

Bibliography: For the *Qissa-hi Sandjān*, cf. E. B. Eastwick, in *J.R.A.S., Bombay Branch*, i. (1842), p. 167—191 and J. J. Modi, *A few Events in the Early History of the Parsis and their Dates, in Zartoshti I (1273 Yazdigird), ii. (1274 Yazdigird)*. — For the *Qissa-hi Zartushtyān-i Hindustān*, cf. J. J. Modi, *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, xvii. (1930), p. 1—63; xix. (1931), p. 45—57; xxv. (1933), p. 1—155; Bomandji Byramdji Patell, *Pārsi Prakāśh, being a Record of important Events in the Growth of the Parsi Community in Western India*, Bombay 1878—1888 (Gujarātī), ser. ii., 1891; *The Gujarāt Parsis from their Earliest Settlement to the Present Time*, Bombay 1898; D. Menant, *Le Parsis: histoire des communautés zoroastriennes de l'Inde, Annales du Musée Guimet*, Paris 1898; *Parsis et Parsisme, ibid.*, Paris 1904; art. *Parsis*, in Hastings, *Encyclop. of Rel. and Ethics*; J. J. Modi, *Parses at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana*, Bombay 1903; Menant, *Les Parsis à la Cour d'Akbar*, in *R.H.R.*, i. (1904), p. 38 sqq.; G. Bonet-Maury, *La religion d'Akbar et ses rapports avec l'islamisme et le parsisme*, in *R.H.R.*, li. (1905), p. 153 sqq.; K. Inostrantsev, *The Emigration of the Parsis to India and the Musulman World in the midst of the viiith century*, transl. by L. Bogdanov, in *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, i. (1922), p. 33 sqq.; J. J. Modi, *A Parsee High Priest (Dastur Asar Kāvān 1529—1614 a. D.) with his Zoroastrian Disciples in Patna, in the 16th and 17th Century a. C.*, *ibid.*, xx. (1932), p. i. sqq. (ANT. PAGLIARO).

PARWANA. [See MU'IN AL-DIN SULAIMĀN.]

PASANTREN. Javanese "*santri*-place", se minary for students of theology (*santri*) on the islands of Java and Madura, Madur. *panjantran*, Sund. usually *pondok*, i. e. the lodgings of the students of the school ("to go to the *pondok*" = to attend a pasantren). — Elementary education i. e. reciting the Qur'ān and the elements of a knowledge of ceremonial law is given in the East Indian Archipelago wherever there are Muḥammadans by teachers, who confine themselves to these subjects, in their own

houses. In the larger villages and towns of Java and Madura there are also teachers who collect pupils around them in a mosque, in their own house or in a special building. If their reputation increases it often happens that students come from a distance and live in the place for a time to enjoy their instruction.

The pasantrens however are institutions for advanced theological training. They consist of several buildings and when they are not built out in the country, form at least a separate quarter of the village. Javanese princes have from time to time issued edicts making villages "free" i. e. the taxes and services which they have to yield are given in perpetuity to the teacher of the pasantrens founded there. Pious individuals have also endowed *wakfs* in favour of pasantren. The others are private institutions which owe their origin to the initiative of a learned man who establishes himself as a teacher. Their foundation and prosperity or decline is therefore bound up with the personality of the teacher and the estimation in which his learning is held; even pasantrens which are regularly endowed are influenced by this factor.

The pasantren consists in the first place of the houses of the teacher and his assistants, then of lecture-rooms, a chapel, rarely a Friday Mosque, the lodgings of the students (*pondok*), rice-barns, all of which occupy a considerable space. The *pondok* alone possess a peculiar form of architecture not found in other buildings. A *pondok* is a quadrangular building built of the usual materials. The interior is divided by two walls into three long compartments of about equal breadth, the central one of which forms a corridor running from an end of the building to the other. The two outer ones form the living rooms; each of them is divided into cells of equal size by partitions. The door of the *pondok* is in the centre of one of the shorter outer walls; it opens into the corridor. Only blank walls are seen on right and left as one enters; then it is noticed that very low little doors are let into these walls, made of the same material as they are; these admit to the cells. The little doors are at regular intervals in the two walls, two always being opposite one another. The cells are lit from the outside by little windows in the wall; they are so low that the occupant can only sit or lie on the floor; for the students study in a recumbent position. Several students live in one cell; in very popular pasantrens, the *pondok* may have two stories. The number of students may amount to several hundreds. It may also be quite small. There are hundreds of pasantren in existence. In each *pondok* discipline is maintained by one of the older students or by a junior teacher. In spite of this, cleanliness leaves much to be desired. The head of the *pondok* is at the same time tutor and assists the students under him in every way. We also find women sharing in the instruction given in a pasantren but it is very rare for them to live in one.

The pasantrens have a life of their own. Great activity prevails even before dawn. After the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ* which the teacher himself conducts and which is followed by a *dhikr*, the lectures begin. The teacher takes the beginners one after the other and after their lesson they return to the *pondok*; here they go over what they have learned by themselves or with a more advanced student or with the head of the *pondok* until noon. The students

then have their midday meal, the *santri* of each *pondok* forming one mess; this is practically speaking their only meal. All then go to chapel for the *ṣalāt al-ṣuḥr*. They are summoned to three further *ṣalāt* in the course of the day. The intervals between them are devoted to lectures and study. The more advanced students are taken together by the teacher; he reads the Arabic text, translates it and adds any necessary notes of explanation. After the *ṣalāt al-ʿiṣhā* the day's work is over and the students retire for the night. Some *santri* may still be engaged on little tasks which may bring them in something, soon these also stop and quiet reigns over all. — Friday brings a variation in this monotonous round; all go to the nearest Friday mosque to attend the *ṣalāt al-djum'a*. Harvest is also a busy time for the *santri*; they work in the rice-fields or beg for *zakāt*. Many *santri* go home in the month of the fast.

Fiqh is the primary subject of study in the pasantrens; the Arabic works used are those in use in other *Shāfiʿi* lands. There are also a large number of Javanese works; those based on Arabic sources or theological works taken from Arabic are known as *kitab*. Javanese is the language of the pasantrens; in the Sundanese speaking districts (western Java) Javanese works are more and more replaced by Sundanese. At the same time dogmatics are also studied. Here no particular *madhhab* is followed, nor are the works used written only by *Shāfiʿis*. Orthodox mysticism is less studied. There is, it is true, a popular form of mysticism tinged with pantheism; but this is less and less taught in the pasantrens. The *santri* calls the main *ṣiḥḥ* book used by him in the pasantren *kitab pēkih* without further qualification (he hardly knows its title) and work on dogmatics *kitab usul*. Small books for elementary instruction on the duties of religion and dogmatics are also called *kitab usul*.

The method of instruction is one peculiar to the pasantren. As soon as he has finished the elementary text-books, the student is introduced to more important Arabic texts. He reads them, sentence by sentence, under the supervision of the teacher who himself has perhaps never studied Arabic properly and has only his memory to rely upon for the vocalisation. The sentence is translated into Javanese and paraphrased by the teacher. Finally the student is so far advanced that he can translate easy texts from Arabic into Javanese (a list of the texts most used [at the time] is given in *T.B.G.K.W.*, xxxi. [1886], p. 518 *sqq.*). This takes a long time; the joy however at seeing his knowledge steadily increasing and the pleasant feeling of being able to read texts in the original spurs the student on. Under Meccan and Ḥadramawt influence, however, this method is being gradually driven out by another which begins with Arabic grammar. It certainly seems the more logical; one disadvantage, however, is that the study of Arabic offers so many difficulties to the Indonesian that many lose heart before they succeed in reading texts.

Study at the pasantrens is quite free. Diplomas are neither sought nor given. The student comes and goes as he pleases. The majority when they enter the pasantren have already had an elementary education at home. The desire to increase their knowledge of the faith, the wish among rich and prominent families to see one of their sons devoting himself to the study of religion and among others

the hope of gaining a livelihood, bring young men into the pasantren. The *santri* endeavour to attend the lectures of a number of teachers, each on his special subject. They therefore go from one school to another; some indeed travel about all their lives studying. Others when they think they have acquired sufficient learning settle somewhere, but not in their own districts, as teachers or become assistant teachers in a pasantren or they may prefer to remain "independent scholars". There are no offices for which study in a pasantren is a requisite preliminary; in general the theologians are averse from anything official or belonging to the state but the higher mosque officials have usually studied for a time in a pasantren.

It is considered very reprehensible to give instruction in sacred learning for an agreed fee. Nevertheless, most of the teachers are well to do. Pious gifts are liberally given to them on account of the blessing they bring. The teacher is a most welcome guest at religious feasts, of which there are many in Javanese life. All appeal at all times to his learning or for his intercession; gifts accompany these appeals. New arrivals among the students, if they can afford it, make their offering; sons of the better situated parents bring back presents when they go home, and poor students work in the teacher's fields.

The majority of the students are poor and indeed live by begging. On certain days they go round the district; their begging is not considered a nuisance; they are assisted readily for they are acquiring sacred learning; to give to them brings a blessing. Work on the land, the copying of *Qurʾāns* etc. also bring them in the little they require for their frugal life. The colonial government only troubles about the pasantren in so far as it exercises a general supervision over them; the foundations of new ones are reported to the authorities and the principal has to keep a register of the names of the students and of the titles of the books used.

The spread of schools on the European model has dealt a blow to the pasantrens in recent years. Only the pasantrens could give religious instruction as the public schools instituted by the colonial authorities gave none. On the other hand, only the latter prepared for everyday life. This has resulted in the growth of private schools intended to do both. These are called *madrasas* and are intended to be schools for all. Attached to the *madrasas* are schools for higher education; in these religious instruction plays a very prominent part. In these schools, which owe their origin to circles influenced by modern ideas, the method of instruction is taken from European models; but their outlook is not by any means broader than that of the old pasantrens. The name *madrasa* points to Egypt or perhaps Arabia; the organization, apart from the religious instruction, is modelled exactly on the government schools.

In the country of the Minangkabau Malays (Central Sumatra) there are theological seminaries which correspond on the whole with the pasantren; they are called *surau*, a name also given to elementary schools, chapels, houses for men, and also to the separate buildings of the institution called *surau*. The students' houses are not divided into cells; the occupants have a common lecture- and sleeping-room.

Aṭjeh also has seminaries comparable with the

Javanese. The method of instruction however, which in Java may be called the new one, is the only one here; Malay takes the place of Javanese there; a knowledge of this language is therefore indispensable for students in Atjeh. The lodgings of the students (*ranggang*) have the same plan as the *pondok* of Java; just as the pasantrens are also called *pondok*, so the name *ranggang* in Atjeh is also applied to the whole institution.

Bibliography: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*, Batavia 1894, ii. 1 sqq.; do., *De Islam in Nederlandsch-Indië*, in *Gesammete Schriften*, iv/ii. 377 sqq.; *De masjdids in inlandsche godsdiensscholen in de Padangsche bovenlanden*, in *I. G.*, i. (1888), 318 sqq. (R. A. KERN)

PASE, the name of a district on the north coast of Atjeh (Sumatra) which according to the prevalent native view stretches from the Djambō-Ajé-river in the east to the other side of the Pasè river in the west. The whole area is divided up into a number of little states each with an *ulëibalang* or chief.

Pasè at one time was a kingdom known throughout eastern Asia. The north coast of Atjeh was in the middle ages on the trade route by sea from Hindustan to China. Islām followed this route and firmly established itself from India on this coast, the first point in the east Indian archipelago which it reached. In the xiiith century we know there were already Muslim rulers here. One of these was Malik al-Šāliḥ (d. 1297), according to native tradition founder of the state and the man to make the country Muslim; his tomb made of stone imported from Cambay (India) has been discovered along with several other gravestones on the left bank of the Pasè river, not far from the sea. The capital of the kingdom is said to have been here. A second capital rather more to the west was Samudra; it was the royal residence when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the middle of the xiiith century twice visited the land, on his way to China and on the return journey. The present name of the island of Sumatra, by which it is known in the west, comes from Samudra — in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: Sumatra. Pasè was then a flourishing country on the coast; the ruler was king of the port, who himself sent out trading-ships; a ship belonging to him was seen by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the harbour of Ch'ünchou (Fukien) in South China. Life at the court was modelled on that of the Muḥammadan courts of India. The ruler at this time was an ardent Muslim, who took a great interest in learning. He waged a victorious *djihad* on the natives in the hinterland. Lead coins struck in the country and Chinese crude gold were the means of exchange. The chief food was rice.

Shortly after Ibn Baṭṭūṭa left the country the king had to recognise the suzerainty of the Javanese Hindu empire of Madjapait (before 1365). A tomb of a queen or princess found near Lhō' Sukon has an Arabic inscription, dated 791 (1389) at the top of the stone and at the bottom an inscription in much weathered old Javanese script. It has not yet been read. The Chinese envoy Cheng Ho remarked in 1416 that the land was involved in continual war with Nago (Pidie). He mentions rice, silkworms and pepper as its products. The last-named attracted the Portuguese there. From 1521 they had a fortified settlement in Pasè but in 1524 they were driven

out by the sultān of the rising kingdom of Atjeh (i. e. Great Atjeh). Henceforth Pasè was a dependency of Atjeh. The tombs of the rulers of the former kingdom were still an object of pilgrimage to the most famous sultān of Atjeh, Iskandar Thānī, as late as 1048 (1638—1639); at the present day even the memory of the old kingdom is extinct. The mouth of the Pasè river is silted up and the place where the capital stood is no longer recognisable.

Pasè exercised through the years a considerable influence in the Malay Archipelago through its Muslim scholars and missionaries. Javanese and Malay tradition have preserved their memory.

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(R. A. KERN)

PASHA (T., from the Pers. *pādishāh*, probably influenced by Turkish *baskāk*), the highest official title of honour ('*unwān* or *laḳab*) in use in Turkey until quite recently and still surviving in certain Muslim countries originally parts of the Turkish empire (Egypt, 'Irāk, Syria). It was always accompanied by the proper name like the titles of nobility in Europe but with this difference from the latter, that it was placed after the name (like the less important titles of *bey* and *efendi*). In addition, being neither hereditary nor giving any rank to wives, nor attached to territorial possessions, it was military rather than feudal in character. It was however not reserved solely for soldiers but was also given to certain high civil (not religious) officials.

The title of *pasha* first appears in the xiiith century. It is difficult to define its original use exactly. The word had in any case early assumed and lost the vague meaning of "seigneur" (*dominus*) (cf. *Diwān-i tirk-i Sultān Welad*, p. 14; text of the year 712 = 1313, where Allāh himself is invoked in the phrase *Ey Pasha*!). At this same period the title of *pasha* like that of *sultān* was sometimes given to women (cf. Ismā'il Hakkī, *Kitābeler*, 1927, index, s. v. *Kadem pasha*, Selçuk *pasha*), a practice which recurs only once again, and then exceptionally, in the xixth century in the case of the mother of the Khedive [cf. WĀLIDE SULTĀN].

Under the Saldjūks of Anatolia the title of *pasha* (in as much as it was an abbreviation of *pādishāh* and always by analogy with that of *sultān*) was given occasionally to certain men of religion who must also have at the same time been soldiers and whose history is not yet well known. To judge from the genealogy which 'Ashīk-pasha-zāde claims for himself, the title of *pasha* was already in use in the first half of the xiiith century. Mukhlis al-Dīn Mūsā Baba, alias *Shaiḫ Mukhlis* or *Mukhlis Pasha* had, according to 'Alī Efendi, seized the power before the Karamānoghlu and in the same region, after the defeat of the Saldjūk Sultān Ghiyāth al-

Dīn Kaikhūsraw II which took place in 1243 (cf. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, i. 177).

At the end of the same century the title of pasha seems to have been added to the names of certain members (restricted in number) of the petty Turkish and Turkoman dynasties which shared Asia Minor; these are sometimes rulers, sometimes members of their families. It was the same in the principalities of Tekke, Aidin, Denizli and Kızıl-Ahmadli [cf. the article *TURKS*, iv., p. 961] and probably also in other little kingdoms of Anatolia (cf. for Sarukhan, 'Alī Pasha, according to Shihāb al-Dīn b. al-'Umārī, *al-Ta'rif* etc. quoted by Kalkaşhandī, viii. 16, 14).

In the family of 'Othmān, two individuals are credited with the title of pasha: 'Alā' al-Dīn, son of 'Othmān, and Sulaimān, son of Orkhan.

The case of 'Alā' al-Dīn is very obscure. Two different individuals of this name have even been distinguished: the one being 'Alā' al-Dīn Bey, son of 'Othmān, the other 'Alā' al-Dīn Pasha, "wazīr" of 'Othmān, and the two may have been confounded (cf. Hüseyin Hüsameddin, *'Alāeddīn Bey*, in *T. T. E. M.*, years xiv. and xv., 4 articles). It may be added that the same individual or one of the two individuals in question may also have been a *beylerbeyi* (cf. Orudj's chronicle, ed. Babinger, p. 15, 15). Whatever be the case with this insoluble problem, it seems certain that the title of pasha was early given to statesmen (cf. a Sinān Pasha under Orkhan: article *TURKS*, iv., p. 962).

The title of pasha in any case very soon became the prerogative of two classes of dignitaries: 1. the *beylerbeyis* of the provinces and 2. the *wazīrs* of the capital. It was later extended to officials with similar functions.

In the second half of the xivth century (in 1359 or 1362?) Lala Shāhin who, according to the Ottoman historians, was the first (?) *beylerbeyi* of the 'Othmānīs, was given the title of pasha at the same time as he received this office. The same title was then given to the *beylerbeyi* of Anatolia (thus keeping up the idea of the two *beylerbeyis*, one of the right and one of the left wing) and later as new posts were created in the growing empire, extended to the other *beylerbeyis* or *wālīs* "governors-general".

It was the same with the *wazīrs*, of whom the first (?) according to the Ottoman historians, was Djandarli Khalil surnamed Khair al-Dīn Pasha (in 770 = 1368—1369). The number of the *wazīrs* [cf. *WAZĪR*] who were called *ḳubbe vezīrleri* down to the time of Ahmad III was raised to three and then to nine and the title of *wazīr*, also given to high officials like the *ḳapudan pasha*, the *nishāndji*, the *defterdar*, became more and more one of honour, carrying with it the title of pasha; but since at the beginning and for a considerable time in the capital itself there was only one *wazīr*, the title of pasha, par excellence and without any addition, came to be applied to the prime minister (later *ulu vezīr* or *şadr a'zam*), whence the expression *pasha ḳapısı* which was later replaced by that of *bāb-i 'ālī*, "Sublime Porte, the door of the first minister".

The increase in the number of pashas was not at first very rapid. M. d'Aramon mentions only 4 or 5 pashas or *vezīr-pashas* and at the time he wrote (in 1547), there were only three (Ayaz, Güzeldje Kāsim and Ibrāhīm, all three of Christian origin). It is true that here he is referring only to the capital.

In the provinces they were, and became, more numerous, and two classes of pashas were distinguished: 1. the pashas of 3 horse-tails (*tugh*) or *wazīr* (a rank which became more and more one of honour and extending to the provinces gradually absorbed that of *beylerbeyi*); 2. the pashas of 2 horse-tails or *mīr-mīrān* (rank at first the Persian synonym for the Turkish *beylerbeyi* and the Arabic *amīr al-umārā* but gradually became a lower rank). Besides, the old *sandjak-beyis* having in principle a right to only one horse-tail were promoted *mīr-mīrān* and thus became pashas in their turn.

After the Tanzīmāt the title of pasha was given to the four first (out of 9) grades of the civil (1. *vezīr*, 2. *bālā*, 3. *ulā*, 4. *sāniye şinfi cıvvelī*) or military (1. *müşhūr*, 2. *birindji ferik*, 3. *ferik*, 4. *liwā*) hierarchy and to the notables (3. *rūmeli beylerbeyi*, 4. *mīrmīrān*, with in practice unjustified extension to the fallen *mīr-ül-ümerā*, in this case to the purely honorary rank of the sixth grade).

The table of ranks having been abolished after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish Republic retained the title of pasha for soldiers only. It has just been abolished by the Grand National Assembly of Ankara (Nov. 26, 1934). Instead of pasha one now uses *general* and in place of *müşhūr*, *mareschal*.

In western usage the word was at first pronounced *basha* (the pronunciation *pasha* does not appear till the xviiith century): Ital. *bascia*, Low Latin *bassa*, Fr. *bacha* or *bassa*, Engl. *bashaw*, to say nothing of variant spellings. In Greek on the contrary, the form pasha is the oldest (xivth century) but probably under western influence we also find *basha* (xvth century); cf. Ducange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, s. v. *πασας*.

The pronunciation as *basha* by Europeans is due either to the influence of Arabic in Egypt or to a confusion with the old Turkish title of *basha* (cf. at the end of the article).

Etymology of the word pasha: we shall examine the various etymologies that have been proposed.

1. Pers. *pāy-i shāh* "foot of the sovereign". This explanation, which was based on the fact that in ancient Persia there were officials called "eyes of the king", is found already in Trévoux's Dictionary (s. v. *bacha*) and was revived by G. v. Hammer. — It is to be rejected.

2. Turk. *bash* "head, chief" already suggested by Antoine Geuffroy (*Briefve description de la Court du Grand Turc*, 1542) and by Leunclavius (Löwenklau), *Pandectes historiae turcicae*, suppl. to his *Annales* (1588). Cf. also Trévoux's *Dict.* and Barbier de Meynard, *Suppl.* — It is to be rejected. — Cf. the following word.

3. Turk. *bash-aghā* taken (for the purposes of proof) in the meaning of "elder brother". This is the etymology accepted in Turkey until lately (Mehmed Thüreiyā, *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, iv. 738; Shams al-Dīn Sāmī, *Kāmus-i türki*, s. v. *pasha*) and based on the fact that Sulaimān Pasha and 'Alā' al-Dīn Pasha were the elder brothers of Orkhan and 'Othmān respectively. 'Alī Efendi in his *Künh ul-Akhhār* written in 1593—1599 (v. 49, 23) and 'Othmān-zāde Ahmad Tā'ib (d. 1724) called attention to this use of the word pasha among the Turkomans (*Ḥadīqat al-Wuzarā*, Istanbul 1271, p. 4, 16). Heidborn (*Manuel de Droit Public et Administratif Ottoman*, Vienna 1908, p. 186, note a) also says that pasha

means "elder brother" among the Greeks of Karamania, but there seems to be nothing to confirm these isolated statements. Some Turkish lexicographers like Aḥmad Wefik (under باش) and Ṣalāḥī have admitted this etymology but by two stages: *pasha* comes from the Turkish title *basha* which is for *bash-aghā*. The title of *basha* to be discussed below does really seem to come from *bash-aghā* but, contrary to what I at first thought, has nothing to do with *pasha*.

4. Pers. *pādishāh* "sovereign". — Etymology, the only admissible one (with however the possibility of the influence mentioned under 5), proposed by the Turkish-Russian dictionary of Boudagov (1869) and later revived by the Russian Encyclopaedia of Brockhaus and Efron. It had previously been proposed by d'Herbelot (under *pascha*, à propos of the spelling with final *h*). This explanation is based on the use of the words *sulṭān* and *pādishāh*, as the titles most often placed after the names when applied to individuals of high rank in the religious world (dervishes). Cf. Giese, in *Türkiyât Medjmu'ası*, i., 1925, p. 164. It seems that one can even explain by *pādishāsh* the obscure phrase used by Orkhan to 'Alā' al-Dīn Pasha in 'Ashik-pasha-zāde (ed. Giese, p. 34—35) before the latter asks leave to retire (cf. above). Orkhan says "You will be pasha for me". Now a few lines earlier he had asked him to be a *zoban pādishāh*, i. e. a shepherd for his people.

On the other hand, it will be noted that the title of *pasha* is often used not only as an alternative for *pādishāh* but also for *shāh*. Here are a few examples:

Shudjā' al-Dīn Sulaimān, of the dynasty of Kizil Aḥmedli, is called Sulaimān Pādishāh in Ibn Baṭṭūta (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii. 343) and Sulaimān Pasha in Shihāb al-Dīn b. al-'Omari *al-Ta'rif bi 'l-Muṣṭalah al-sharīf*, Cairo 1312, p. 4: written *basha*, following the Arabic script) and in Munadjidjmi Bashi (iii. 30). The son and successor of this ruler, Ibrāhīm, is called Shāh in Ibn al-'Omari and Pasha in Munadjidjmi Bashi. — In the *Diṣtūr-nāme-i Erzurū* (ed. Mukrimin Khalil, p. 83—84) Sulaimān Pasha, son of Orkhan, is called Shāh Sulaimān (with poetical inversion). — 'Alī b. Čiçek (Čeček), the Īlkhānian governor of Baghdad (d. 1336), is called 'Alī Pasha by Ibn al-'Omari. According to Nazmī-zāde (*Gülshen-i Khulafā*, Constantinople 1143), he is also found in some MSS. as 'Alī Shāh. He is also called 'Alī Pādishāh (Cl. Huart, *Histoire de Bagdad*, p. 10). — In the oriental dialects the title of *pādishāh* is given to petty local rulers; there it has taken the form, not of *pasha* but of *patsha* (Kirghiz) and *pōtshō* (Özbeğ).

5. Turk. *bashaq* (variants *bashkak*?, *bashkan*?) "governor, chief of police" (Dictionary of Pavet de Courteille and under *basmaḳ* in that of Boudagov). This word of the "Khwarizmian language" according to Vullers came into use in Persia (Īlkhānid). Among the Mongols it meant the commissioners and high commissioners sent by them to the conquered provinces (of the west only?), notably in Russia. The accepted etymology is from the verb *basmaḳ*, "to press, crowd, oppress, impress", whence the meaning "oppressor, extortioner" for *bashaq*, an official, it is noted (cf. the Russian and Polish encyclopaedias), whose main duty was to collect taxes and tribute. However extraordinary such an explanation of an official title may appear it seems to be confirmed by the parallelism with the Mongol

equivalent of *bashaq* which is *darugha* or *darogha* [q. v.] and which may be compared with *darukhu*, a Mongol verb, synonymous with *basmaḳ* in the sense of "to impress". These may however be popular etymologies.

Schefer in his edition of the *Voyage de M. d'Aramon* (p. 238, note 3) says "The etymology of the word pacha given by Geuffroy (from the Turkish *bach*) is wrong. Pacha is a softened form of the word *bachqag* or *pachqag* which means a military governor".

Carpini renders the Mongol *bashaq* by *baschati* (variants in the MS.: *bascati*, *bastaci*; cf. *The texts and versions of John de Pl. Carpini* ..., London, Hakluyt Soc., 1903, p. 67 and 261 notes). In the edition of 1598 (Hakluyt) there is a marginal note "Basha, vox Tartarica qua utuntur Turci". This also implies a confusion between the words *bashaq* and *pasha*.

It is not impossible that there was actually some confusion among the Turks themselves between *pādishāh* (*pasha*) and the title *bashaq*, the synonym of the Mongol *darugha*. We had thought of this even before we saw the notes of Schefer and Hakluyt. It may be noted that the title of *pasha* (which is not found in Persian sources, as Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī kindly informs us) was applied either to Anatolians, subject in fact or in theory to the Mongols, or to officials of the Mongol Īlkhāns (like the governor of Baghdad mentioned above; cf. also *püser-i 'Alī Pasha* alluded to in the *Bezm-ü Rezm* of 'Aziz b. Ardashir Astarābādi [ed. Köprülü, p. 249, 8]). The confusion could be explained the more easily as one finds (rarely it is true) the form *bashkaq* (Djuwaini, *Ta'rikh-i Djahan-Gushā* of 1260, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, ii. 83, note 9; in this passage there is a reference to a Khwarizmian official of 609, i. e. before the Mongol conquest).

It may be suggested that but for the influence of this confusion with the title *bashaq* that of *pasha* would never have attained such importance.

The Turkish title of *basha*. — This title which is not to be confused with the preceding, nor with the Arabic or old eastern pronunciation of it, was also put after the proper name but was applied only to soldiers and the lower grades of officers (especially janissaries) and, it seems, also to notables in the provinces (Meninski, *Thesaurus*, i., col. 662 and 294, l. 18; *Onomasticon*, col. 427; d'Herbelot, s. v. *pascha*; Viguier, *Éléments de la langue turque*, 1790, p. 218, 309, 327; Zenker, p. 164, col. 2 (probably following Meninski); De La Mottraye, *Voyages*, 1727, i. 180 note a; cf. Ewliya Čelebi, v. 107⁶, 216¹⁸; Na'imā, v. 71¹¹; Ismā'il Ḥaḳḳī, *Kitābeler* (سفر باشه, p. 41 and 8)). De La Boullaye-Le-Gouz (*Voyages*, 1657, p. 59 and 552) also distinguishes the title from *bacha* and translates it by "monsieur". Meninski, *loc. cit.*, also notes the pronunciation *bashi* (باشی) which is not to be taken as the word *bash* followed by the possessive suffix of the 3rd pers. -i; Meninski knew Turkish too well to make such a mistake. As to the pronunciation *beshe* (given by Chloros, s. v. *pasha*) it comes from the spelling باشه (cf. e. g. Aḥmad Wefik Pasha, *Zoraki Tabīb*, act i., sc. 2, ironically applied to a woman) but Meninski pronounces *basha*, even with this spelling.

As the lexicographers have sometimes confused

basha and *pasha*, some have thought that *basha* also meant "elder brother" (Mehmed Salāhi, *Kāmūs-i 'othmānī*, ii. 291 sqq. followed by Chloros). I think we have two separate problems and that *basha* is really for *bash-aghā* but with the meaning of "aghā (military title) in chief". The *kawas* (also called janissaries or *yasaḳī*) were called *bash-aghā* (according to Roehrig). On the other meanings of *bash-aghā* and in general for more details on some of the points dealt with here see Deny, *Sommaire des Archives turques du Caire*.

Note on the accentuation. — In the word *pasha* the tonic accent is on the last syllable (*pashā*). In the word *basha* it is on the first (*bāsha*) as is shown by the weakening of the final vowel in the pronunciation *bāshi*, already mentioned.

(J. DENY)

PASHALĪK (T.), means 1. the office or title of a *pasha* [q. v.]; 2. the territory under the authority of a *pasha* (in the provinces).

After some of the governors called *sandjak-beyi* (or *mir-liwā*) had been raised to the dignity of *pasha*, their territories (*sandjak* or *liwā*; q. v.) also received the name of *pashallık*.

Early in the sixteenth century of 158 *sandjaks* 70 were *pashallıks*. Of these 25 were *pasha sandjaklı*, i. e. *sandjaks* in which were the capitals of an *eyālet*, the residence of the governor-general or *wāli* of a province. For further details, cf. Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii. 307.

(J. DENY)

PASHTO. [See *AFGHĀNISTĀN*, i. 149 sq.]

PASIR. The sultanate of Pasir in S. E. Borneo comprises the valley of the Pasir or Kendilo river, which, rising in the north on the borders of Kutei runs in a southeasterly direction along the eastern borders of the Beratos range and turning east finally reaches the straits of Malacca through a marshy district. The country, about 1,125 sq. km. in area, is still covered by primitive forest, in so far as the scanty population, which is found mainly in Pasir, the residence of the sultan, and in Tanah Grogot, that of the official administration, has not cleared the trees to make ricefields. Although some gold, petroleum and coal are found in Pasir, Europeans have not exploited them, still less do they practice agriculture. A European administrative official was first stationed in 1901 at Tanah Grogot at the mouth of the Kendilo river. Pasir is therefore a good example of the Borneo coast state which as regards Islām has developed independently of European influence. The population of the sultanate is estimated roughly at 17,000. It consists of Dayaks who live by growing rice, of immigrant Bandjarese and Buginese from Celebes, who control the trade; they are found chiefly in the flat country at the river mouth. On the coast the Badjos, a people of fishermen, live in their villages built on piles in the sea. Of the 9,000 Dayaks, about 4,000 have adopted Islām, while 5,000 in the highlands are pagans. The 5,000 Buginese have a predominating influence in view of their large numbers and their prosperity; the 1,200 Bandjarese are of less importance. There are very few Europeans and about 50 Chinese and Arabs in Pasir.

Half of the population are therefore foreigners, but like the Dayaks they belong to the Malay race and mix with one another.

Pasir is despotically ruled by the sultan and

the members of his family; the people have no voice in the government. Alongside of the sultan and his presumed successor there is a council of five notables which the sultan consults on important occasions; this is also the highest court of the country. These notables and a number of other members of the sultan's family have estates as fiefs. Since 1844 each sultan on his accession has concluded a treaty with the Netherlands Indian authority. In 1908 they declared themselves vassals of the Netherlands Indian government. In 1900 the right to collect duties on imports and exports and taxes, as well as the monopoly of opium and salt, was ceded to the government in return for compensation. This amounts to 16,800 gulden yearly of which 11,200 go to the sultan and 5,600 to the notables.

The sultan still collects the following taxes: a poll-tax from adult males; 1/10 of the yields of the rice-fields and forest products, 2 cocoanuts from each fruit-bearing tree; also military service. He also has an income from the administration of justice in the capital.

From the very legendary history of the country it may be gathered that this despotic government which is foreign to the Dayaks was introduced from eastern Java. Under the ruling caste are the chiefs of lower rank, priests and landowners and freemen as a middle class. At the beginning of this century there were still slaves and debtor-slaves as the lowest class in Pasir; although slavery had long been abolished in other states of the Indies under Dutch influence. As is usual among other Dayak tribes, slaves go about like free men, take part in all festivities and games, may own property and are not even distinguished by dress. If their debt is paid to their master by some one, they go over to the latter. Slaves are not sold.

As the social condition of the Muslim Buginese, Bandjarese and Badjos have already been described elsewhere, the following remarks are confined to the pagan Dayaks and their Muslim relatives, the Pasirese.

According to tradition, an Arab (Tuan Said) brought Islām to Pasir. His marriage with the daughter of the reigning chief did much to further the progress of Islām in the country.

As to the Pasirese, their social life was only superficially affected by Islām. In their daily life a pagan conception of the worship of the deity and of the world of spirits still prevails. The old belief in the important influence of spirits on the fate of man and reliance upon their signs are evidence of this. The fact also is significant that throughout Pasir there is only one *missigit* and a few smaller places of worship. The number of Muslim priests and *hājdjīs* is also small nor is the enthusiasm to make the pilgrimage to Mecca great. On important occasions appeal is made for assistance to the spirits; this is particularly the case with illness among the Pasirese, who hold the pagan *blian* feasts, which are also celebrated in South Borneo. Amid a great din of gongs and drums which can be heard a long way off, the pagan priest (*balian*) becomes possessed by the spirit which then communicates to him the remedy for the illness. Even in the capital Pasir, exclusively inhabited by Muḥammadans, the advice of the *balian* is sought; only during the month of Ramaḍān the sultan forbids this.

How attached the upper classes of Pasir still

are to animistic views is evident from the legend still current according to which Sultān Adam in the middle of the last century used to isolate himself for several days in the year on the mountain of the spirits, Gunung Melikat; he had concluded, it was said, a marriage there with a female *djinn* from which a son named Tendang was born. This son, who has the gift of making himself invisible, is said to live on the island of Madura where he married a princess of the *djinn*. He appears from time to time in Pasir, when he is invited by a great sacrificial feast (formerly also human sacrifice). These feasts are still celebrated occasionally, especially in order to free the land from misfortune and sickness. In the village of Busui a house has been built for Tendang with a roof in three parts, which is built on a large pole and thus resembles a dove-cote.

The revenues of the priests consist of what they collect at the end of the month of fasting in *sakāt* and *piṭra*, everyone giving what he can and the chiefs exercise no pressure. A priest also receives a small fee at a marriage or divorce.

The calendar now in general use in the sultānate is the Muḥammadan. As elsewhere among the Dayaks the tilling of the fields begins when a particular constellation becomes visible in the heavens.

The family life of the Pasirese has developed to some extent according to Muslim ritual. Among the followers of Islām, marriage is performed through the intermediary of a priest, with the father or another man as *wali*, but only after an agreement has been come to about the very considerable dowry. This is paid to the parents of the bride; she herself only receives a small part of it. According to Dayak custom young people are allowed to meet very freely before marriage. A marriage feast is marked by a very considerable consumption of palm-wine. The man remains at least a year in the home of his parents-in-law before he can take a home of his own. Divorce is very frequent because attention is seldom paid to the wishes of the woman in the negotiations between the parents. Man and woman retain their property after marriage; after a divorce this goes back to the family. Property acquired during marriage is divided into two equal portions between husband and wife. After the death of one or the other the survivor inherits all. Only a few families follow the Muslim law. The followers of Islām are buried with Muḥammadan rites.

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PASSAROWITZ. [See POŽAREVAC.]

PASWAN-OGHLU (written پاسان اوغلی; cf. *Kāmūs al-A'lām*, ii. 1467) or Pazwant-Oghlu (پازواند اوغلی) in 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sharaf, *Tārīkh*, ii. 280) or, according to the new orthography, Pazvantoğlu (Hāmit ve Muhsin, *Türkiye Tarihi*, p. 423) but on his own seal "Pazwand-zāde 'Oṭhmān" (in Orėškow, see *Bibl.*), the rebel Pasha of Vidin (1758—1807). His family originated in Tuzla in Bosnia, but his grandfather Paswan Agha, for his services in the Austrian wars, was, granted two villages near Vidin in Bulgaria about 1739. Oṭhmān's father 'Omar Agha Paswan-Oghlu not only inherited these villages but as *bairaktār* etc. was also a rich and prominent man (*āyān*); on account

of his defiant attitude, however, he was put to death by the local governor.

'Oṭhmān himself only escaped death by escaping into Albania, but after taking part in the war of 1787—1789 as a volunteer, he returned to his native town. Very soon he was in the field again and fought with distinction, returning to Vidin in 1791. From there he organised with his men raiding expeditions into Wallachia and Serbia. When the sultān wanted to punish him for this he cast off his allegiance in 1793, took to the mountains and at the end of 1794 captured Vidin with his robber band and became the real ruler in the pashalik there. Vidin, which he fortified again, thus became a meeting-place for robbers and discontented janissaries who were driven out of Serbia in 1792, and he himself became the popular leader of all those who opposed the reforms of Selīm III.

In 1795 Paswan-Oghlu even attacked the governor of Belgrade, Hādīdjī Muṣṭafā Pasha, a supporter of the reformers, who had been given the task of disposing of him; strong bodies of troops were sent by the Porte but without success. In consequence negotiations were begun at the end of 1795 but Paswan-Oghlu remained practically independent in the whole of Upper Bulgaria.

But since the Porte did not also formally recognise him, Paswan-Oghlu drove the official governor out of Vidin and in 1797 attacked the adjoining pashaliks: in the east his forces occupied or threatened a number of places in Bulgaria (but they were defeated at Varna) and in the south they attacked Nish [q. v.] without success; in the west they advanced up to Belgrade, occupied the town but were driven back from its fortress by the resistance of the Turks and Serbs whom Hādīdjī Muṣṭafā had armed. As a result of this and because of Paswan-Oghlu's negotiations with France and Russia the Porte in 1798 sent an army of 100,000 men against him under Admiral Küçük Husain Pasha. He besieged Vidin in vain until October and had to withdraw with heavy losses. This defeat and Napoleon's invasion of Egypt induced Turkey to come to terms, nominally at least, with Paswan-Oghlu and give him the rank of Pasha of three tails (1799).

Nevertheless he declared himself against the reforms, against the central government and even against Selīm III; he also sent several expeditions to plunder Wallachia (1800 and 1801) and incited the janissaries who had in the meanwhile returned to Belgrade to occupy the fortress (in the summer of 1801) and to murder Hādīdjī Muṣṭafā Pasha (at the end of the year).

At this time he repeatedly asked the Czar to number him among his faithful subjects and also offered his services to France. The Porte, which shortly before had forgiven Paswan-Oghlu everything, from 1803 declared war on him again, but the Serbian rising of 1804 diverted their attention. Paswan-Oghlu himself had to fight in the western part of his territory against Pintzo's rising (1805). The appearance of the Russians on the left bank of the Danube (1806) induced him to offer his services to the Porte but the latter instead gave the supreme command to the commander of Rusčuk. This embittered him so much that he resolved to defend only his own territory against the allied Russians and Serbians but he died soon afterwards on Jan. 27, 1807.

That Paswan-Oghlu was able to hold out so long was due to the state of the Ottoman empire at the time, to his personal ability and foresight (he never abandoned Vidin!) but for the most part to luck. Within his area he collected customs and taxes, ruled strictly and despotically, although not entirely without mildness and justice. Although his health was rather poor as a result of too great mental strain, ambition led him to aim at independence as evidence of which we have the coins struck by him and known as *Pasvančeta*.

Bibliography: Various notes on Paswan-Oghlu are already found in the contemporary travels of G. A. Oliver (1801) and L. Pouqueville (1805), but it is not till the *Notes sur Passvan-Oglou 1758—1807 par l'adjudant-commandant Mériage*, of the French agent in Vidin (1807—1808), that we have a complete picture of him which is still the best account of his career; these *Notes* were edited by Grgur Jakšić in *La Revue Slave* (vol. i., Paris 1906, p. 261—279 and 418—429; vol. ii., 1906, p. 139—144 and 436—448; vol. iii., 1907, p. 138—144 and p. 278—288) and transl. in the *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja* (vol. xvii., Sarajevo 1906, p. 173—216) into Serbokroat. — Also: J. W. Zinkeisen, *G. O. R. in Europa*, vii., Gotha 1863, p. 230—241; C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, Prague 1876, p. 486—503; Iv. Pavlović, *Ispisi iz francuskih arhiva*, Belgrade 1890, especially p. 103—128 (diplomatic reports regarding Paswan-Oghlu, 1795—1807); M. Gavrilović, in *La Grande Encyclopédie*, vol. xxvi., Paris n.d., p. 68; St. Novaković, *Tursko carstvo pred srpski ustanak 1780—1804*, Belgrade 1906, p. 332—389; M. Vukićević, *Karađorđe*, vol. i., Belgrade 1907, p. 166—176 and 185—208; P. Orškov, *Několko dokumenta za Pasvantoglu i Sofroni Vračanski (1800—1812)* [from the Russian Foreign Ministry], in *Sbornik of the Bulgarian Academy of Science*, vol. iii., Sofia 1914, article 3, p. 1—55; V. Corović, in *Narodna enciklopedija*, vol. iii., Zagreb 1928, p. 272.

(FEHIM BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

PATANI, an administrative district of Siam in the extreme south of the kingdom on the east coast of the peninsula of Malacca; it is bounded on the south by the Malay states of Kelantan and Kedah, both under British protection. The whole district is made up of seven Malay petty states, each with its own native chief who is assisted by a Siamese official. Malay forms of government are allowed to remain. In the capital of the same name resides the Siamese High Commissioner of the district. His advice has to be obeyed by the rulers of the states.

The native inhabitants are Muslims. Friday and other mosques are distinguished. The latter are called *surau* and have their own staffs. All the states have law-courts: the *shari'a* is followed in matters of family law, Siamese law in other cases.

Patani is a very mountainous country. There is only a strip of plain on the coast. The area is about 13,000 sq. km. and the number of inhabitants about 350,000; the great majority are Malays, the remainder being Siamese and Chinese. There are few roads. The railway which connects the Siamese Southern railway with the English lines in Malacca cuts through the country a short distance from the coast. Agriculture is of little importance; only in the environs of Patani and in Nawng-

Chik rice is cultivated. A large number of the people live by fishing; the fish caught are salted with salt obtained locally. Tin-mining is increasing. The exports include dried fish, salt, cattle, elephants and tin. Intercourse with Bangkok and Singapore is maintained by small steamers. The revenues amount to £45,000, of which one third is allotted to the Malay rulers as private income for themselves and their families, one third goes to administration, and a third set aside for special purposes, is also as a rule used for administrative purposes.

Fra Odorigo of Pordenone in 1323 mentions a place called *Patén* in this region, which he identifies with Thalamasyn. It is doubtful whether the reference is to Patani. The first certain occurrence of the name is in the xvth century when the Portuguese begin to come here to trade. Patani has for centuries belonged to Siam. Advancing southwards the Thai reached Ligor about 1284 (on the coast, a little N. W. of Patani; Sukhotai inscription); in 1350 the whole of the peninsula of Malacca was under Siamese rule; the conquest of Patani took place between those dates. The *Nāgarakṛtāgama* in 1365 mentions Djēre, the modern Djēring, one of the seven states of the district with its capital on the sea, a little east of the town of Patani, as conquered by the Javanese kingdom of Madjapait. Soon after the conquest of the town of Malacca in 1511, the Portuguese began to trade in Patani. Many Portuguese settled here. About 1600 the Dutch and English appeared; Patani at this time was a prosperous centre of trade, a station between Malacca and China and a depot for the exchange of goods from China on the one side, and the most important harbours of the East Indian Archipelago on the other. When this last activity began to decline about 1620, the place lost its importance and the Europeans abandoned their settlements.

It is not definitely known when Patani became converted to Islām. About 1600 it was a Muḥammadan country; the queen ruling at this time had succeeded her husband fifteen years before; in all probability the country was already Muḥammadan at an earlier date when Mendez Pinto (1534, 1540) visited it. According to native tradition, the conqueror of the land, Chaw Sri Bangsa, a son of the Siamese king, converted the country to Islām, after adopting it himself and taking the name and title of Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh. He is said to have acknowledged the suzerainty of Malacca; this suggests that Malacca was the power that caused the conversion. Malacca, as is well known, was during the xvth century the predominant power in the Malay Peninsula.

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(R. A. KERN)

PATHĀN. [See AFGHĀNISTĀN, i. 149 sqq.]

PAULĀ, the name given in the Moghul Emperor Akbar's monetary system to the $\frac{1}{4}$ *dām* ($\frac{1}{4}$ *paisā*). (J. ALLAN)

PEČENEKS, a people of Turkish stock of the middle ages. Their name occurs in numerous variants (Badjnāk, Pačnak, Πατζινάκιται, Πατζινάκαι, Patzinacitae, Patzinacae, Piccinigi, Pincenakiti, Pecenaci etc.; also Bysseni, Bessi, in Hungarian Besenyők, etc.). There is no longer any doubt that they were a branch of the Turkish race. Rashīd al-Dīn (xiiith century; see GHĀZĀN) and Mahmūd Kāshgharī (1073) number them among the Ghuzz [q. v.] tribes; the latter (*Divān Luġāt al-Turk*, i. 27; cf. *K. Cs. A.*, i. 36) puts them in the northern group of Turkish peoples, to which the Kipčak, Oghuz, etc. belong and describes them "as next to the Rhomaeans" i. e. the most westerly Turkish tribe.

In all probability the Pečeneks separated very early from their brethren in the original home of the Turks in Turkestan. Their earlier home is said to have been the Emba-Ural-Volga region, which according to Bakri and Gardīzī was 30 days' journey in length and breadth. There they remained probably for a considerable time, their neighbours being the Khazārs in the S. W. and the Oghuz in the S. E., and they traded with Persia and Khwārizm.

But by 860 the Oghuz began to move westwards and to drive the Pečeneks from the Ural region. Towards the end of the ixth century the Oghuz (Uzen, Οὔζοι) came to terms with the Khazārs and drove the main body of the Pečeneks from their old home, so that in 922 Ibn Faḍlān found only a small remnant of the Pečeneks there; according to *De administrando imperio* (p. 166), the latter remained there of their own accord.

The fugitive Pečeneks came up against the Magyars, drove them into Hungary and occupied their lands, at first the territory between the Don and the Dnieper and later as far as the Danube. Constantine Porphyrogennētos (c. 950) says this took place "fifty years ago", but the chronicler Regino (d. 915) dates it exactly in 889. The power of the Pečeneks in the end extended from South Russia over Bessarabia and Moldavia up to the Eastern Carpathians.

Warlike and powerful as they were the Pečeneks were a constant danger to their neighbours. Here however we can only briefly mention their relations with Hungary, Russia and Byzantium. In the course of the xth and xith centuries they frequently attacked Hungary from the Eastern Carpathians or settled peacefully in various Hungarian districts (cf. the map of their settlements in Németh, *Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagy-Szent-Miklós*, I. Beilage). In the xiiith century the Pečeneg settlements in Hungary still enjoyed certain special political privileges. They finally became merged in the Komans.

With the Russians, the Pečeneks were early on friendly terms (according to the *De adm. imp.*, p. 69, they sold them cattle, horses and sheep); sometimes they were their allies against Byzantium and Bulgaria (in the time of Igor, 941), but more frequently they were attacking the Russians. In the year 968 they besieged Kiev, in 971 they killed the Grand Duke Sviatoslav on his way back from Bulgaria and the Russians had to build a number of fortifications against them. Their last

attack (1034) was completely repulsed. A little later (1065) they were being hard pressed by the advancing Uzen and moved more and more towards the Danube and later also back to the Balkan peninsula.

The Byzantine imperial historian in *De adm. imp.* (p. 68) recommends the maintenance of peaceful relations with the Pečeneks and there was actually an alliance with them but by 970 we find them fighting with the Russians against Byzantium. Henceforth the Pečeneks were continually at war with the Byzantines until the emperor Alexius I in 1091 routed them completely at the mouth of the Maritza and in 1122 John II inflicted another heavy defeat upon them. Of the remnants of the Pečeneks some were taken into the military service of the Byzantines and some settled in the Balkan, especially in Bulgaria. The Gagauz [q. v.] are sometimes regarded as what was left of them but their present language gives very little evidence of this (cf. vol. iv., p. 992). Nevertheless a number of Balkan place-names still recall the fact that the Pečeneks were once there.

With the nomadic nature of the Pečeneks it is obvious that the tribal organisation was an important factor. According to C. Porphyrogennētos the Pečeneks were divided into eight tribes (four beyond and four on this side of the Dnieper) with as many great chiefs and into 40 clans with petty chiefs. The names of the tribes according to Németh were mainly derived from the names of horses and from titles of the supreme chief e.g. Συρουκαλπέν = *suru Kül-bey*, i. e. "the tribes of Kül-bey, with grey horses". The three tribes who were prominent for bravery and distinction are called Kangar (Κάγγαρ) by Porphyrogennētos. Of the names of chiefs that of the tribe of Jula (Γύλα), namely Korčut [q. v.], is probably the most remarkable. In the time of Kedrenos (ii. 581—582) there were thirteen Pečeneg tribes "each of which had inherited its name from its ancestor and chief".

We know very little about the religion of the Pečeneks. According to Bakri, they were formerly fire-worshippers (Magians) but according to other sources there were already a considerable number of Muslims among them by the beginning of the tenth century.

As to the Pečeneg language, Anna Comnena (xiith century) already asserts its identity with that of the Komans [see KIPČAK]. Until recently its scanty remains consisted almost entirely of the names of the Pečeneg tribes, chiefs and fortresses listed by C. Porphyrogennētos. But when in 1931 Németh succeeded in deciphering the inscriptions of the treasure of Nagy-Szent-Miklós, it became evident to him that the gold and silver vessels contained in it belonged to the Pečeneg chief Bota-ul Čaban (c. 900—920) and that we had here further specimens of the Pečeneg language; from these he concluded that the language of the Pečeneks was closely connected with that of the Komans in Hungary and that of the Codex Cumanicus. The characters of these inscriptions may be called Pečeneg runes, which belong to the family of the Kök-türk script and are closely connected with the Hungarian runes.

In conclusion, from the fact that there are two baptismal fonts in the treasure of Nagy-Szent-Miklós it may be assumed that several Pečeneg chiefs were converted to Christianity. Very

little more is known of the Pečenegs; cf. however the index to K. Dieterich (s. *Bibl.*).

Bibliography: The earliest Arabic (Ibn Rusta and Bakrī) and Persian (Gardīzī) records of the Pečenegs are based on *Ḍajihānī* (tenth century) and on a source of the first half of the ixth century so that they only refer to the earlier home of the Pečenegs; Mas'ūdī's account however includes the period after they were driven from the Volga region. Both groups of sources have been used by J. Marquart and W. Barthold. — Also: Constantinos Porphyrogenētos, ed. Bonn, vol. iii. (1840) see index historicus (the whole of ch. 37 deals with the Pečenegs); P. Golubovskiy, *Pečenegi, torki i polovci do nashetviya tatar'*, Kiev 1884; *Sh. Sāmī Bey, Kāmūs al-A'lām*, ii. 1306; K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* 2, 1897, p. 1105, G.; *Enciklopedičeski Slovar' Brokgaus-Efron*, vol. xxiii., St. Petersburg 1898, p. 538 sq.; J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, s. index; *Révai Nagy Lexikona*, vol. iii., Budapest 1911, s. v. *Besenyők*; K. Dieterich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde*, 1912, part ii., esp. p. 51—58, 147 and 186; N. 'Āšim and M. 'Arif, *'Oṭh-mānī Tārīkhī*, vol. iii., Constantinople 1335, p. 75 sq.; E. Oberhammer, *Die Türken und das Osmanische Reich*, Leipzig and Berlin 1917, s. index; Z. Gombocz, *Über den Volksnamen besenyő*, in *Túrán*, Budapest 1918, p. 209—215; W. Bang, *Über den Volksnamen besenyő*, *op. cit.*, p. 436—437; G. Fehér, *Die Petschenegen und die ungarischen Hunnensagen*, in *K. Cs. A.*, i. 123—140 (assumes among other things that the royal family of the Abas is descended from Csaba or from the Pečeneg tribe Τζονβν); Gy. Czebe, *Turco-byzantinische Miszellen (I)*, in *K. Cs. A.*, i. 209—219 (rejects Fehér's hypotheses, approves Németh's linguistic deductions and analyses once more the Pečeneg chapter in Porphyrogenētos); W. Barthold, *Orta Asya Türk Tārīkhine haḳḳında Dersler*, Istanbul 1927, p. 23 and 92 sq.; J. Németh, *Zur Kenntnis der Petschenegen*, in *K. Cs. A.*, i. 219—225; do., *Die petschenegischen Stammesnamen*, in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, vol. x., 1930, p. 27—34; do., *Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagy-Szent-Miklós*, Budapest—Leipzig 1930, especially p. 36 and 45—59; Hüseyin Namik, *Pečenekler* (Turkish), Istanbul 1933.

(FEHIM BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

PEČEWI, Ibrāhīm, Ottoman historian. Ibrāhīm was born in 982 (1574) in Fünfkirchen (Hungary, Hung. *Pécs*, Turk. *Pečewi*, i.e. *Pečewil?*) whence his epithet *Pečewi* (cf. Pečewi, *Tārīkh*, i. 286 and ii. 433; also J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 5, note). His ancestors were holders of fiefs in Bosnia and Hungary. Pečewi has not recorded his father's name (cf. *Tārīkh*, i. 87); he was in any case already domiciled in Fünfkirchen. His mother was a member of the celebrated family of Sokolović (Šokolli). Of Pečewi's early years, we know that at the age of 14 he was taken as an orphan into the house of his uncle Ferhād Pasha, governor of Ofen, and later went to another relative Lālā Mehmed Pasha (cf. his *Tārīkh*, ii. 323); he spent 15 years in the latter's entourage. In 1002 (1593) he joined the army, took part in the Hungarian campaigns of Sinān Pasha, was an eye-witness of the siege of Gran (cf. *Tārīkh*, ii.

136, 180), of the Erlau campaign and the siege of Peterwardein. The next few years he spent mainly on the staff of Lālā Mehmed Pasha who had been grand vizier since 1013 (1604). He gives a detailed account in his history of the various offices which he held. After the death of his patron Lālā Mehmed Pasha (1024 = 1615) he was sent by his successor to Anatolia where he had to prepare a description of several sandjaks. He was next *defterdār* for a short period in Tokat, went in the same capacity to Rumelia and finally was given the office of Anatolia as "alms". He spent the rest of this life in his native district. He became *muteşarrif* of Stuhlweissenburg, then *defterdār* of Temesvár. In 1051 (1641) he retired from office and went to Ofen. He spent his last years here and in his native town engaged in writing his history. The date of his death is not exactly known. He must however have died about 1060 (1650).

Ibrāhīm Pečewi, who from his youth upwards displayed a marked turn for history, is the author of a work which is one of the best Ottoman sources for the years 926—1049 = 1520—1639. While for earlier events he relies upon the accounts of his Turkish predecessors, and as N. v. Istvánffy and K. Heltai have shown, also Hungarian sources, for the later period he writes from his own observation or information. His work, which is written in lucid and simple language, survives in numerous manuscripts (to those detailed by Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 194 may now be added two others in Upsala, University Library, cf. Zetterstéen, *Katalog*, p. 331 and a manuscript in Rhodes in the possession of Ḥafiz Aḥmad, N^o. 446), but so far we have no critical edition. Several preliminary drafts seem to exist which vary considerably in the periods covered and were presumably later expanded. The Stambul printed edition of the *Tārīkh-i Pečewi* in two parts (10 + 504 pp. and 7 + 487 pp., printed 1283; cf. *J. A.*, 1868, i. 471 and 484 and F. v. Kraelitz, in *Isl.*, viii. 259) covers the period from the accession of Sulaimān the Magnificent to the death of Murād IV in 1049.

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(FRANZ BABINGER)

PECHINA, Arab. *BADJDJĀNA*, formerly an important town in the south-east of Spain, to the north of Almeria [q. v.] (originally *Marīyat Badjdjāna*), from which it is about six miles distant. Towards the middle of the ninth century it was the centre of a kind of maritime republic founded by Andalusian sailors, who had also a colony on the Algerian coast at Tenes [q. v.]. It consisted of several quarters separated by gardens; becoming the capital of a *kūra* of the same name, Pechina was later supplanted by its neighbour Almeria, to which its inhabitants soon migrated.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

PEHLEWĀN, MUHAMMAD B. ILDEGIZ, SHAMS AL-DĪN, Atābeg of Ādharbāidjān. His father Ildegiz [q. v.] had in course of time risen to be the real ruler in the Saldjūk empire; the widow of Sulṭān Tuḡhrīl [q. v.] was Pehlewān's mother and Arslān b. Tuḡhrīl [q. v.] his step-brother. In the fighting between Ildegiz and the lord of Marāgha, Ibn Aḳ Sunkur al-Aḥmadīlī, Pehlewān played a prominent part [cf. the article MARĀGHA]. From his father he inherited in 568 (1172—1173) Arrān, Ādharbāidjān, al-Djibāl, Hamadhān, Iṣfahān and al-Raiy with their dependent territories and a few years later he also took Tabriz, which he gave to his brother Kīzl Arslān [q. v.]. Like Ildegiz, Pehlewān also became the real ruler. Sulṭān Arslān b. Tuḡhrīl was completely under his control as was also his young son Tuḡhrīl [q. v.], whom Pehlewān put on the Saldjūk throne, after Arslān had been disposed of by poison. Pehlewān died in Dhū 'l-Hiǧǧja 581 (Febr.—March 1186) or the beginning of 582 (1186) and his brother Kīzl succeeded him.

Ibn al-Athīr (xi. 346) pays a high tribute to Pehlewān's statesmanlike qualities and during his tenure of office peace and prosperity prevailed in his governorship. After his death however, bloodshed and unrest broke out. In Iṣfahān the Shāfi'is and Hanafis fought one another and at al-Raiy the Sunnis and Shī'is until order was gradually restored.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

PENDJDIH. [See PANJDĪH.]

PERA. [See CONSTANTINOPLE.]

PERAK. [See MALAY PENINSULA.]

PERSEPOLIS. [See IṢṬAKHR.]

PERSIA.

I. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL SURVEY.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

II. LANGUAGE AND DIALECTS.

(H. W. BAILEY)

III. MODERN PERSIAN LITERATURE.

(E. BERTHELS)

I. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL SURVEY.

Name. The name Persia is of Western origin and probably only in the Middle Ages began to be used for the countries occupying the Iranian plateau (in Plautus Persia is found once instead of Persis). It is derived from the Greek-Roman appellation "Persae" for the Achæmenids, an appellation that goes back to the name of the region of Persis in the south-west, named in its turn after a tribe that is probably identical with the Parsua, known by the Assyrian inscriptions as having occupied formerly a part of Media (oldest mention 844 B. C.). The name Fāris (New Persian: Pārs) in Muḥammadan times is applied to the same region of Persis only, but *Fāris* was already at an early time used for one of the types of language spoken in the Iranian provinces (cf. *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 13),

which language since the ixth century became the written literary language that we call Persian. Equally the appellation *al-Furs*, found in early Arabic literary sources, denoted the whole of the people of Persia, but was restricted in use to the Persians of pre-Islāmic times or to those who had kept to their ancient traditional and religious views. This meaning is often synonymous with the Arabic expression *al-ʿAdjam*.

The form *Īrān* is of Pehlevi origin and goes back to an earlier form *Ariana*, originally an adjective (*airyana* in the younger Avesta) meaning "Aryan". It was the name of the core of the state of the Sāsānids, who styled themselves "kings of Ērān and Anērān", and it occurs in the early Arabic historical and geographical sources in the form *Īrān-shahr*, meaning the country of Īrān (cf. i. a. Yāqūt, i. 417 sqq.). In Muḥammadan times the name became popular again by the revival of the ancient traditions in the *Shāh-nāma*, but the use of the word *Īrān* for the modern kingdom of Persia is probably not older than the xixth century, when the Persians began to call themselves *Īrānīyān* (about 1890 there existed already a newspaper called *Īrān*). Nor does the use of the words "Iranian" and "Iranistic" in scientific publications appear to be older than the second part of the xixth century (Spiegel's *Eranische Altertumskunde* was published since 1871, and Darmesteter's *Études Iranienues* in 1883).

Geographical survey. Throughout the Middle Ages Persia was neither a geographical nor a political unity. In treating the Persia of Muḥammadan times we therefore must choose an arbitrary delimitation of the country, namely the territory comprising present Persia, Afghānistān and Balūčistān and in addition the region of Marw as far south as the present Persian frontier. The territory thus circumscribed may represent the actual Achæmenid and later the Sāsānid empires, excluding the territories of al-ʿIrāq, Mesopotamia and Armenia, which during both periods belonged to those empires; Babylonia was called even in Sāsānid times *Dil-i Irānshahr* (*B. G. A.*, vi. 5).

The greater part of Persia thus circumscribed consists of a plateau, very mountainous in parts, with the coastal regions of the Caspian and the Persian Gulf. With the exception of these coastal regions the waters of Persia have no outlet to the sea. The consequence is that there are hardly any great streams, the only rivers deserving that name being the Hilmand, which falls, like many smaller streams, into the depression of the Sistān lake, and the Heri-Rūd, which ends in the northern steppe. The many small streams allow only of a limited cultivation in the mountain valleys and on the fringes between the mountains and the deserts. This circumstance gives even to the inhabited mountainous stretches of the plateau the character of a series of oases, which are larger or smaller as the irrigation system (mostly effected by the subterranean aqueducts called *kahriz*) is more or less developed. The territory between the oasis towns and villages is steppe, which, in central Persia, become real desert, the soil of which is more or less salish. The steppes, as also the higher mountain regions, support nomad life only, as they are only habitable during certain periods of the year, to which cause is added the very considerable variation of temperature in many regions. Nomads or semi-nomads have therefore

always lived together on the Iranian plateau with the settled population; the proportion has considerably varied on account of the frequent invasions of nomad peoples. Persia consists of a number of regions of very different character, which accounts for the lack of political unity during long periods of history. Each of these regions has formed occasionally an important political and cultural centre and the Islamic geographers in describing Persia give for each of them its own description. Their division is mainly traditional and at the same time geographical, but disregards the very variable and ephemeral political frontiers.

The regions may be divided into a western and an eastern group, separated by the great central Iranian desert, which extends from the Caspian Sea south-eastwards practically as far as the Indian Ocean in Mukrān. This desert, called by the geographers *Mafāzat Khurāsān*, *Mafāzat Fāris*, *Mafāzat Kirmān* or *Mafāzat Sīstān*, depending on the parts particularly taken into consideration, varies in breadth and character. Its level is on the whole considerably lower than the eastern and western parts of the Iranian plateau. The northern part is a large salt desert, where vegetation is hardly possible. Further to the south, to the east of Fāris, begins the region called on modern maps Dasht-i Lūt; here, and further to the south-east there are not a few oases, which form important resting points on the many caravan ways that have linked up since olden times Fāris and Kirmān with Khurāsān and Sīstān. In the southern regions of Tūrān and Mukrān, with which is linked the large desert to the south of the Hilmand river, the desert or steppe character is prevalent. This series of deserts, though not forming an impassable barrier between east and west, has often coincided with political frontiers; only in the north in the region of Kūmis, east of al-Raiy (later Teheran) and along the Caspian coast, a more continuous cultivated stretch links up Media with Khurāsān.

The central part of the western regions is Media, called al-Djibāl in Muḥammadan times and later 'Irāk-i 'Aḍjamī, consisting of a plateau all covered by mountain ranges running mainly from N. W. to S. E. and bordered on its south-western side by the Zagros mountains; the most important towns are here Hamadhān and Isfahān. To the north-west Ādharbāidjān forms a continuation of al-Djibāl, from which it is separated by the desertlike region of Ardalān. Ādharbāidjān is still more mountainous, being a transition to the Armenian and Caucasian mountain systems; it is also richer in water-courses; the river Araxes (al-Rass) may be considered its northern boundary. Its chief geographical feature is the big salt lake of Urmiya. In early Muḥammadan times Ardabil was here the most important place, succeeded in modern times by Tabriz. The small coastal border to the east of Ādharbāidjān belongs to the South Caspian regions, known in Islamic geography as al-Djīl, al-Dailam, and further Ṭabaristān, now Gilān and Māzandarān. This region consists of a narrow coastal stretch, widening somewhat towards the east and contrasting with the rest of Persia by its moist climate and rich vegetation; to the south it slopes rapidly upwards to the high range of the Elburz that forms the northern border of the central plateau; alongside the southern slope of this range stretches a narrow cultivated and

inhabited area, in which al-Raiy was the most important town and through which ran the main route to Khurāsān, passing, after al-Raiy, Samnān, al-Dāmaghān and Bistām. At the south-eastern corner of the Caspian the route passed south of the mountain region of Djurdjān, which region, owing to the fact that its waters — the rivers Djurdjān and Atrak — flow towards the Caspian, does not belong geographically to Khurāsān.

In the south of al-Djibāl the Luristān mountains are a transition to the low country of Khūzistān, the ancient Elam and the modern 'Arabistān. It is very similar to al-'Irāk, from which it is separated by desert stretches. The river of Ahwāz, now the Kārūn, fed by its tributary the Kerkhā, in the early Middle Ages flowed directly into the Persian Gulf, and later into the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab. To the east of Khūzistān and south-east of al-Djibāl begin the mountain ranges of Fāris with their many mountain lakes and their fertile valleys, which find their continuation in the similarly shaped mountain region of Kirmān, where, however, the desert areas are more numerous. The chief town of Fāris in mediæval and modern times, Shirāz, has replaced the ancient towns of Djūr and Ištakhīr, while the mediæval towns of Kirmān, al-Sirādjān and Djiruft, have disappeared, the present town of Kirmān being comparatively young. The coastal region of Fāris and Kirmān is barren; here were the very important ports of Tawwādj, Siniz, Sirāf and Hormuz, now replaced by Būshīr and Bandar 'Abbās. The geographers distinguish in Fāris and Kirmān a southern hot zone (*ḡurūm*, *garmsīr*) and a northern colder zone (*ṣurūd*, *serdesīr*), a distinction important to nomads and pertaining to the climate and the vegetation; "hot regions" are found, however, also in the north-eastern parts of Kirmān, where the land descends to the level of the central desert. The oasis of Yazd and environs is generally counted a part of Fāris. The country east of Kirmān as far as the Indus, occupied by several mountain ranges, is poor in cultivated areas and has not much importance as a passage to the Indus region. It consists of the coast region of Mukrān and the parallel inner zone of Tūrān, forming together the present Balūčistān.

The north-eastern part of the Iranian plateau consists of three main regions, of which Sīstān with al-Rukhkhādj (Arachosia) is formed by the basin of the Hilmand; these waters flow into the Sīstān lakes, which have considerably changed their form in the course of history. The principal mediæval towns were Zarandj and Bust. The mountain ranges become higher towards the north of this region and run mostly north and south; the eastern border is the water-shed of the Indus valley. To the north of Sīstān stretches the large region of Khurāsān. Its main features are a series of mountain ranges running east and west, bordered in the east by the Hindū Kush; between these mountains flow a number of rivers, mainly from the south-eastern ranges to the north-west or the north, where they lose themselves in the desert bordering the south bank of the Djaiḥūn (Amū Daryā) and continuing in a western direction towards the Caspian. The largest river is the Herī-Rūd, on which is situated Herāt, then the Murghāb with Marw al-Rudh and Marw, and the river of Balkh. The westernmost section of Khurāsān with Isfarāyīn, Nisābūr and Ṭūs (Meshhed) receives its waters from the western mountains that form a

not quite complete watershed between *Khurāsān* and *Djurdjān*. Though certainly presenting a geographical unity, the large extent of *Khurāsān* allows the division into smaller regions, such as *Bādghis*, *al-Djūzadjān*, *Tukhārīstān* and others. The present frontier between Persia and *Afghānistān* cuts from north to south right through *Khurāsān* and *Sistān*. Finally the basin of the Indus and its tributaries forms a region of its own, although the part with *Kābul* to the south of the *Hindū Kush* and *Ghazna* (*Zābulistān*) was often counted by the Islāmic geographers to *Khurāsān*. The more southern part of the Indus valley is separated from the *Hilmand* system by the *Sulaimān* range and the deserts of *Waziristān* and is, owing to climate, poor in cultivated areas.

All over the Iranian plateau a system of secular caravan roads links up the many cultivated centres. The chief connections with the surrounding countries were the passage of the *Araxes* towards the eastern *Caucasus* (*al-Rān*), the passes west of *Urmia* to *Armenia*, the pass-ways of *Shahrizūr* and *Hulwān* to *Mesopotamia* and *al-ʿIrāk*, and the road from *al-Baṣra* to *Ahwāz*. The sea-ports on the *Persian Gulf* maintained regular intercourse with the coast towns of *Arabia*, *India* and even *Eastern Africa*. Towards *Transoxania* (*Mā warāʾ al-Nahr*) the chief passage went by *Tirmidh* on the *Oxus*, while the roads from *Kābul* and *Ghazna* to *Multān* were the chief connections between the Iranian plateau and the Islāmic parts of *India*. The *Caspian* ports maintained a small traffic with the *Volga* mouth.

Historical survey. The relations between *Arabia* and *Persia* date from long before Islāmic times. Arabs settled in southern *Persia* from the time of *Shāpūr I*, and the *Sāsānids* were masters of southern *Arabia* up to the time of *Muḥammad*. Then began, under the caliph ʿUmar, the Arab conquest of *Persia*, which inaugurated the Islāmic period in the history of that country. The political and psychological prelude to this conquest was the taking of the capital of the *Sāsānid* empire, *al-Madāʾin*, in 637, after the battle of *al-Kādisiya*. Although the exact dates of the different conquests and battles are not known, the early historical sources allow a reliable survey of the phases of the amazingly rapid progress of the Arabic invaders all over the Iranian plateau. For, with the exception of *Mukrān* and *Kābul*, all regions had been reached, as far as *Balkh*, before the death of the caliph ʿOthmān (656). We may distinguish different chief expeditions that were directed primarily from *Madina*, and secondarily from *Kūfa* and *Baṣra* by the governors of those two garrison towns. The first expedition, however, the conquest of the greater part of *al-Djibāl* and south-eastern *Ādharbāidjān*, was the immediate consequence of the capture of *al-Madāʾin* by the army of *Saʿd b. Abi Waḥḥās*. It was followed, probably in 638, by the battle of *Djalūla* and the conquest of *Hulwān*, *Qarmisin* (*Kirmānshāh*) and, after reinforcement had been sent from *Kūfa*, by the famous battle of *Nihāwand*. These events caused the flight of king *Yezdegerd* by the way of *Iṣfahān*, *Iṣṭakhr*, *Kirmān*, *Sidjīstān*, to *Marw*, where he was killed by the *Marzubān Māhūya* (651). Immediately after *Nihāwand* came the capitulation of *Ardabil* (about 641), together with raids into *Djilān*. The further conquest of *Ādharbāidjān*, however, started from *Mōṣul*, taken in 641 by ʿOtba b. *Farḳad*, who, in the course of his ex-

pedition, took *Shahrizūr*, *Urmia* and several other places in *Ādharbāidjān*. *Nihāwand* remained the base from which, under the direction of the first governors of *Kūfa*, were conquered *al-Raiy* and the towns of *Kūmis* (after 641), and about the same time *Hamadhān*, *Qazwīn* and *Zandjān*. In the following years several expeditions were necessary in this region against the *Dailamis* and other mountaineers. From *Kūfa* started also the first invasion of *Khūzistān* under the governor *al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba*, but the real conquest of this region began in 638 under the famous governor of *Baṣra* *Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī*. The subjugation of this very near neighbour did not take much time, the most serious resistance being met at *Tustar* (*Shūstar*). *Khūzistān* remained *Abū Mūsā*'s base, from which he conquered the remaining towns of *al-Djibāl*, namely *al-Sīrwān*, *al-Ṣaimara*, *Qumm* and *Qāshān*, and finally, in 644, by means of his lieutenant ʿAbd Allāh b. *Budhail*, *Iṣfahān*. The latter was also the first to move in the direction of *Khurāsān* by forcing the towns called *al-Ṭabasān* to capitulate. About the same time took place the first invasion of *Fāris*, not, however, from *Khūzistān*, but from the opposite Arabian province of *al-Baḥrain*, whose governor ʿOthmān b. *Abi ʿAl-ʿĀs* had an encounter with the *marzubān* on the island of *Abarkawān* and subsequently took *Tawwadj*, from where he began raids on the other towns of *Fāris*. His brother *al-Hakam* defeated the *marzubān* of *Fāris* near *Rāshahr* on the coast, in 640, in a great battle, which, according to *al-Balādhuri*, was equal in importance to that of *al-Kādisiya*. Then *Abū Mūsā* was ordered to join forces with ʿOthmān b. *al-ʿĀs*. Together they conquered between 644 and 647 a number of towns: *Arradjān*, *Shabūr*, *Shīrāz*, *Sinīz*, *Dārābdjird*, *Fasā*; *Abū Mūsā* penetrated far into *Kirmān*. *Shīrāz* became here the principal Arab garrison. It was from here that, in the caliphate of ʿOthmān, started the great campaigns of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, after his appointment as governor of *Baṣra*. In 649 he took the not yet conquered towns of *Iṣṭakhr* and *Djūr*, and in 650 he set out for the conquest of *Khurāsān*; the reason of this is said to have been an invitation by the *marzubān* of *Tūs*, addressed equally to his colleague of *Kūfa*, *Saʿid b. al-ʿĀs*. But while *Saʿid* did not go beyond *Tabaristān* and *Djurdjān*, where the *malik* was made tributary, ʿAbd Allāh became the real conqueror of *Khurāsān*. He had already dispatched his lieutenant *Mudjāshiʿ b. Masʿūd* towards *Kirmān*, in pursuit of *Yezdegerd*; this first expedition having failed, *Mudjāshiʿ* was sent a second time to *Kirmān* in 650, where he conquered the principal towns: *al-Sīradjān*, *Bamm* and *Djiruft*. Battles were fought near *Hurmuz* and in the *Kūf*s mountains. A similar minor expedition was sent by ʿAbd Allāh to *Sistān*, under *al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād*, who crossed the desert from *Fahradj* and conquered with considerable difficulty *Zarandj*, the capital of *Sistān*, where he remained several years. His successor having been expelled from *Zarandj*, ʿAbd Allāh dispatched ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. *Samura*, who reconquered the country and penetrated as far as *Dāwar*, *Bust* and *Zābul*. In 650 ʿAbd Allāh had in the meantime proceeded to *al-Ṭabasān*, already conquered, and sent from there *al-Aḥnaf b. Qais* to the conquest of *Kūhīstān*. He himself reached *Nisābūr*, which surrendered after a siege. From there several

towns were subdued by him and by his lieutenants, and with the *marzubān* of Tūs a treaty was concluded. Marw capitulated without a fight. A secondary expedition to Herāt under Aws b. *Ṭhaʿlaba* resulted in the capitulation of the ruler of that town, while finally eastern *Khurāsān* was raided by al-Aḥnaf b. *Ḳais*, who fought a decisive battle near Marw al-Rūdh and conquered the region of al-Djūzadjān and the town of Balkh, continuing from here this advance as far as *Khwarizm*. When ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmir returned, he left *Ḳais* b. al-Haiṭham as the first governor of *Khurāsān*.

This was the military situation at ʿOthmān's death. The conquests were by no means secure, least of all in *Sistān* and *Khurāsān*, but the placing of garrisons in *Nihāwand*, al-Ahwāz and *Shirāz*, enabled the Arabs to complete their conquests after the civil wars were over. The people and the authorities with whom the Arabs had to deal in Persia were very different. After the royal army had been destroyed at al-*Qādisiyya* and *Nihāwand*, it was chiefly the *marzubāns* who opposed the Arab invaders with their local troops and concluded on their own account treaties (*muṣālaḥa*), which guaranteed freedom of religion and the possession of private property against payment of *ḵharāj*. Where a town or a region had been taken by force, the Arabs became proprietors of the soil, as in the Median regions *Māh al-Kūfa* and *Māh al-Baṣra*. Wholesale acceptance of Islām, as is reported of *Kazwin*, was rare; the Zoroastrians continued the practice of their religion, notably in *Fāris* and *Ādharbāidjān*, but from *Fāris* many of them took refuge in *Sistān* and *Mukrān*, and about 700 took place the first emigration of Zoroastrians to *Kathiawar* in India. In the town of *Dārābdjird* it was the local *herbadh* who treated with the Arabs. On the other hand, many Persians were taken as captives to ʿIrāk and Arabia, where they became *mawālī*, while also entire groups, such as many knights (*asāwira*) of *Yezdegerd's* army, and different elements of the population of southern Persia (the *Zott*, *Sayābidja* and others) joined forces with the Arabs. The mountaineers, however, in *Fāris* and al-Djibāl, and especially those of *Djilān* and *Dailam*, long remained unconquered, living under petty local dynasties. In *Khūhistan* the Arabs had had to deal with remnants of the *Hephtalids* (*Hayāṭila*), still further east with polytheists (*mushrikūn*), probably Buddhists and, in *Khurāsān*, often with Turkish auxiliaries. On the other hand, the conquests introduced a contingent of Arab Muslims in the Persian towns, where they generally began by establishing a mosque; they increased by colonisation in *Umayyad* times and among them were many bearers of the traditions (*ḥadīth*) about the Prophet and other religious matters and in this way was prepared the gradual islāmisation of the population, favoured at the same time by economic conditions.

The civil war, in which not a few Persians took part in ʿIrāk, crippled for some time the Arab progress; the emissaries of ʿAlī's governors in *Kūfa* and *Baṣra* had great difficulty in maintaining themselves, and the whole of *Khurāsān* rebelled, in spite of the reported visit of the *marzubān* of Marw to the fourth caliph. Balkh was even for some time under Chinese control. It was only under the energetic governors of ʿIrāk under the *Umayyads*, *Ziyād* and al-*Ḥadjdjādī*, that the conquest was taken up with renewed vigour. Under Muʿāwiya ʿAbd

Allāh b. ʿAmir had been again appointed governor of *Baṣra* (662) and he sent again ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. *Samura* to *Sistān*, and then the Arabs reached *Kābul*, although he and his successors experienced greater difficulties in their dealings with the *Kābul* *Shāh* and the different rulers of *Zābulistān* who are called *zambīl* (according to Marquart, *Erānsahr*, p. 248). These difficulties continued throughout the *Umayyad* period and became less only when *Sistān* was joined administratively to *Khurāsān*, and the Arab domination grew stronger in the latter region. Ibn ʿAmir was also the first to begin the reconquest of *Khurāsān* by his lieutenant al-*Ḳais* b. *Haiṭham* (capture of Herāt and Balkh); it was continued by *Ziyād* b. *Abī Sufyān* (from 666), under whom Marw was made a strong Arab garrison, and shortly afterwards 50,000 Arab colonists were established with their families in *Khurāsān*. Al-*Ḥadjdjādī* operated in *Khurāsān* through his able generals al-Muhallab b. *Abī Sufra*, *Yazīd* b. al-Muhallab, and finally *Ḳutaiba* b. *Muslim*. One of the greatest difficulties was, in his time as many times afterwards, the clearing of the main road to *Khurāsān* by al-Raiy, *Ḳūmis* and *Ṭabaristān*, where many battles were fought with the mountaineers. The transfer of a considerable Arab contingent to *Khurāsān* under *Ziyād* had been a consequence of tribal wars that had started during Muʿāwiya's reign. The new comers soon began to infect the Arab soldiers of the garrisons, while at the same time the political and religious parties born from the civil war began to gain adherents in Persia, first among the Arabs and soon among their Persian clients. Prominent were the *Khāridjīs*, who, under their leader *Ḳaṭari* b. al-Fudjā'a (killed ca. 697), found a refuge in *Kirmān* and made from there raids to the north and the west. And towards the end of the *Umayyad* period, *Iṣfahān* with parts of *Fāris* and *Khūzistān* were temporarily in the power of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya (744—746). The main object of the *Umayyad* administration was the collection of the *djizya* and the *ḵharāj* and, until the time of al-*Ḥadjdjādī*, the books were kept by native scribes in Persian, after the custom of the *Sāsānids*. Under al-*Ḥadjdjādī* the language and the script of the administration were changed to Arabic in ʿIrāk, and we must assume that gradually Arabic came into administrative use in the Persian provinces; nevertheless the first Arab governors, and among them *Ḳaṭari*, had coins struck with *Pehlevi* and Arabic legends. A considerable advance in the islāmisation of Persia was due to the financial policy of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz and *Hishām*; after ʿUmar's edicts had induced many Persians to adopt Islām in order to get rid of the *djizya*, the taxing of Muslims and non-Muslims alike by *Hishām* brought about an assimilation of the different elements of the population, from which there emerged at this time a reliable class of Islāmic-Persian functionaries. Only the mountain people under their local chiefs remained unruly. But notably the remote province of *Khurāsān*, though revolts were not rare, and notwithstanding the continuous tribal feuds of the Arabs, remained under firm government control, owing to the presence of the strong garrison at Marw, where the governor resided, and in a not less degree to the successes of the Muslims in *Transoxania* under *Ḳutaiba*.

This makes comprehensible why the anti-*Umayyad* propaganda, directed by the ʿAbbāsids in Syria, chose *Khurāsān* as the field of operation for their

emissaries. Making use of the animosity between the Arab tribes and of the general dissatisfaction with the existing rule, this propaganda resulted finally in the revolt of Abū Muslim in 747 and his victorious entrance into Marw and soon afterwards into Naisābūr. So it was to the Arab legions in Persia and their Persian helpers that the 'Abbāsids owed their final victory in 750. This, of course, brought about a completely new orientation of Persia within the empire of the new dynasty, the more so as the 'Abbāsids transferred their residence to 'Irāq, where the centre of the last national Persian dynasty was formerly situated. Persian attitude to life and Persian tradition became dominant in the new centre of Arab political power and soon of Islāmic civilisation in the newly founded Baghdād (762). A symptom of this Persian cultural influence is the translation into Arabic of products of Pehlevi literature by authors like Ibn al-Muḳaffā. Further, powerful families of Persian origin, gained as the Barmakids, and afterwards the Banū Nawbakht, such influence as viziers on the affairs of state. This was also the time when the racial sentiment of the Persians began to assert itself in the *Shu'ūbiya* movement and when the manifestations of the Persian *zindāqs* aroused the anxiety of religious circles. The caliphs themselves showed more interest in their Persian provinces than the Umayyads had ever done; they were moreover compelled to do so, as events had shown what a powerful commander might be able to undertake against the central authority. In the south-western provinces — al-Djibāl, Khūzistān and Fāris — revolts of this kind were not to be feared, but farther away and in the mountains authority could only be maintained by repeated expeditions. So when the governor of Khurāsān showed signs of disloyalty, the caliph al-Manṣūr sent his son al-Mahdī with the general Khāzīm b. Khuzaima to restore order and afterwards to subjugate a local dynast in Ṭabaristān. Then al-Mahdī took up his residence in al-Raiy until his accession. Hārūn al-Rashid undertook himself at the end of his life an expedition against Khurāsān and Transoxania, during which he died at Tūs (809). His son al-Ma'mūn, who had accompanied him, remained in Khurāsān, even after he had become caliph (813), until 817. During this time happened the episode of the imām 'Alī al-Riḍā [q. v.]. In the same early 'Abbāsīd period the attitude of the Persian population towards Islām had changed in so far as notably the revolt of Abū Muslim had induced many Persians of the better class (the *dihkāns*) to become Muslims, but at the same time the lower classes were liable to outbursts of religious fanaticism, in which Islāmic and pre-Islāmic views were intermingled. In Khurāsān a number of "false prophets" made their appearance: Sinbād^h the Magian (754—755), Ostādis (766—768), Yūsuf al-Barm, al-Muḳanna' (777—780). To the same kind of religious movements belonged the prolonged rebellion of the Khurramites under Bābak (816—838) in Ādharbāidjān. The caliphs were justified in repressing these movements with great severity, because they were generally accompanied by aspirations towards political independence. The revolt of the 'Alid Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh in Dailām in 793 showed likewise that it was already possible to operate in Persia with Islāmic devices, and for this reason the caliph Hārūn had to proceed with much circumspection in its repression.

Under al-Ma'mūn begins the political loosening

of Khurāsān and neighbouring provinces from the 'Abbāsīd caliphate, not by the action of the ancient Persian nobles or princes, nor by the popular movements already described, nor by Khārīdīte or 'Alid propaganda, but by the action of Persian-Muḥammadan governors not of ancient noble lineage, but nevertheless animated by national feelings, preparing in this way the Persian-Muḥammadan political and cultural renaissance. Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain, general of al-Ma'mūn, was appointed in 820 governor of Khurāsān. His descendants, the Ṭāhirids, were nominally governors of the caliphs, but the latter had to leave to them an almost independent authority over Khurāsān with the regions to the east as far as the Indus and to the west as far as al-Raiy. Those regions never came back under the caliphs' full authority, for the Ṭāhirids lost their power and their territory in 873 in the struggle against the Ṣaffārīds, a dynasty of still less noble descent, who in 867 had begun to make themselves masters of Sistān under Yaḳūb b. al-Laiṭh and his two brothers. Their territory comprised for some time Khurāsān with the regions of Kābul and al-Rukh khadj — where the 'Abbāsīd power had never been well established — and even Kirmān and Fāris, but the position of the Ṣaffārīds as leading power in Persia soon came to an end, when they were beaten in 879 in Khūzistān in their endeavour to attack the caliph in Baghdād. The cultural and religious position of the Ṣaffārīds is not well known, but their exploits remained famous in Persia long after their extinction. During the same period the caliphs had to suffer the establishment of other more or less independent dynasties, such as the Dulafids in al-Karadj in the southern part of Media (842—897), and the Rudainī family in Ādharbāidjān. Far more important is the rise of the Sāmānīd dynasty in Khurāsān and Transoxania. This dynasty originated in Khurāsān; they had been at first faithful servants of the Ṭāhirids and occupied already a powerful position in Transoxania when the troubles in Khurāsān, after the fall of the Ṭāhirid power, enabled them to establish their power in Khurāsān in 892, under the nominal suzerainty of Baghdād. Under Naṣr b. Aḥmad (913—943) they governed also in Sistān, Kirmān, Djurdjān, al-Raiy and Ṭabaristān. The immense cultural importance of this dynasty for Persia lies in the fact that a revived national but Islāmized Persian spirit found an opportunity to develop itself in Khurāsān, as is revealed to us by the beginnings of the New Persian Islāmic literature [cf. *infra*, iii.]. This development certainly goes back at least as far as the time of al-Ma'mūn. The Sāmānīds resided in Transoxania and had Khurāsān governed by governors, so that it was not the neighbourhood of their brilliant court alone which favoured the Persian form of Islāmic culture; this was due rather to the general prosperity which began to reign and which brought into existence a class of wealthy landowners who were able to patronize literary and scientific activity, for Arabic literature also began to flourish in Khurāsān (al-Balkhī and others). It is further noteworthy that the Persian renaissance did not take place in the traditional centres of Parsism, Fāris and Ādharbāidjān, where about this time the ancient conditions had not much changed, but rather in a (culturally speaking) new country, where new forms could more easily come into existence.

In western Irān the manifestation of the Per-

sian national spirit took other, less refined forms, as the promoters were the never entirely subjected peoples of Dailam and Djilān. Here the Zaidite 'Alid propaganda, begun under Hārūn al-Rashid, had supplied popular opposition to the Caliphate with an Islāmic badge. Several petty local dynasties were still in existence in Dailam at the beginning of the xth century and from here started predatory expeditions, whose first aim was the town of al-Raiy. The brigand chiefs became generals and some of them became rulers of countries with continually changing frontiers, owing to their warfare with each other and with the Sāmānids. The most stable of the dynasties thus formed were the Ziyārids (928—1042), who ruled for some time in al-Raiy, Iṣfahān and Ahwāz, but were reduced in the end to the territories of Ṭabaristān and Djurdjān. In al-Djibāl, Fāris and Khūzistān they were soon replaced by the much more successful Būyids, their former Dailamite confederates. The independent rise of the three brothers 'Alī, Ḥasan and Aḥmad, sons of Būya, began about 935 and soon nearly the whole of western Persia had ceased to pay taxes and tribute to the Baghdād government, where, moreover, the caliphs were dominated by military commanders. This situation enabled Aḥmad b. Būya, already master of Khūzistān, to occupy Baghdād in 946 and to incorporate the seat of the caliphate in his possessions. The caliphate was allowed to survive under the political power of this Persian Shī'ite dynasty. The other Būyid brothers resided at al-Raiy and at Shīrāz, and the most brilliant reign was that of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, son of 'Alī of Shīrāz, who in his turn became master of Baghdād in 978 and reigned until 983, while his son Bahā' al-Dawla (989—1013) continued to reign in 'Irāq, Fāris and Kirmān. At the same time the north-western part of Persia had fallen, after the semi-independent reign of the governors of the Ṣādjīd family in Ādharbāidjān (890—929), into the hands of Kurdish dynasties, such as the Muṣāfirids, the Shaddādids, the Rawwādids and others.

On account of these grave political disturbances western Irān was somewhat slower to assimilate the specifically Persian cultural development that had started in Khurāsān, but towards the middle of the xth century, when conditions became more settled, there clustered around the Būyid courts and in other large centres a class of Persian-Islāmic writers — such as Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (d. c. 970) — and scholars, among them such brilliant personalities as the Būyid wazīrs Abu 'l-Faḍl b. al-'Amīd and Ismā'il b. 'Abbād. At the same time the different religious currents of the time filtered through into the classes of the continually increasing Islāmic population, one centre preferring Shī'ite doctrines, another Mu'tazilitism, another traditionalism (*ahl al-ḥadīth*), and so on (cf. the geographers *passim*). Ḳarmāṭism was, however, severely suppressed, when it appeared in Khurāsān at the end of the ixth century, and though the Ḳarmāṭian propaganda had been strong in south-western Persia, its political successes were realised only on the opposite coast of al-Baḥrain. Ṣūfism likewise became widely spread in its different forms, developing peculiar types of Persian Ṣūfism as early as the xth century; the life story of al-Ḥallādj shows equally the fertility of south-western Persia for Ṣūfī propaganda. All these germs were destined to bear fruit in later centuries, but on the whole the political distribution

of forces had already brought it about that western Persia, situated between Sunni Eastern Persia and Sunni 'Irāq and Mesopotamia, tended towards the Shī'a.

The xth century witnessed the rise of the Turks in Persia. Turkish troops had already formed large contingents in the armies of the governors and princes who disputed with each other parts of Irānian soil, not excluding the mountaineers who needed horsemen alongside their local foot-soldiers. It is true that already in Sāmānid times sections of Turkish tribes had been established south of the Djaiḥūn in Ṭukhāristān, but the main role of the Turks in Persia had always been that of soldiers and military commanders in the service of local governors and princes. In the Sāmānid state several Turks had risen to high military and administrative functions, and, as the military power of the Sāmānids began to weaken, these Turkish commanders aspired to political leadership, relying on their Turkish troops and using their natural capacity for military organisation. In this way the Turkish vassal of the Sāmānids, Subuktakīn, founded his independence in the newly conquered region of Ghazna and Kābul, where until then local Hindu rulers had been able to maintain themselves; his power soon became a menace to the Sāmānids themselves, who, in Transoxania, were continually losing ground to the Turkish Illek-khāns. Subuktakīn had been a Sāmānid governor in Khurāsān, and it was after his death (997) that his son Maḥmūd of Ghazna (999—1030) took the opportunity of establishing an independent power in Khurāsān, choosing Balkh for his capital at the outset. He extended his sway in Persia over Sistān and as far as eastern Media, while his conquests in India and Transoxania gave a strong backing to the consolidation of his power in Irān. Maḥmūd had asked the caliph for a diploma of investiture and was noted as a champion of Sunnism. Under his reign the new cultural Persian-Islāmic tradition of the Sāmānids was continued; his court was a centre of Persian court poets and whatever his personal relations with Firdawsī may have been, they show at any rate that his states offered congenial soil for the renaissance of Persian traditions. The name of al-Birūnī is sufficient to show also that the noblest and highest form of Islāmic scholarship could flourish under his reign. And his immense popularity in later Persian Ṣūfī poetry has made this Turkish ruler a cultural Persian hero. The final islāmisation of the Kābul country was the work of the Ghaznawids. In western Irān in the meantime, the later Būyids were able to maintain themselves with less brilliance; apart from the Ghaznawids they were seriously weakened in Fāris by the Shabānkara Kurds in the first half of the xth century. Yet conditions did not hinder the prosperity of Persian literature and science (Avicenna).

The rise of the Ghaznawids was only the prelude to the Turkish invasion under the house of Seljūk, by which Seljūkid rule became established in Persia and beyond. This time the Turks, mostly called Ghuzz, had begun, since 1029, to migrate into eastern and northern Persia, in spite of the opposing measures of the Sāmānids and the Ghaznawids. Within seventeen years from his first appearance in Khurāsān (1038), their leader Tughril Bek had overrun the whole north of Persia, and made his entrance into Baghdād (1055).

At the same time the power of the remaining Ziyārids and of the different Būyid dynasties was entirely crushed; the Irānian possessions of the Ghaznawid power were considerably reduced, and thus nearly the whole of Persia was united again under the Turkish dynasty of the Seldjūks, whose members divided amongst them the different provinces: Khurāsān, Sistān with Herāt, Kirmān, Fāris and Ādharbāidjān. Tughril Bek fixed his residence at al-Raiy, he and his successors being called the Great Seldjūk, in contrast to the minor Seldjūk dynasties. The last Great Seldjūk, Sandjar (1117—1157), though an able ruler, was real master only in Khurāsān and had already to face new factors in Persia, which, after his death, brought about a political disintegration that could only be arrested by the Mongol conquest.

The Turkish invasion, which brought nomadic Turks into nearly all parts of Persia, where they found conditions suited to their mode of life, and which in many regards may be compared with the Arab invasion, did not make of Persia a Turkish country, as was the case with Transoxania and Asia Minor, with the exception only of Ādharbāidjān. The young Persian cultural renaissance had gathered enough vital force to assimilate the ruling Turkish elements, and this to such a degree that, until the xiiith century, the Seldjūks continued to spread Persian culture in Asia Minor. The nomadic Ghuzz did not find the opportunity, as elsewhere, to assert themselves otherwise than as a very turbulent element, which in the xiiith century became threatening even to the Seldjūks themselves. The influence of their certainly not very orthodox Islāmic religious views on the religious history of Persia has certainly not a little contributed to the spreading of Shī'ite ideas. The Seldjūks themselves continued the tradition of the Sāmānids and Ghaznawids by becoming champions of Sunnism. The minister Nizām al-Mulk is an outstanding figure among the many personalities of Persian descent who were the pillars of the political, religious and literary currents of the time. Under his patronage worked al-Ghazālī, the scene of whose later activity was Nishāpūr in Khurāsān. Persia had acquired at this time an importance as a seat of Islāmic culture equal to that of Irāk and other parts of the Islāmic world. The theological colleges founded by Nizām al-Mulk (Baghdād and Nishāpūr) were the crowning work of the Sunni Islāmic civilisation, but involved at the same time a consolidation by which religious and cultural ideals were fixed and anchored for the centuries to come. The early Seldjūk period shows also a continuation of the best of Muḥammadan scientific activity in Persia, for which we have to quote only 'Umar-i Khayyām.

Western Persia, however, asserted her non-Sunni tradition by the Ismā'īlī propaganda which resulted in the capture of the stronghold of Alamūt near Qazwīn by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ in 1091. The sources of this propaganda were in the East (Nāsir-i Khusraw) and the West (Egypt) alike, but its real political effects were concentrated, as far as Persia is concerned, in al-Djibāl, Fāris and Khūzistān and, in a less degree, in the east in Kūhistān, where about the same time a number of fortresses were acquired by the Ismā'ilites. Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and his successors became a political power in western Irān, especially in al-Djibāl, against which the Seldjūks were more and more

powerless, and which was crushed only by the Mongol invasion.

The Seldjūks had established in their dominions a system of hereditary military fiefs (*ikhṣā'*) with the object of being able to dispose of an army commanded by reliable chiefs. The consequence of this system was the loosening of the central power which was supplanted in course of time by a number of independent military governors, who are known in history as *atabeks*. On Persian soil the chief Atabek dynasties were those of Ādharbāidjān (since 1146), of Luristān (since 1148), of Yazd (since 1170), and the Atabek dynasty of the Ṣalgharids in Fāris (since 1137), who annexed also Kirmān after the extinction of the ruling Seldjūks of Kirmān. In the southern parts of Fāris and Kirmān the Shabānkara continued their irregular authority. In Khurāsān the Seldjūks were eclipsed after Sandjar's death by the Khwārizmshāhs, and simultaneously these rose into prominence the Ghōrid dynasty, originating in the mountains of al-Ghōr and al-Dāwar. It was the Ghōrids who, by taking Ghazna in 1149, put an end to Ghaznawid rule in Persia; they likewise extended to Sistān and the country of Bust, and to the north, Bāmiyān and eastern Khurāsān. Later on they too lost the greater part of their possessions to the Khwārizmshāhs. Sometimes the Ghōrids were allied with the wandering Ghuzz, and sometimes they fought the latter; on the whole the devastations wrought by the Ghōrids and their temporary allies mark the beginning of the cultural decline in north-eastern Irān.

This decline was hastened by the Mongol invasions. After the Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad had come into conflict with Čingiz Khān (1218), the Mongols first took possession of his lands in Transoxania, of which their appearance in Khurāsān was the political and military consequence. In the campaign of 1220—1221 the Mongol generals Djebé and Subutai conquered Khurāsān and the northern part of western Persia as far as Ādharbāidjān, driving the Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad to the island of Abiskūn in the Caspian, where he died, and forcing his son Djalāl al-Dīn to cross the Indus. The great towns of Khurāsān were devastated in a way that made it impossible for them to recover their ancient splendour; the population must have been considerably reduced by the wholesale massacres, and the works of art and literature were destroyed. The conquered cities were immediately placed under Mongol administration; where the population revolted, as in Hamadhān, there followed a pitiless massacre. The conquered territories were annexed to the part of the Mongol empire given to Čaghatai. Southern Persia was spared for the moment; in Kirmān the Mongol emissary Burāk Hādhib founded in 1224 an almost independent state. Soon afterwards Djalāl al-Dīn reappeared from India to make his turbulent way to Ādharbāidjān and Armenia without being able to drive out the Mongols. Then, in 1256, came the second invasion of Mongol armies under Hūlāgū, brother of the reigning Khān Mangu. This expedition had been carefully prepared and was directed against the Ismā'īlī heretics in Persia and against the caliphate in Baghdad, which was exterminated in 1258. Whatever the real political and religious motives for the expedition of Hūlāgū, the friend of the Christians, may have been, its results were of immense consequence for eastern Islām in general.

Persia was entirely subdued and came to form the greater part of the dominions of the non-Islāmic Mongol dynasty of the *Ilkhāns*, who resided most of the time in *Ādharbāidjān* (after 1306 in *Sulṭāniya*). By the end of the xiiith century the smaller existing dynasties, such as the *Salgharid* atabeks of *Fāris* and the *Kutluḡ Khāns* of *Kirmān* were also extinguished.

By the terrible devastations in *Khurāsān* these regions ceased to be a hearth of national Persian Islāmic culture and this role now was taken over by the west. At the same time these political events had loosened the ties with the western Islāmic centres which at the time were wholly absorbed by the action against the Crusaders. Moreover by the extermination of the *Ismā'īlī* power and the uncertain attitude of the *Ilkhāns* towards Islām and its different aspects, Persian Islām passed in this period through a profound crisis, and many conflicting currents were at work. In this period lived in *Ardabil* the *Shāikh* *Ṣafī al-Dīn* (1252—1334), the ancestor of the *Ṣafawid* dynasty. Still the Persian national character maintained itself and assimilated the many new foreign elements, mostly Turkish, so far as these were capable of advance to a higher cultural level. Great Persian poets (*Sa'dī*) flourished, and the *Ilkhāns* showed an interest in the achievements of Islāmic science (*Nasīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī*) and literature (*Rashīd al-Dīn*).

During the *Ilkhān* period (1265—1337) Persia was considered by the European Christian powers as their ally against Egypt, now the chief champion of Islām in the west. But although the political opposition between the *Ilkhān* empire and western Islām became a living reality, any attempt to organize and propagate Christianity in Persia by the institution of bishoprics was fruitless. Persia was opened, however, to closer contact with the European world than ever had been the case in Islāmic times, not so much by the series of well-known travellers who passed through Persia on their way to the centre of the Mongolian Empire, as through the establishing of commercial settlements by the Italian republics in *Ādharbāidjān* for the overland commerce from their establishments on the Black Sea (*Trebizond*) through *Armenia* and Persia to Central Asia.

After the death of *Abū Sa'd* (1335) the dynasty of the *Ilkhāns* came to an end in the quarrels between the *Djalā'ir* and *Čübān* families. *Abū Sa'd* had already had great difficulty in maintaining the unity of his state, especially in his struggle against the influential amīr *Čübān*. Further the later *Ilkhāns* had already had to suffer the existence of semi-independent dynasties, such as the *Ḳurt* dynasty at *Herāt*, the only large town in *Khurāsān* that had escaped Mongol devastation. Other powerful commanders, who had served the *Ilkhāns*, found during the troubles after *Abū Sa'd*'s death opportunity to aspire to political independence; the most successful were the *Muzaffarids* in *Fāris* and *Kirmān*, a dynasty of Arab extraction, who from about 1340 until their destruction by *Timūr* in 1392 held sway in southern Persia and for some time as far as Persian *Irāk* (*al-Djibāl*) and *Ādharbāidjān*. Further *Ādharbāidjān* was now in the power of the *Khān* of the Golden Horde and now in that of the *Djalā'ir* dynasty of *Baghdād*. Eastern Persia was mainly divided between the *Ḳurt* dynasty of *Herāt* already mentioned and the *Serbedār* clan who had their centre in *Sebzevār*.

In these chaotic times, when the authority of political power was waning, the more popular and, in a way, democratic elements in Persia, gained more opportunity of asserting themselves, as may be seen from the rather independent way in which the citizens of different towns behaved towards the quarrelling rulers. This self-assertion of democratic elements is also to be observed in Asia Minor, but on the culturally more fertilized soil of western *Irān*, it bore the fruit of a brilliant literary development in the xivth and xvth centuries, which at first sight may seem astonishing in such unfavourable political surroundings. This development was accompanied by an intensification of the religious currents that were at work among the population, where it was strongly influenced by the lower forms of *Ṣūfism* as propagated by derwishes. In the case of the *Serbedārs* in *Khurāsān* the derwish activity had even political consequences and here also is a striking parallel with conditions in Asia Minor. Higher *Ṣūfism* was confined to the upper classes and expressed itself in literature, by which we are able to follow the different trends of thought. From the poems of *Hāfiz* we learn that the *Shr'ā* creed of the *ithnā 'ashariya* was already widely spread and that the tomb of '*Alī al-Riḍā*' in *Meshhed* had become an object of national veneration.

At the end of the xivth century followed a fearful political reaction in the conquest of Persia by *Timūr Lang*, another foreign intervention which for the last time held up the development of a national state in Persia. *Timūr*, after conquering for himself an empire in Central Asia, founded on his descent from *Čingiz Khān* a claim to the domination of Persia. In 1370 he had already conquered *Balkh*; in 1380 he subdued *Khurāsān*, *Sistān* and *Māzandarān*, and in 1383—1384 he completed the conquest by taking *Ādharbāidjān*, Persian *Irāk*, and finally *Fāris* by exterminating the dynasty of the *Muzaffarids* (1392). The *Serbedārs* had already been swept away and in 1389 disappeared the *Ḳurt* dynasty at *Herāt*. The most bloody event during this conquest was the sack of *Isfahān* in 1387. *Timūr* never resided for long in Persia, but confided its government to some of his sons, notably *Shāhrukh*, who became "king" in *Khurāsān* and *Sistān* as early as 1397. In *Ādharbāidjān* reigned *Mirānshāh*, not altogether to the satisfaction of his father. After *Timūr*'s death (1405) the political unity of the empire was on the whole preserved under *Shāhrukh* (d. 1447), who sought to repair much of the devastation wrought by his father's campaigns. *Shāhrukh* still recognized nominally as his suzerain the emperor of China. After his death different descendants of *Timūr*, the *Timūrids*, disputed with each other parts of Persia, while after 1450 the dynasties of the *Ḳara Ḳoyunlu* emerged from the west to dominate large parts of Persia. The best known *Timūrid* in Persia was *Sulṭān Ḥusain Baīkara*, who ruled from his capital *Herāt* over *Khurāsān*, *Sistān* and *Djurdjān* from 1468 to 1506.

Timūr's reign in Persia meant also a Sunni reaction, but in western and middle Persia this reaction was not lasting. Among the many heterodox religious manifestations of this time is the appearance of the *Hurūfī* sect, one of whose adherents tried to murder *Shāhrukh* in *Herāt* in 1426. This religious movement was suppressed by the government, but it had, like similar currents,

strong connections towards the west, through Ādharbāidjān into Asia Minor, where at this time the Sunni power of the Ottomans was re-establishing and strengthening itself to oppose the heterodox influence emanating from Persia. Meantime Persian cultural life continued to manifest itself in the important literature produced in western Persia, while also in the Caucasian countries and Muḥammadan India Persian cultural and literary influence was reaching its climax. This was not the case in Khurāsān; here, in the intellectual centre of Herāt, developed at this time the eastern Turkish Ġaghatai literature, promoted by 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī at Ḥusain Baiḳara's court at Herāt. Although the Persian-Islāmic tradition continued its influence in these regions, eastern Persia begins to be culturally separated from the west under influence of the Turkish and local elements; a development similar to that witnessed at the same time in Asia Minor and the regions of Arabic tongue in Mesopotamia and 'Irāk.

The events that preceded the rise of the Ṣafawid dynasty have Ādharbāidjān as their chief scene of action. It was in Ādharbāidjān that Kara Yūsuf of the Kara Ḳoyunlu dynasty began his career by taking Tabriz in 1406, and that his successors had the centre of their empire, which, under Djāhānshāh (1435—1467), extended over nearly all western Persia and in the east as far as Herāt. And it was through Ādharbāidjān that Uzun Ḥasan of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu penetrated Persia, after his victory over Djāhānshāh in 1467. Then he defeated the last Timūrid Abū Sa'īd and became master of western Persia, inaugurating in the meantime the series of wars with the Ottoman Turks, that were to last for three centuries. The successors of Uzun Ḥasan had already come into conflict with the Ṣafawid leaders Shaikh Ḥaidar and Sultān 'Alī, who about this time had acquired enormous influence in Ādharbāidjān and Asia Minor. The Ṣafawid movement began indeed in a much more democratic way than the preceding dynasties. Its chief adherents belonged to seven tribal groups of Turkish origin, amongst whom Shī'ite convictions had been spread by means of Sūfi propaganda methods. This ever-increasing flock acquired at this time the celebrated nickname of Ḳīzīl-Bash. Thus their political rising under Shāh-Isma'īl was again a reaction against the official orthodoxy of the ruling classes, a reaction in which it was not difficult to enlist the Persian town population of western Īrān, since olden times ready to accept non-official and unorthodox religious views, by which at the same time they showed their dislike for foreign rule. These different elements gave a Persian "national" character to the Ṣafawī dynasty, although their leaders were Turks from turcicized Ādharbāidjān. Shāh Isma'īl, on emerging from his hiding place in Djīlān, gained his first success in the Caucasus against the king of Shīrwān, and this made him strong enough to turn his arms against the last ruler of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, whom he defeated in the battle of Shūrūr (1501). By 1510 he was master of western Persia, and in addition of Armenia, Mesopotamia and 'Irāk (Baghdād taken in 1508) with the holy tombs of the imāms in Nadjaf and Karbalā'. He then turned to eastern Persia, where a new invasion from Transoxania was threatening, after the death of Sultān Ḥusain Baiḳara at Herāt (1506), by the rise of the Uzbek power under Shaibānī Khān. The latter had already invaded Khurāsān, and had he not been

defeated and killed in the battle of Marw (1510) by Shāh Isma'īl, Persia might have experienced a fourth wave of conquest from Central Asia. Then followed in 1514 the famous battle of Čāldirān; the defeat suffered here by Shāh Isma'īl from the army of Selim I showed where the political frontiers of the Ṣafawīs were henceforward to be; the wave of sympathy that had spread west from Ādharbāidjān far into Asia Minor was ruthlessly suppressed by the Ottoman Sultāns and Čāldirān showed that any political extension of Persia in this direction was impossible.

Thus the important events of Isma'īl's career determined the field of action of the Ṣafawī dynasty, which was to last until 1736. Religious and cultural traditions and geographical necessity gave this dynasty the character of a "national" dynasty, and the long period of its existence, together with the religious isolation of their empire, contributed not a little to the coming into existence of a real Persian "nation", that overcame the troublesome period of the xviiith century and asserted itself ever more vigorously during the xixth. The nature of the country, however, was not favourable to a rapid development in this direction. The many nomadic elements of Īrānian, Turkish and Arab origin kept much longer to their own traditions, and the disconnectedness of the various inhabited centres could not but weaken the authority of the government. Throughout Ṣafawid rule, the kings had to reckon with the existence of half independent governors and tribal formations, from which came the powerful nobles and courtiers. In the time of Tahmāsp I some Georgian nobles, relatives of the king, were in a dominant position, but on the whole it was the Ḳīzīl-Bash clans who formed at times a dangerous power in the state, while nevertheless the kings were dependent on these elements for the defence of the country. It was only during the reign of 'Abbās I that something of a royal militia (the Shāh-sewan) could be formed, while on the other hand the army was reinforced by European artillery. Therefore the civil and military administration of the country never acquired even such a regularity and a cohesion as is witnessed in the Ottoman Empire; the Ṣafawids had to suffer for instance the permanent establishment of the Portuguese in Hormuz (1507—1622) and afterwards of the English, but this did not yet conflict with the state conceptions of that time. Governmental authority could only be maintained in the interior by the utmost severity, as was practised notably by 'Abbās I. For the same reason the frontiers of the Ṣafawid empire in east and west were never very stable, although gradually a demarcation takes place. The eastern part of Khurāsān and the regions to the south of it, long since culturally disconnected from western Persia, never returned to the Ṣafawids. Balkh and Marw were under the almost unbroken domination of the Uzbeks ('Abbās I only temporarily occupied Balkh in 1598), while Kābul and Qandahār belonged from the beginning to the empire of the Great-Mughals of India, Qandahār being only temporarily held by the Ṣafawids. Only Herāt was for most of the time under their control, and far into the xixth century Persia had not abandoned her claim to this town. All this makes clear why eastern Īrān, after the extinction of the Uzbek and the Mughal power did not return to Shī'ite Persia, but came to form at last an independent state

under the Afghān rulers. Only western *Khurāsān*, with the shrine of Meshhed, and *Sistān* remained an integral part of *Ṣafawid* and consequently of modern Persia. In the west the Ottoman Turks and the Persians disputed with each other in a continual series of campaigns, interrupted by temporary peaces, the large band of territory stretching from the Persian Gulf to Georgia. In the xvth century the Turks won and occupied *Ādharbāidjān*, *Mesopotamia* and *‘Irāk*. Under *Abbās I* most of the lost territory was recovered, but the recapture of *Baghdād* by *Murād IV* in 1638 made an end of Persian domination in the *Tigris* valley, while *Ādharbāidjān* and parts of *Armenia* and *Georgia* remained to Persia. In 1668 took place the first conflict with *Russia* through a descent of *Cossacks* upon *Māzandarān*.

Since the beginning of *Isma‘īl’s* career the *Shrīte* creed had been forcibly imposed on the settled population and a regular persecution of all *Sunnite* theologians had begun. This persecution was accompanied by a repression of all *Sūfi* manifestations, whereby the new state religion took at last the aspect of a fanatical and intolerant church, whose ministers, the *Shrīte* divines, repressed all utterances of free thought. *Browne* ascribes to this development the sudden poorness of literary production in *Ṣafawid* Persia. In these circumstances Persia became much isolated from the surrounding *Islāmic* countries, but on the other hand the enemies of the Ottoman power in Europe looked upon Persia as a valuable ally in their common efforts to crush that power. To this was due the forming of friendly diplomatic connections with European powers, such as *Venice* and *Spain*, who, in addition, sought to profit by commercial relations. These relations, together with the political necessity of securing their colonial establishments in *India* and beyond, led other European states also to take up friendly relations with the *Ṣafawid* court, namely the *English*, the *Dutch* and the *French*, after the *Portuguese* had been driven from the *Persian Gulf*. The European envoys, amongst whom the *Sherley* brothers are most notable during ‘*Abbās I’s* reign, were well received, and established the first real contact between Persia and European civilisation. These relations also provoked the sending of some memorable Persian embassies to Europe. The political reasons that had brought the European sea powers to the *Persian Gulf* prevented Persia, however, from ever becoming a maritime power; even the endeavour of ‘*Abbās I* to make of the newly founded *Bender ‘Abbās* a great maritime commercial town remained unrealized.

Most of the *Ṣafawid* kings had very long reigns, for which the not uncommon practice of killing possible pretenders amongst the royal family was probably responsible. The most brilliant reign was that of ‘*Abbās I* (1587—1629), who transferred his residence from *Qazwīn* to *Isfahān*, which, by his buildings, became a splendid royal city. His successors profited by his work. After the middle of the xvth century Persia was passing through a peaceful period, owing mainly to the weakening of its neighbours. Conditions at this time are well known by a series of European travel accounts. The same peaceful conditions had allowed, however, the establishment at *Ḳandahār* in 1709 of a *Sunni* rebellious movement, which was opposed in vain by the *Ṣafawid* king *Ḥusain* and was the beginning of the *Afghān* state. In 1722 the

Afghān army of *Mir Maḥmūd* conquered *Isfahān*, after which the *Afghāns* were masters in Persia for about eight years. At last the *Ṣafawid* successors of *Ḥusain* were able to liberate the country through the help of their general *Nādir Ḳulī* of the *Afshar* tribe who, in 1736, made himself king of Persia as *Nādir Shāh*. At that time he had already restored to Persia the cities in *Ādharbāidjān* and *Georgia* that had been taken by the Turks and likewise *Rasht* and *Bākū*, occupied by *Russia*. After his coronation he set out on his invasion of *India* and the *Afghān* country, but his reign had brought so little stability that, after his murder in 1747, there followed a period of general lawlessness in Persia. The *Afghāns* regained strength, but allowed *Nādir’s* blinded grandson *Shāhrukh* to reign over *Khurāsān*. The failure of *Nādir Shāh* to establish a lasting dynasty was also due to his endeavours to abolish the *Shrīte* religious practices, but in this he met a determined opposition from the people and their spiritual leaders. After *Nādir’s* assassination there was hardly any question of restoring a *Ṣafawid* to the throne. The real power devolved on *Karīm Khān Zand*, who resided mostly in *Shiraz* and who succeeded in uniting Persia during a benevolent reign; in his time the troubles on the ‘*Irākian* frontier led even to the conquest of *Baṣra*. His death in 1779 occasioned a dispute for the throne among his descendants. *Agha Muḥammad Khān* of the *Qājār* tribe round *Astarābād* profited from these troubles by bringing with much cunning and much cruelty the entire empire under his control. He was finally enthroned in *Teherān* in 1796 and was assassinated in 1797. With him began the *Qājār* dynasty, which reigned until 1925.

At the beginning of *Afghān* rule *Russia* had occupied *Derbend* and *Rasht*, while *Turkey* had invaded the country as far as *Hamadḥān*; the *Afghān* ruler *Ashraf*, however, and after him *Nādir Shāh* succeeded in recovering the occupied territories. A second Turkish attack in 1740 was equally thrown back by *Nādir*. During the second half of the century *Russia* and *Turkey* were too much occupied with each other to pay attention to Persia. The political development in the north-east had eliminated direct danger from the *Uzbek* states, but now the lawless *Turcomans* north of *Khurāsān* had become by their raids the terror of the *Persian* population; *Agha Muḥammad Khān* inflicted serious blows upon them. With the coming of the *Qājārs*, however, the international situation grew much more difficult, owing to Persia’s becoming involved in world-wide political struggles. Until 1814 the alliance of Persia was an object of dispute between *England*, whose position in *India* made *Persian* friendship a vital question, and the *France* of *Napoleon*, who schemed an invasion of *India* with the aid of the *Russian* army. In 1814 the *French* threat disappeared and *England* concluded a treaty with Persia. But the struggle with *Russia* for the possession of *Georgia*, which had begun already in 1812, soon led to military disasters and finally to the loss of all territory to the north of the *Araxes* by the peace treaty of *Turkmançai* (1828). From this time on begins the rivalry between *Russia* and *England*, the latter country’s policy being to prevent Persia, now politically under strong *Russian* influence, from gaining strength. *Great Britain* opposed for this reason any extension of *Persian* territory in

Afghānistān; it prevented the capture of Herāt — a cherished Persian ideal — in 1838, and, when Herāt was really taken in 1856, went even so far as to declare war on Persia and to land troops in the Persian Gulf; at the peace treaty of 1857 in Paris, Persia had to abandon her claims. In the meantime Russia's position grew ever stronger; a Russian naval base was founded in the bay of Astarābād, and by the Russian conquest of Khīwa and Bukhārā, completed by the subjugation of the Tekke Turkomans in 1881, and the acquisition of the Marw oasis, the Russian Empire had attained an enormous military and political ascendancy over Persia, to which was added the Russian influence in northern Afghānistān and Turkish Armenia. Persia was not able to assert entirely its political freedom, but it gained for the first time well-defined frontiers; difficulties with Turkey in Irāk (massacre of Persians at Kerbelā) had led to the fixing of the Turkish-Persian frontier in 1843 (followed by a rectification in 1913), while the eastern frontiers with Afghānistān and Balūčistān were defined by the Anglo-Perso-Afghān boundary commission in 1872; these measures had been mainly necessitated by the establishing of a telegraph line through Persia to India. During the long reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (1844–1894) international conditions remained stable, to which the on the whole untroubled domestic situation also contributed, but when, under his successor, conditions became less secure, owing to inner political and financial troubles, the intervention of the two great Powers became more threatening. It took the shape of the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1907, which practically divided Persia into a northern and a southern sphere of influence.

During the sixteenth century indeed the Qādjār dynasty had been able to rule Persia in the traditional way, succeeding in checking the action of the troublesome tribes and their chiefs by profiting from their eternal discords. The influence of the higher Shī'ite religious leaders, over whose nomination the government had no authority whatever, and who resided for the greater part in the religious centres of Kerbelā and Najaf, was supreme among the population, although some divergent theological trends had developed, such as the Shāikhī's, since the beginning of the sixteenth century. This more spiritualized sect finally paved the way for the appearance of the Bāb in 1844; the Bābī movement for some years took the aspect of a religious-political rebellion, which the government had to suppress with bloody measures. Since then Bābism and afterwards the movement of the Bahā'īs to which it gave rise, disappeared from the surface, but remained all the time a living factor in the national-religious life of the Persians. This contributed not a little to the awakening of a more independent political attitude among the more educated classes of the population, who generally found the higher divines at their side in their increasing criticism of government actions. The pan-Islāmic propaganda of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī also furnished elements to the awakening public opinion. Thus the bad inner conditions that had developed under Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh and the consequences of the foreign loans contracted by that ruler brought about a popular action that led to the granting of a constitution and the opening of the first National Assembly (*Madjlis*) in October 1906. The succeeding Shāh's reactionary policy ended with his dethronement in

1909, but the troubles connected with the accompanying revolutionary movement gave opportunity to the Russians to occupy Tabriz and Qazvin, while at the same time the Persian government was obliged to use foreigners in different branches of its administration (gendarmerie, finances, customs). During the world war Persia was officially neutral, but the German scheme of attacking Great Britain in India gave rise to an at first successful German propaganda in Southern Persia in 1915. On the other hand Russian troops were landed at Enzeli and these opposed the Turkish advance into Persia, which had begun in 1916 by the taking of Kirmānshāh. In this same year began the British counter-action in Southern Persia by the formation of the South Persian Rifles. When by the Russian revolution the action of the Russian troops was crippled, British troops landed in the Gulf and succeeded in checking the Turkish advance in the western frontier region and in repressing, together with Russian troops, the local opposition of the Jangalis in Gilān. Finally in 1918 the British had great difficulty in opposing a similar national rising in Shīrāz, headed by the Kashkay tribe.

Persia was evacuated after the war and became from the outset a member of the League of Nations. A treaty with Great Britain in 1919 re-established British influence, but the coup d'état of that same year suddenly changed Persia's internal and external policy. Saiyid Diyā' al-Dīn and Riḍā Khān assumed forcibly the leadership of the government. Riḍā Khān became minister of war and proved to be the strong man needed. His chief achievement during the following years was the subjugation and disarmament of the turbulent tribes, and the forming of a reliable army of 40,000 men. In 1923 he became Prime Minister, Aḥmad Shāh Qādjār left the country and was deposed in October 1925 by the Madjlis, whereby the Qādjār dynasty was brought to an end. At the end of the same year the scruples of many sections of the population against a new dynasty were dispelled and the dictator became king of Persia under the name Pahlavī; he was crowned on April 25, 1926.

Persia's internal situation has been much improved by the action of the present king, while the exploitation of the oil wells in 'Arabistān has secured the government a profit that has not a little contributed to its financial liberty of action. The finances have been moreover controlled by an American adviser since 1923 and since 1928 by a German adviser. As to the currents of spiritual culture, the intellectual classes are abandoning the traditional religious views and this secular movement is favoured by the government; in connection therewith the influence of the divines is declining. On the other hand, the interest awakened towards the end of the sixteenth century for pre-Islāmic Persia has given a new direction to national sentiment, expressing itself amongst others in literary occupation with ancient Irānian subjects and a great interest in excavations, the results of which are no longer allowed to leave the country.

The present ethnographical structure of Persia is quite different from what it was before the Arab conquest, owing to the repeated invasion of foreign elements during the thirteen centuries of its Islāmic history. The combined existence of a sedentary and a nomadic or semi-nomadic population, however, is a feature proper to the geographical conditions of the country and has continued up to the present

day. The general tendency of the nomadic elements to become settled, which can be observed all the time, was repeatedly counteracted by fresh invasions of nomads, chiefly from the north-east. At present the proportion of the nomads to the settled population is estimated to be 20⁰/₀. The development of urban settlement is a feature proper to Islāmic times; it began with the expansion of the population outside the walls into the *rabaḍs* (cf. al-Balādhuri, p. 324). From that time on the Persian name for a town became *shahr*, which word had designated originally an entire region or country. The Arabs often placed their garrisons in less important places, which subsequently overshadowed the ancient centres. In the course of history many towns were devastated, but were generally rebuilt on or near the spot of the ancient ruins. Since the later Middle Ages great Islāmic towns like al-Raiy and the towns of Kirmān have disappeared, to be replaced by formerly less significant places; among the latter are Teherān, Tabriz and Mashhad, at present the largest towns of Persia. The townspeople, composed of craftsmen and merchants, have been in history the passive and suffering element, together with the rural population of the villages clustered together in the oases. This settled population was generally regarded with scorn by the tribesmen, who were the aristocrats, and from whom until modern times were recruited the ruling classes and the high officials. From the tribes have also been recruited the best soldiers in the armies.

At present the largest towns in Persia are Teherān (210,000 inh.), Tabriz (200,000), Isfahān (90,000) and Mashhad (70,000). The town population has been constituted in the course of centuries from the very different invading ethnic elements. They now constitute the most stable element in Persia and speak, with local dialectic variations, the New-Persian language, which runs more or less parallel with the written New Persian. Only in Ādharbāidjān Ādhari Turkish is the language of the townsfolk and the peasants.

The rural population of the villages around the towns have kept many particular local features of their own and amongst them many remnants of other Irānian dialectal groups have been preserved, a fact which is already noted in ancient Islāmic historical and geographical sources. In north-eastern Persia the different dialectal groups of these peasants are called Tāt, while in southern and eastern Persia they are often designated as Tādjik.

Among the rural population, however, and in a less degree amongst the townsfolk, there are many elements that are conscious of their allegiance to tribal formations, mostly so in regions where the population of the neighbourhood still possesses the tribal organisation. These settled members of the tribes are often called *shahr-nishīn*, *dih-nishīn* and *shahrā-nishīn*.

As to the tribes themselves, called *iliyāt* in Persia, they nearly always occupy a definite territory nowadays, on which many members of the tribe have become entirely settled, while the others are no more than semi-nomads who, in summer, go with their cattle to the higher mountain regions. Nomadism is not extinct, however, and anywhere in the Persian steppes the black tents of nomads may be seen occasionally.

The origin of the tribes is an extremely complicated problem. In almost every region they have resulted from a mixture of pre-Irānian, Irānian, Arabic and

Turkish-Mongolic elements. In northern Persia the Turkish element is no doubt the dominating, as judged by the language; here the redoubtable mountaineers of the Dailam and the Djl, who so long withstood Islāmization and had still in the Middle Ages a language of their own, have mostly been turcicized, in so far as they have not been assimilated by the Irānian settled population. In the mountain region stretching from Ādharbāidjān to Fāris and Kirmān, the Irānian element is largely prevalent, again so far as we can judge from the languages spoken there. The local traditions circulating among those tribes, and about those tribes among the neighbouring populations, have often preserved the memory of extensive migrations that betray a partial Turkish or Arab origin. Some groups are even known as Turkish, although they speak Irānian dialects. Other tribes are still conscious of their Arab origin, although they no doubt have already been irānized for centuries; only a few tribes in Kūhistān and Khurāsān have preserved the Arabic language. But those local traditions, which never go back more than two hundred years at most, often do not square with what we may regard as established facts from historical sources. It is true, however, that even in recent historical times more or less important migrations of Irānian tribes have taken place. The movement of the Balūčis from the North-West to Kirmān and afterwards to modern Balūčistān had already begun in the early Middle Ages. In addition, reasons of military policy induced several rulers of the xviiith and xixth centuries to transplant some Kurdish tribes to the North-East; best known is the settlement of Kurdish tribes by Nādir Shāh on the Khurāsān frontier around Kučan and in Māzandarān, where they have still preserved their own features and their language. The only possible description of the tribes in Persia has therefore to be based on their geographical distribution.

With the mediaeval Arab geographers all the tribes in al-Djibāl and Fāris are included under the designation of Akrād, i. e. Kurds, but this general term has hardly any ethnographical value. At the present day the name of Kurds is generally restricted to the tribes inhabiting the environs of Kirmānshāh and further to the north into western Ādharbāidjān. South of Kirmānshāh begin the Lur tribes, to the west of whom, in the mountains between Persian 'Irāk and 'Arabistān live the Bakhtiyārī's. The northern mountains of Fāris are occupied by the Kūhgelu and the Mamāsani tribes. South of these, round Shirāz, live the Kashkāy, who still speak a Turkish dialect. In 'Arabistān, where in the Middle Ages the local *khuzi* language was not yet extinct, the Arab element of the settled population is strong; the Arab tribes here belong to the Ka'b division and consist for the greater part of 'Arabs transferred here from Naḍj under 'Abbās I. The tribes on the Gulf fringe, in Persian Balūčistān, and in Sistān are Balūči's who, since their immigration, have absorbed such inconsiderable local elements as the Kūfī, known from medieval sources. Further to the north there are Arabs in Kūhistān, notably around Kāin. There is further a not unimportant part of the population, who claim descent from the Prophet, and consequently an Arabic origin; these saiyids abound especially in Māzandarān, where there were 'Alid dynasties at an early period. In Persian Khurāsān there are also Arabs,

a few Afghān elements and the already mentioned Kurds on the frontier. Finally there live all along the northern frontier of Khurāsān Turkish tribes, some of whom have been there since the later Middle Ages, such as the Afshars and the Kādjars (round Astarābād), while the more recent element is composed of Turcomans.

Other ethnic elements are the Armenians in Persian Armenia in Ādharbāidjān, and the large Armenian colony in the suburb Djulfa of Isfahān transplanted there by 'Abbās I. The Nestorian Christians east of the Urmiya Lake have nearly disappeared as a result of the war. In 'Arabistān there are still remnants of Mandaean, and finally there are reported to be about 40,000 Jews in Persia, who for the greater part are probably descendants of the Jews who lived already in Persia in the beginning of the Islāmic period and among whom notably the Jewish colony of al-Yahūdiya at Isfahān was well-known.

The great mass of the inhabitants of Persia, including in the first place the townspeople and the settled population, but also many members of the tribes of ancient Turkish origin, belong to the Imāmite Shī'ā (the Ithnā 'Ashariya) and follow the *madhhab* called Dja'fari. Their number is estimated at little less than 7 millions. About a million of them are the so-called Akhbāriyūn, living in Hamadān and al-Ahwāz and environs, who recognize only the authority of the traditions of the Prophet and the Imāms. Other Shī'ite sects are the Shaikhīya (about 250,000) and the Nuqtawīya (about 100,000 in Gilān, of Zaidite origin). The Bābis and the far more numerous Bahā'is are represented in all towns and reach together about the number of 700,000. The extreme Shī'ites called 'Alī Ilāhī or Ahl-i Ḥaqq are found among the Kurds round Kirmānshāh, among the Lurs, and partly in Māzandarān and Khurāsān; their number amounts to 300,000. Half that number is given for the adherents of the Ismā'ili Hūrūfī sect, spread all over Persia. There are also some Yazidis on Persian soil near Mākū. Sunni (Shāfi'ite) Muḥammadans are found only among the Kurds and the Arabs, the Turcomans and the Afghāns, these latter being Ḥanafites (about 85,000). Finally there are still remnants of the Zoroastrian creed at Yazd, Kirmān, Teherān, Shīrāz and Kāshān.

The entire population of Persia is given as 12,000,000. This last figure is given on the authority of the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; the other figures given are derived from the *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, 3rd edition 1929.

Bibliography: In view of the general character of the above article it is sufficient to refer for all detailed bibliographical information to the historical, geographical and ethnographical articles dealing with Persia, and to the general bibliographical works on Persia: M. Schwab, *Bibliographie de la Perse*, Paris 1875, and A. T. Wilson, *A Bibliography of Persia*, Oxford 1930. (J. H. KRAMERS)

II. LANGUAGE AND DIALECTS.

Introduction. The Persian language is one member, now the most widely extended member, of a group of languages which are spoken over a region stretching from the River Euphrates to the East of the Hindu Kush, with branches in the Caucasus and in the Masandam Peninsula, 'Omān. It is convenient to group these languages, which

in turn form one group within the Indo-European languages, under the name Irānian, a designation from Irān, the modern national name of the Persians, as it was also earlier, in Sāsānian (*aryān, ērān*), and Achaemenid times (*ariya-*), and which is used also by the Ossetes (*ir, ira, iron*). Formerly these Irānian dialects were more widely extended, to the north of the Caspian Sea, from Chorasmia (Khwarizm) to the west of the Black Sea (see M. Vasmer, *Untersuchungen über die ältesten Wohnsitze der Slaven*, i., *Die Iranier in Südrussland*, 1923), and also to Sogdian colonies in Northern Mongolia (see O. Hansen, *Zur soghdischen Inschrift auf dem dreisprachigen Denkmal von Karabalgasun*, in *J. S. F. O.*, xlv., 1930).

Earliest sources. 1. Saka. Three divisions of the Saka are referred to in the Achaemenid inscriptions: *Sakā haumavargā*, *Sakā tigraxaudā*, *Sakā tyaii pa'radraya* (on the tomb inscriptions published in *J.R.A.S.*, 1932, p. 374: *Sakā para-draya*). They are the *Sakai* of Herodotos, and the *Sacae* of the Latin writers. At a later period they are attested in Sakastān (mod. Sīstān), and in the Saka kings of India. Names of Sakas are preserved in Greek and Latin authors, and the Middle Saka dialect is now largely known.

2. Chorasmia and Sogdiana. Both these countries are named in the Avesta (*xwārizm, suyda-*) and the Old Persian inscriptions ([*k*]wārazmīš, *sugda*), but the dialects are known only in later times.

3. Media. The Medes (Madai, Amadai) appear first 835 B.C. in the inscriptions of Shulmanusharidu III (see F. Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients*, 1926, p. 194). Names and some words are known in Greek (Herodotos quotes σάακα 'bitch'), and there are loanwords in Old Persian (*vispazana-*, cf. the *da-na-ish* of the Elamite version).

4. Persia. The Persian of Persis is well-known through the inscriptions of the Achaemenids (bibliography in J. H. Kramers, *A Classified List of the Achaemenian Inscriptions*, 1931; later publications are by E. Benveniste, in *B.S.L.*, xxxiii., 1932; xxxiv., 1933; R. G. Kent, in *J.A.O.S.*, liii., p. 1 sqq.; *Language*, ix., 1933 [March and September]; V. Scheil, *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique de Perse*, xxiv., 1933; A. W. Davis, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1932, p. 373–377; E. Herzfeld, *Kashfi Alwāh-i ta'rikhi, risāla of the Andjuman-i Āthār-i millī*, Tīhrān 1312).

5. The Avesta. To avoid too definite implications, it is usual to employ the designation 'language of the Avesta' (Pahl. 'ps't'k, Syr. 'bstg, Pāzand *awastā, awistā*, Arab. *abastāk, abastā, wastāk, bastāk*) for the language preserved in the oldest Zoroastrian texts. The considerable extent of these texts makes them the most important witness to the Old Irānian stage of the dialects, although they have been preserved in a late orthography¹). In spite however of continued discussion (see P. Tedesco, in *M.O.*, xv. 255 sqq.; H. Reichelt, *Iranisch*, p. 29, in *Geschichte der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft*, ii., 1927; G. Morgenstierne,

1) For convenience the transcription of the *G. I. Ph.* is here followed, but a revised orthography, more conformed to that of the Old Persian texts and the Greek and Akkadian transcriptions, would represent the Old Irānian form more satisfactorily (as e.g. *ahya* for *aīhē*).

Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan, 1926, p. 28 sqq.; J. Markwart, *Das erste Kapitel der Gāthā Ustavā*, 1930), it has proved impossible to point definitely to the provenance of this dialect (or possibly two dialects). The legendary matter of the Avesta points to Chorasmia as the earliest home of the Irānians (E. Benveniste, *L'Éran-vēz et l'origine légendaire des Iraniens*, in *B. S. O. S.*, 1934, vii. 265 sqq.), while the Zoroastrian traditions become closely associated with the region of the Haitumant (Hilmand) river (E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, i.-ii., 1929–1930; A. Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, 1932, p. 5).

A comparison of the linguistic development within the Avesta with all the other known dialects suffices to isolate Avestan. This may be briefly indicated. In Avestan *sp* (*aspa* 'horse') corresponds to Old Persian *s* (*asa* 'horse'), Saka *śś* (*aśsa* 'horse'), and Wakhi *š* (*yaš* 'horse'). Old Persian, Saka and Wakhi are therefore separated from Avestan from an early period. All other dialects have *sp*, but other tests suffice to exclude them. Avestan *hr* (*š*) < *rt*, *b* < *dy*, *sn* < *zn*, *sm* < *zm* exclude Sogdian (*mwrth* 'dead', *δṣr-* 'door', *γ'wzn-* 'antelope'), Yaghnābī (*ārt* 'flour', *divar* 'door') Mundji (*tuwṣr* 'door') Yāzgulāmi (*dvrur* 'door'), North-Western dialect forms (Turfan texts *ardāw* 'righteous', Pahlavi, New Persian *gavāzn* 'deer', New Persian *hēzum* 'fuel', Armenian loanword *mazdezn* 'worshipping Mazda'). Here again Pashtō, Ishkāshmi, Parāči and Ōrmuṛi agree with Avestan from *dy*, and the evidence of *rt* is indecisive (Pashtō *mar* 'dead', Ishkāshmi *mālak* 'man', Parāči *mur* 'died', Ōrmuṛi *mulluk* 'died'). Probably however Pashtō is excluded by *ft* > *wd* (*tawda* 'hot', Avestan *tapta-*), and by *yr-* (Pashtō *wrižē* 'rice'); Ishkāshmi by *ft* > *vd* (*ūvd* 'seven', Avestan *hapta*) and by *zn* > *zd* (*pāruzd* 'yesterday', *vōzd* 'cushion'); Ōrmuṛi by *yr-* (*rēzan* 'rice'); Parāči does not permit, in the absence of examples of *yr-* and *zn*, and in the development *ft* > *t* (*hōi* 'seven'), any decision. The negative conclusion is so far of interest that connection with the North-Western dialects is excluded.

6. It is possible that other dialects developed in the cities of Carmania (Strabo, xv. 2, 14 speaks of τῶν διαλέκτων τῶν Καρμανιτῶν), Arachosia, Areia and Margiana, but nothing survives.

Relationship with Indo-Aryan and Kāfirī dialects. The Old Irānian dialects stand in close connection with the Indo-Aryan languages of India, which are known in their oldest form (apart from the words of uncertain position within Indo-Īrānian history preserved in the Mitanni and Hittite documents, see N. D. Mironov, *Aryan Vestiges in the Near East of the Second Millenary B. C.*, in *Acta Orient.*, 1933; J. Friedrich, *Realexikon der Assyriologie*, 1929, i. 144 sqq.; A. Christensen, *Die Iranier*, 1933, p. 209 sqq.) in the Vedas, and with the modern Kāfirī dialects of Kāfiristān. The vocabulary of Indo-Aryan and Irānian is largely identical (*āp-* 'water', *vak-* 'speak', *martiya-* 'man', *kar-* 'do', *ā* 'up to', *pari* 'around', *tuvam* 'thou', *ka-* 'who'), so also is the morphology of verb and noun. Differences do however exist in vocabulary (Irānian *yār-* 'year', *gaub-* 'speak', *gad-* 'pray for', *snaig-* 'to snow'), and in morphology (Irānian *-sa* 2 sing. pret. middle, as Greek *-so*). In phonology the two groups have diverged in the oldest texts. To Sanskrit *ś ch j h* (*sata-* 'hundred', *chand-* 'to appear', *jan-* 'to

know', *deh-* 'to form') correspond Avestan *s z* (*sata-*, *sand-*, *zan-*, *daiz-*), and Old Persian *θ d* (*bard-* 'year', *band-* 'to appear', *dan-* 'know', *didā* 'fortress'); Sanskrit *g gh, d dh, b bh*, to Avestan, Old Persian *g d b*; Sanskrit *kh th ph* to Avestan, Old Persian *x θ f*; Sanskrit *ed edh, id idh, ud ūdh* to Avestan *azd, ižd, užd*; Sanskrit *tt ddh* to Avestan *st zd*.

The Kāfirī dialects of Katī, Ashkun, Prasun, Wāigali, are known only in a modern form from the sixteenth century, and adequately only this century (see Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, 1926, p. 39 sqq.; do., *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, 1932, p. 46 sqq.; do., *The Language of the Ashkun Kafirs*, in *N. T. S.*, ii. 192–289). The evidence of the Kāfirī dialects is important for the Indo-Īrānian period, in particular for the history of the sounds represented by the Kāfirī *ts* and *š*, *dz* and *z* corresponding to the Avestan *s z*, Old Persian *θ d*, Sanskrit *ś ch j h*. Thus Kati has *duts* 'ten', *šaru* 'autumn', *ūz*, *vuts* 'I'.

Periods of the Irānian dialects. The extant documents, of widely different character, and in many scripts, are sufficient to allow the distinction of three periods: Old, Middle and New Irānian. In the west of the Persian empire, the change to the Middle Irānian stage (marked by loss of large part of the old inflexion) is attested already in the later Achæmenid inscriptions.

Old Irānian. The Old Irānian stage of development is known in the Old Persian inscriptions, the Avestan texts and the names of Medians and Sakas. The two dialects Old Persian and Avestan, in spite of the restricted number of texts, and hence little known vocabulary, agree closely, but yet are clearly distinct. In phonology Old Irānian has *t p k* unchanged before and between vowels (*tak-* 'to run', *tap-* 'to be hot', *pat-* 'to fly', *kar-* 'to make', *aka-* 'bad'), but they are represented by spirants before consonants (*habya-* 'true', *xvafnah-* 'sleep', *uxta-* 'spoken'); before and between vowels *s* is represented by *h* (Old Persian *hada* 'with', *āha* 'he was'), except that *iš*, *uš* replace older *is*, *us* (as also do *iš*, *uš* in Sanskrit, though unchanged in Kāfirī), thus Avestan *nišasti-* 'sitting', *duš-* 'bad'. Old Irānian verbal and nominal morphology is richly developed, with great facility of composition and derivation. Noun bases terminate in consonants, or in vowels and diphthongs: *a ā i ī u ū ai āi au āu*. Alternation of vowels ('apophony, Ablaut') rests upon the older system attested also in the other Indo-European languages. The inflexion can be seen in an Avestan noun with base *-a* (whereby failing all forms of one noun the following are quoted: *ahura-* 'lord', *aspa-* 'horse', *aka-* 'bad', *zasta-* 'hand', *asa-* 'party', *maršta-*, *mašya-* 'man'): singular, nom. *ahurō*, acc. *ahurəm*, instr. *ahurā*, dat. *ahurāi*, abl. *akāt*, gen. *ahurahyā*, loc. *zastaya*, *aspaž*-[*ča*, voc. *ahura*; dual, nom. acc. *zasta*, dat. *ahuražibya*, gen. *asayā*, loc. *zastayō*; plural, nom. *aspa*, *aspāphō*, acc. *mašyqš*-[*ča*, instr. *zastāiš*, dat.-abl. *marštažibyō*, gen. *mašyānqm*, loc. *aspažšu*. The verbal system is elaborately developed, but the extant texts do not provide all the forms. There are three voices: active, middle and passive; six moods: indicative, conjunctive, injunctive, optative, imperative, infinitive, with tenses present, preterite (imperfect and aorist), perfect, pluperfect, future,

with personal terminations in singular, dual and plural, and in addition participles present, aorist, future, and perfect. These cannot all be illustrated here. The following Avestan forms may be quoted: *baraiti* 'he bears', *yasaite* 'he worships', conj. pres. *barāz* 'he will bear', opt. pres. *hyāz* 'he shall be', opt. perf. *jaymyam* 'I would have come', imperative *bara* 'bear', *baratu* 'let him bear', *idī* 'go', *kərəsūw* 'make'. The infinitive has no single form, but is expressed by oblique cases of verbal nouns of action: *avapastōis* 'fall down', *vīčidyāi* 'to choose', *apaṇharštē* 'remove'. There is an aorist passive (*vāci* 'was spoken', *jaini* 'was struck'), confined to the 3rd sing. The personal terminations differ in pres., pret., perf. and imperative. In the present are found: *barāmi*, *barahi*, *baraiti*, dual 3 *baratō*, plur. *barāmahi*, *sayabā*, *baranti*; in the imperfect: *barəm*, *jasō* 'thou camest', *baraš*, dual 1 *jūwa* 'we two live', 3 *jasatəm* 'they two came', plur. *bavāma*, *jasatā*, *barəm*. The present base was formed either with or without suffix, or by reduplication: *asti* 'he is', *dadāiti* 'he gives', *bavāiti* 'he becomes', *harənti* 'they remove', *āfrināmi* 'I bless', *kərənaoiti* 'makes', *irinaxti* 'leaves', *hiniaiti* 'pours out', *jaidyeimi* 'I pray for', *tāpayeiti* 'heats'. The aorist was formed direct to the base (*adāz* 'he created') or with the suffix *-s-* (*dārašt* 'he held'), the perfect was either reduplicated (*vavača* 'has spoken') or not (*vaēdā* 'has known') with special terminations, the pluperfect was expressed by the use of preterite endings to the perfect base (*vaočaš* 'had said'). The active present and future participle was formed by the *-ant-* suffix, and the passive preterite participle usually by the suffix *-ta-*. Of these present bases and of these and other participles examples are preserved in New Persian. The comparison of adjectives could be expressed in two ways (suffixes *-yah-*, *-išta-* and *-lara-*, *tma-*): *vahu-* 'good', *vayah-*, *vahišta-*; *aka-* 'bad', *akatarā*, *hastma-* 'best'. Three morphological genders (masc., fem., neut.) are expressed in nouns and adjectives. Of the many suffixes may be named the noun of agent in *-tar-*, noun of action in *-ti-*, abstract noun in *-tāt-*. Compounds are of many forms: *aspavīra-* 'horses and men', *vīrajan-* 'slaying men', *dahyupati-* 'lord of a country', *pouru.brābra-* 'possessing many brothers', *āxnu-* 'up to the knee', *dārayaš.raba-* 'holding a chariot'. Of this whole elaborate Old Iranian system but small part has survived to the present day.

Middle Iranian. Since 1904 when F. W. K. Müller published the *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkestan*, i. (S. B. Pr. Ak. W., 1904), ii. (Abh. Pr. Ak. W., 1904), the middle period of Iranian linguistic history has been increasingly enriched with new material. It is now possible to describe five forms of Middle Iranian, of which Middle Persian forms one, from numerous documents in a variety of scripts. Early loanwords are preserved in Armenian (see Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, i., 1897; R. Gauthiot, *Iranica*, in *M. S. L.*, xix. [1915]; A. Meillet, in *M. S. L.*, xvii. [1911]; H. S. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, ii., Glossar, 1931). These are particularly important as being written in a script possessing vowels. A document dated 22—21 B.C., found at Awramān (Minns, in *J. H. S.*, 1915, p. 38 sqq.; Unvala, in *B. S. O. S.*, i. [1920] 125—144; H. S. Nyberg, in *M. O.*, xvii. [1923] 182—230; E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 1924) is

known, accompanied by another document dated 88 B.C. with almost illegible writing. Coin legends of Pārs from about 250 B.C. and of the later Parthian and Sāsānian kings, Kushano-Sāsānian coins, Sāsānian royal and official inscriptions in two dialects, and on gems and seals, a large Zoroastrian literature, mostly religious but including some secular pieces (in 'Pahlavi'), and texts in two western dialects from the Manichean documents from Central Asia, some being in the Chinese script (F. W. K. Müller, *loc. cit.*; K. Salemann, *Manichäische Studien*, i., 1908, and other texts in *Manichaica*, iii., *Izvestia Akad. Nauk.*, 1912; Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, i., *S. B. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1932; ii., *ibid.*, 1933; iii., *ibid.*, 1934; Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1926; do., *Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten*, 1933), fragments of a version of the Psalms with the Canons of Mar Ābā translated from Syriac into Middle Persian (Andreas-Barr, *Bruchstücke einer Pehlevi-Übersetzung der Psalmen*, in *S. B. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1933) have combined to disclose the character of the Western dialects. The Zoroastrian texts are written with an historical orthography, through which the phonetic development rarely appears, with the exception of the frequent transcription of "Pahlavi" words into the fully vocalised Avestan alphabet. The Manichean writers rejected the old orthography. Eastern dialects are represented by Sogdian texts, letters of the 11th century A.D. (H. Reichelt, *Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, ii., 1931) found in Chinese Turkestan, and other letters not yet published, found in Sughd (preliminary report by A. Freiman, in *Sogdiiskii sbornik*, in *Akad. Nauk. S. S. S. R.*, 1934), besides many Buddhist texts (Gauthiot, *J. A.*, 1912; *M. S. L.*, xvii., 1912; Gauthiot-Benveniste, *Le Sūtra des Causes et des Effets*, 1926; H. Reichelt, *loc. cit.*, i.—ii.; F. Rozenberg, *Un fragment sogdien bouddhique du musée asiatique*, in *Izvestia Akad. Nauk.*, 1927; R. Gauthiot's *Essai de grammaire sogdienne*, 1914—1923 was completed by Benveniste 1929), by Manichean Sogdian texts first made known in F. W. K. Müller's *Handschriften-Reste*, ii., and later in Waldschmidt-Lentz, *loc. cit.*, and by Christian Sogdian texts in F. W. K. Müller, *Soghdische Texte*, i., *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1913 and Müller-Lentz, *Soghdische Texte*, ii., 1934; and by Saka texts, business letters (A. F. R. Hoernle, *A Report of the British Collection of Antiquities from Central Asia in J. A. S. Bengal extra-number to LXX*, 1902; do., *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, i., 1916), an official document from Šacu (F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow, *Two Medieval Documents from Tun-huang*, 1929), and Buddhist translations and original compositions (E. Leumann, *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur*, 1912; do., *Buddhistische Literatur*, 1920; do., *Das nordarische [sakische] Lehrgeheimnis des Buddhismus*, 1933—1934; Sten Konow, *Saka Studies*, 1932, with references). Certain words of the dialect of the Saka invaders of India are known (Sten Konow, in *S. B. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1916, p. 799 sqq.). On the Sogdian and Saka phonology it must suffice to refer to the books cited: Sogdian *ātar* 'fire', *pāš*, *pāl* 'foot', *γōš* 'to praise', *kanš* 'city', *zuwān* 'life', *azu* 'I'; Saka *kanthā* 'city', *ysānde* 'he knows', *hastama* 'best', *salī* 'year', *baurā* 'snow', *aysu* 'I'.

The Sogdian verbal system has present (durative present expressed by adding *'skwn, 'štn*, and future by adding *k'm, k'n*), imperfect (*niyōš* 'thou heardest'), *z*-preterite (*βarēnt* 'they bore'), durative preterite with *'skwn* (*šawēnt askwan* 'they went'), conj. present (*wanān* 'I will do'), perfect (*βarē dāram* 'I have given', *āyatīm* 'I have come'), optative (*βarē* 1. sing.), imperative (*βēr, šawa*), infinitive (*βēnjak* 'to pull', *xwari* 'to eat'), participles active present *-ān, -āk, andāk*, passive preterite *-t* (*βart* 'given'), adjectival form *-tak* (*ansāxtak* 'prepared'). The augment *a-* is prominent, see H. Reichelt, *Beiträge zur soghdischen Grammatik*, 1931. In Śaka there is present (*ditte* 'he sees'), pres. injunctive (*hautta* 'he will know'), pres. conj. (*hiṃāte* 'he will be'), optative (*yaniyi* 'he would do'), imperative (*tso* 'go'), the preterite is expressed by inflected participle (*viṣi*, fem. *viṣa* 'was', plural *viṣa*, fem. *viṣe* 'were'), compound tenses (*āsti viṣi* 'he was seated'), participles (*mā-ṇanda-* 'resembling', *ššāna-* 'lying down', *jsata-* 'slain', *hvaṇa-* 'to be spoken'). The noun is fully inflected in Śaka in three genders, and in Sogdian traces of nominal inflexion are preserved (see P. Tedesco, in *Z.I.I.*, iv. 94 sqq.; E. Benveniste, *Gram. sogd.*, ii. 77). Since the Indian Brāhmī script is used in writing Śaka, vowels as well as consonants are fully known.

Chorasmian is still little investigated. Apart from words quoted in Arabic writers, particularly the calendrical terms to be found in al-Birūnī (*Chronology*, ed. Sachau, p. 47, 173, 192), material has been collected by Ahmet Zeki Validi (*Hwārezmische Sätze in einem arabischen Fikḥ-Werke*, in *Islamica*, iii., 1922). Here خوشخی is 'milk', cf. Sogdian *axšift* 'milk'; زقرک 'deep', cf. Avestan *jafra-* 'deep'; ناشخ 'nose', cf. Sogdian *nyē* 'nose'. An exhaustive study is still awaited.

Middle Ossetic is known in names (see Ws. Miller, *Ossetinskie Etymy*, iii. 39 sqq.; M. Vasmer, *loc. cit.*) such as *Boraspas, Baioraspas, Xarthanos*, and in loanwords in Hungarian (circa 800 A.D.) such as *gond* 'care', *kasdag, gasdag* 'rich', *kara* 'sword', *részeg* 'drunk' (see H. Sköld, *Die ossetischen Lehnwörter im Ungarischen*, 1925). They suffice to indicate the phonology of this period.

In the West two Middle Iranian dialects are known, which can be assigned to North and South respectively. The southern dialect is closely related to literary New Persian. Phonology and vocabulary distinguish these two dialects sharply (see P. Tedesco, *Dialektologie der nordwestiranischen Turfanfragmente*, in *M. O.*, xv., 1923; W. Lentz, in *Z.I.I.*, iv. 251 sqq.): in the North *zan* 'woman', *das* 'ten', *hrē* 'three', *čafār* 'four', *bidīy* 'second', *hira-* 'leave', *kar-* 'make', contrast with the South: *zan, dah, sih, čahār, duḏi, hāl, kun-*. Other dialect influence can be detected, as e.g. in the change *vi-* to *gu-* (cf. New Persian *gunāh* 'sin'). Nominal inflexion is absent from the Manichean texts. It is possible that the frequent final *-y* of the Sāsānian inscriptions represents the remains of the old oblique case in *-ē*. The *-ān* ending (in Old Persian *-ānām* is gen. plur.) appears as nom. plur. (*ardāvān* 'the righteous'). The verbal system of the southern dialect agrees largely with that of early Persian of the Muslim texts (see Henning, *Das Verbum des Mittelpersischen der Turfantexte*, in *Z.I.I.*, ix., 1933). The Old Iranian present bases

are represented by *hāl-* 'leave', *zuv-* 'live', *parvas-* 'fly', *zan-* 'strike', *brās-* 'shine', *vind-* 'find', *dān-* 'know', *kun-* 'make', *čin-* 'gather', *zāy-* 'bring forth'. The trans. preterite is expressed by the participle in *-t* in passive sense: *u-tān paimōxt hēm* 'and you have clothed me', but the form *kird hēnd* 'they have done' (as in New Persian *kardand*) is found. A passive is expressed by *-yh-*: *istāyihēd* 'is praised'. Beside the present indicative with the endings *-ēm, -e(h), ēd, -ēm* (and *-om*), *-ēd, -ēnd* (and *-and*), a full present conj. is attested with the endings *-ān, -āy, -ād, -ām, -ād, -ānd*. An optative 3rd sing. in *-ē(h)* occurs. The infinitive is in *-tan*, the present participles in *-ān*, and (adjectival) *-anday*. The vocabulary has many words lost to New Persian lexicography.

New Iranian. The third period may be dated from the introduction of a new orthography by the writers in Arabic. In the early Arabic books many Iranian words and names, Persian, Sogdian and Chorasmian, are recorded, stripped of the old historical spelling.

The Arabic alphabet was long insufficient to represent the Iranian sounds, while certain signs were superfluous (س ذ ژ ک ه). Hence some symbols had double employment: ج j, ژ z, ف f, v (beside ف), پ. In final position, the guttural (which was written, e.g. in Pahlavi *kēk* 'house', Turfan texts *qdg* 'house', and has moreover survived in some New Iranian dialects, Kumzāri *hēmay* 'fuel', as in Turfan texts 'ymg' 'fuel', Balōči W. *hāmag*, E. *hāmay* 'raw') was indicated by ك ج or ق (سذق نمونج اجدهاك) and medially by ج or غ (بيغان مهرجان). To indicate vowels a new system was adopted in accord with Arabic usage. The older Aramaic system did not distinguish the quantities of *ī ū* (and only partially of *ā*), nor the qualities of *ē ō*. *Alif, y, w*, served to express *ā, ī ē, ū ō*. But in the Arabic script *alif, y, w*, served medially for *ā* (sometimes *ē*), *z, ū* (beside the Arabic diphthongs *ai, au*).

New Persian, with which is closely connected the colloquial language, deviating widely from the literary norm, of the western cities, and the Tādjiki of the eastern Iranian region, Afghānistān, the Pāmirs, Turkistān (see the references in W. Lentz, *Pamir-Dialekte*, i. 29 sqq.), is in strict accord with the language of the Old Persian inscriptions (Old Persian *puša-* 'son', *dān-* 'know', New Persian *pus, dān-*), and the southern dialect of the Sāsānian inscriptions and the Manichean texts, but from its earliest monuments after the introduction of Islām it appears as a dialect largely mixed with forms of other dialects. The mixture had been brought about already in Sāsānian times. As successors of the Parthians whose dialect was of northern type the Sāsānians took over part of the official vocabulary (e.g. *šahr* 'country', *šāh-puhr* 'king's son' as proper name). Forms of both dialects occur in the Zoroastrian books and among the loanwords in Armenian. A few words entered from the eastern dialects (*fayfūr* 'divine son' as title of the Chinese emperor). Hence New Persian has two forms side by side: *bāz, bāj, bāz* 'tribute', *dānā, farzānāh* 'wise', *zamī, zamīn, damik* 'earth'. In the vocabulary of New Persian, the Iranian verbs have been gravely reduced in number. Verbs which are found still

in use in other dialects have disappeared or survive only with preverbs or in nominal derivatives. Such is the case with *an-* 'breathe', *vak-* 'speak' (in *āvā*, *āvāz*, *navā*, *navāxt*), *darb-* 'sew', *darz-* 'fasten, sew' (in *darz* 'seam', *darzi* 'tailor', *dil* 'enclosure'), *nar-* 'send', *nay-* 'lead', *vad-* 'lead', *dam-* 'bind, build', *vind-* 'find', *barv-* 'boil', *vaid-* 'throw, shoot', *gund-* 'dress', *dvan-* 'throw', *mauk-* 'put on', *barm-* 'weep', *ar-* 'grind', *gan-* 'come upon, find', *haik-* 'make wet', *vag-* 'pull out', *kāp-* 'fall' (cf. *kuhun* 'old', Turfan Texts *kafvan*), *iš-* 'see', *snaig-* 'snow', *nas-* 'perish' (in *gunāh* 'sin'), *tirp-* 'steal', *har-* 'go', *tard-* 'split' (in *istālidān* 'to split'), *zyā-*, Old Persian *dyā-* 'take away' (in *ziyān* 'loss'), *vay* 'to wind'. Nominal forms have also been lost: Fārsī dialect of Būringūn *pah* 'small cattle', Ossetic *xed* 'bridge', Balōči *gus* 'house', Zāzā *šit* 'milk', Paštō *zds* 'known'. These and others are not represented in New Persian. Arabic has continually encroached upon the vocabulary. The Irānian character of New Persian is however still easily recognised in its morphology (plur. of nouns *-ān*, *-hā*; pronouns *man*, *tu*, *ū*, *mā*, *šumā*, *kih*, *čih*, *ān*, *in*; verbal forms, pres. tense *kunām*, *kunād*, *kunim*, *kunand*, pret. *kard*, the verb substantive *am*, *i*, *ast*, *and*).

New Irānian dialects have been preserved by their isolation, although, except Ossetic and Kumzāri by reason of their position, they are everywhere yielding to the prestige of New Persian. Recent research has brought knowledge of most of the existing Irānian dialects. Isolated places may, as perhaps in the Kūh-i Taftān region, still conceal unknown dialects, elsewhere and especially in the Pāmirs information has been largely increased. These dialects have so widely diverged from Old Irānian that the whole complex development cannot be indicated here. It must suffice to point out in the various groups certain developments in phonology and morphology.

Phonology. The developments of Old Irānian *u*, *hu*, *du*, *z*, *-t-*, *-č-*, *j-*, *-rt-*, *br*, may be here selected to illustrate the divergence.

1. Ossetic (in two dialects, Digoron and Iron, in Ossetia in the Caucasus): (Digoron) *uad* 'storm', *xuædag* 'self', *duar* 'door', *zærdæ* 'heart', *zonun* 'to know', *sædæ* 'hundred', *rodzingæ* 'window', *dzahur* 'open-eyed', *mard* 'dead', *ærtæ* 'three', *furt* 'son'.

2. Yaghñābī (in the Yaghñāb valley between the Zarafshān and Hisār ranges): *wīl* 'willow', *wāt* 'wind', *xēp* 'self', *diwar* 'door', *bizān-* 'to know', *pač-* 'to cook', *žuām-išt* 'I live', *ārt* 'flour', *tirai* 'three', *pula* 'son'.

3. Shughnī (in the Pāmirs): *wēd* 'willow', *xār-* 'to eat', *devē* 'door' (Yāzgulāmi *dəvūr*, Oroshori *divūr*), *w(ə)zūn-* 'to know', *wuz* 'I', *pīdz-* 'to cook', *čēd* 'knife', *puts* 'son'.

4. Ishkashmī (in the Pāmirs, closely with Sanglēcī): *wīn-* 'to see', *xar-* 'to eat', *war* 'door', *pəzin-* 'to know', *vəru* (Sanglēcī *vruđ*) 'brother', *zonj* 'woman', *kēl* 'knife', *rui* 'three'.

5. Wakhi (in Wakhān, in the Pāmirs): *winam* 'I see', *šāš* 'mother-in-law', *bār* 'door', *bū(y)* 'two', *wuz* 'I', *wrūt* 'brother', *pōcam* 'I cook', *dītsam* 'I milk', *dzi* 'bowstring', *mōrtk* 'dead', *yūmj* 'flour', *trū(y)* 'three', *pōtr* 'son'.

6. Mundji (in Mundjān, in the Pāmirs, related to Yūdghā): *zā winom* 'I see', *wīya* 'willow', *zā xārm* 'I eat', *xāša* 'mother-in-law', *lūvār*

'door', *vzōn-* 'to know', *parwīz-* 'to sow', *zə živm* 'I strike', *kēra* 'knife', *širai* 'three', *pūr* 'son'. A development peculiar to Mundji (and Yūdghā) is that of *št* to *šk*: *man līškəm* 'I saw'. Initially and medially *l* replaces *d*: *lūydā* 'daughter', *kālā* 'when'.

7. Paštō (in several dialects, with a more isolated dialect Wapētsi): *wala* 'willow', *wini* 'he sees', *xwala* 'sweat', *xwāša* 'mother-in-law', *war* 'door', *zə* 'I', *zə* 'heart', *plār* 'father', *rwadz*, *rwaz* 'day', *zwāk* 'life', *čāra* 'knife', *mər* 'dead', *drē* 'three', *dr* 'fire'.

8. Ōrmurī (in two dialects, of Logar and Kani-guram, Afghānistān): *yōr-* 'to rain', *xwai* 'self', *bar* 'door', *bē* 'other', *az* 'I', *zī* 'heart', *pyē*, *pē* 'farther', *biž*, *biz-* 'to cook', *dzan-*, *zan-* 'to strike', *kālī* 'knife', *mulluk* 'died'.

9. Parāčī (in the Hindu Kush): *γā* 'wind', *γī* 'willow', *xar-* 'to eat', *bōr* 'door', *zur* 'heart', *hē* 'bridge', *rūčōn* 'smoke-hole', *pēč-* 'to cook', *jan-* 'to kill', *bur* 'borne', *wā'run* 'flour', *šē* 'three', *puš* 'son'.

10. Balōči (in several dialects: the following forms are from the western dialect): *gwāt* 'wind', *gičinag* 'to choose', *warag* 'to eat', *wat* 'self', *zāmāt* 'son-in-law', *xirdē* 'heart', *brāt* 'brother', *rōč* 'day', *pačag* 'to cook', *janag* 'to strike', *murtā* 'dead', *sai* 'three', *ās* 'fire'.

11. Khūri (in the district of Biābānak, Central Persia): *god* 'wind', *diginom* 'I see', *for* 'sun', *deferom* 'I eat', *dor* 'door', *dāzunom* 'I know', *oyor*, *ohir* 'fire', *bepejom* 'I cook', *sužom* 'I burn', *žen* 'woman', *bedurdum* 'I bore', *pus* 'son'.

12. Yazdī (from material written down in Yazd, at the dictation of a Zardushti in 1932): *me vēvīne* 'I see', *vid* 'willow', *me vāxre* 'I eat', *be* 'other', *bidi* 'again', *me zōne* 'I know', *svūd* 'white', *rūj* 'day', *me vēvāje* 'I speak', *sejen* 'needle', *yenūn* 'women', *zē* 'bowstring', *membārt* 'I bore'.

13. Nāinī (closely connected with Anārakī and Yazdī): *mī vīnī* 'I see', *xārtin* 'to eat', *ābi* 'other', *mī zōnī* 'I know', *vā* 'wind', *sāi* 'hundred', *mī vāji* 'I say', *mī sūji* 'I burn', *bā* 'borne', *-š dārt* 'he had', *pūr* 'son'.

14. Nātanzī (closely with the dialects of Yaran and Farizand): *vī* 'willow', *vīnon* 'I see', *xoron* 'I eat', *bar* 'door', *bī* 'other', *zonon* 'I know', *vāi* 'wind', *vājon* 'I say', *jan* 'woman', *bām-bard* 'I bore', *kārd* 'knife', *pūr* 'son'.

15. Sōi (from material collected in Isfahān and Soh in 1932): *āvīnū* 'he sees', *bēšxordā* 'he has eaten', *ebi* 'other', *xūnū* 'he knows', *estī* 'white', *āvūjū* 'he says', *āpezen* 'they cook', *jē* 'woman', *bēje* 'strike', *ārt* 'flour', *-š kārdebō* 'he had done'.

16. Khunsārī: *bāz vīmān* 'I see him', *itxurān* 'I eat', *bār* 'door', *-ām xūnā* 'I knew', *did* 'saw', *bīrā* 'brother', *idvāzān* 'I say', *isvān* 'I burn', *bāzūn zi* 'they struck', *mird* 'man', *bāmārt* 'I brought'.

17. Gazi (near Isfahān): *venūle* 'he sees', *xerūle* 'he eats, falls', *ebi* 'other', *zūne* 'he knows', *ōsbō* 'white', *bērāsā* 'arrived', *režūle* 'he pours', *sūzūle* 'he burns', *pešūle* 'he cooks', *žande* 'alive', *že* 'gum', *bēžzent* 'he knocked', *dārtāž* 'he had', *pūr* 'son'.

18. Siwandī (in Fārs): *vā* 'wind', *vīyū* 'willow', *fird* 'small', *bārtā* 'door', *zire* 'yesterday', *mē-pešī* 'I cook', *žene* 'woman', *kerdeš* 'he made'.

19. Simnānī (in North Persia, east of Tīhrān): *vū* 'willow', *vā* 'wind', *a muxurūn* 'I eat', *bar* 'door', *mā zonun* 'I know', *rūz* 'day', *a dumārīzun* 'I pour', *jānikā* 'woman', *žāniā* 'wife', *kārd* 'knife', *mū bābārdan* 'I bore', *pīr* 'son', *heira* 'three'.

20. Sangsarī (related to the dialect of Lāzgirdī): *vī* 'willow', *dāxurī* 'I eat' (Aor.), *vūné* 'knee', *sai* 'hundred', *rūz* 'day', *bēvāzi* 'I say' (Aor.), *žen* 'woman', *bezetēn* 'to strike', *āri* 'flour', *še* 'three', *pūr*, *pūr* 'son'.

21. Tālīši (on the west of the Caspian Sea): *va* 'snow', *han* 'sleep', *hande* 'to sing', *ba* 'door', *az* 'I', *zone* 'to know', *darsan* 'needle', *ka* 'house', *sipi* 'white', *rūz* 'day', *žie* 'to live', *žen* 'woman', *pard* 'bridge', *karde* 'to do'.

22. Gilakī (closely connected with Māzandarānī and the dialect of Gozarkhon): *varf* 'snow', *xūram* 'I eat', *zamō* 'son-in-law', *barar* 'brother', *sufam* 'I burn', *-pāj* 'cooking', *zean* 'to strike', *bārdim* 'I bore'.

23. Gūrānī of Kandūla (dialects of Kandūla, Pāwa, Aurāmān, Rijāb, Bājalān, Talahedeshk are recorded): *vārān* 'rain', *vārw* 'snow', *wār* 'sun', *wārm* 'sleep', *zil* 'heart', *zāmā* 'son-in-law', *mārizū* 'he pours out', *rōznā* 'window', *žī* 'bowstring', *žān* 'woman', *-š kārd* 'he made'.

24. Kurdi (in several dialects: the following is from the Mukri): *bafr* 'snow', *xwārt* 'eaten', *dārk* 'door', *dāzānim* 'I know', *spt* 'white', *rōž* 'day', *dāsōžē* 'it is burnt', *žin* 'woman', *kirt* 'done', *bōm nārd* 'I sent', *sē*, *sēk* 'three'.

25. Zāzā (dialects of Siwerek, Bijāq, Čabakhčur, Kīghī, Kor, Čermuq and Palu are recorded): *vaur* 'snow', *vāyō* 'wind', *war-* 'to eat', *bār* 'door', *zān-* 'to know', *ādīr* 'fire', *rīz-* 'to flow', *rōž* 'day', *pauj-* 'to cook', *vāj-*, *vāž-* 'to say', *jan-* 'to strike'.

26. Kumzārī (in the Masandam Peninsular, 'Omān): *bāram* 'rain', *guṇay* 'hunger', *xōr* 'he ate', *xuṇwōw* 'sleep', *dimestān* 'winter', *zur* 'anger', *zamiyo* 'earth', *spīr* 'white', *bur* 'happened', *sūzin* 'needle', *rōzen* 'window', *zank* 'woman', *bizen* 'strike', *murik* 'man', *xōrdin* 'food', *dās* 'sickle', *pas* 'son'.

27. Tātī (on the Apsheron Peninsular): *vārf* 'snow', *biyā* 'widow', *xuwar* 'sister', *dār* 'door', *dumbor* 'son-in-law', *dunustān* 'to know', *zumustun* 'winter', *zuhun* 'tongue', *biran* 'to be', *dīran* 'to see', *bror* 'brother', *poriz* 'autumn', *mivīzun* 'I sift', *ruz* 'day', *zan* 'woman', *zistan* 'to live', *xordan* 'to eat'.

28. Fārsī (dialects of Somghūn, Pāpūn, Māsārm, Būringūn and Imāmzāde Ismā'il): *mībōnām* 'I see', *biš kirdān* 'to send', *mīxāftām* 'I slept', *nīmīdānām* 'I do not know', *zānt* 'knee', *dā* 'given', *mīpāzām* 'I cook', *zā* 'struck', *bu*, *burd* 'borne'.

29. Lurī, Bakhtīārī: *barf* 'snow', *bahū* 'tent', *xwārdan*, *xārdan* 'to eat', *dōwā* 'son-in-law', *zō* 'tongue', *ispīd* 'white', *dī* 'smoke', *bēd*, *bēd* 'willow', *bēz-* 'to sift', *rūz* 'day', *zaidan* 'to strike', *zēna* 'woman', *ord* 'flour'.

30. New Persian: *būd* 'willow', *bād* 'wind', *xvāš* 'mother-in-law', *xud* 'self', *dar* 'door', *dānam* 'I know', *dāmād* 'son-in-law', *šad* 'hundred', *safīd* 'white', *pasam* 'I cook', *bīzam* 'I sift', *ard* 'flour', *kard* 'made', *murd* 'died', *sih* 'three', *pus* 'son'.

The following general tendencies may be especially noticed: 1. *μ*- is replaced by a guttural in

Balōči, Khūrī, Ōrmurī, Parāčī and partly also in New Persian; 2. the correspondence of Ossetic *h*- (Iron dialect *q*-), *v*-, *d*-, Yaghnābī *γ*-, *v*-, *d*-, Shughnī and Yāzgulāmī *γ*-, *v*-, *δ*-, Mundjī *γ*-, *v*-, *l*-, Pashtō *γ*-, *w*-, *l*-, in contrast to Ōrmurī and Parāčī *g*-, *b*-, *d*-, marks a distinction within the eastern group; 3. *-š* tends to be modified in the eastern dialects: Ossetic *hos*, *qūs* 'ear', Ōrmurī *gōy*, Parāčī *gū*, Mundjī *yūy*, Pashtō *γwaž*, Waṇetsī *γwaž*, Shughnī *γuž*, Ishkāshmi *γul*, Sarikol *γaul*, Rōshānī *γōw*, Bartangi and Oroshori *γāw*, Yāzgulāmī *γvān*, contrasting with New Persian *gōš* (*gūš*).

Relationship of the Dialects. The larger divisions among the New Irānian dialects are results of old differences, originating in the earliest period. Two great groups, an Eastern and a Western, are distinguished by phonology, morphology and vocabulary (see G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, p. 31 sqq.). The eastern group is itself divided by old differences into subordinate groups. Ossetic, isolated in the Caucasus, has developed a morphology which separates it sharply from the Yaghnābī, with which however it shares, for example, the plural *-tā*, Yaghnābī *-t*. Yaghnābī is in turn isolated as the only surviving Sogdian dialect. In the Pamirs Shughnī forms a group with Oroshori, Yāzgulāmī, Rōshānī, Bartangi, Sarikolī, and the now extinct Wančī; similarly Ishkāshmi and Sanglēči. Mundjī in several dialects (see the classification by G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, p. 70) has close relations with Yūdghā. Wakhi stands alone, noticeably in its phonology (*š* in *šāč* 'dog', *yišn* 'iron', *ri* in *mürtk* 'dead', *tr* in *pōtr* 'son'). Ōrmurī and Parāčī, though now widely different, yet have common phonological traits, in particular *b*-, *g*-, *d*-, and the replacement of *μ*- by *γ*-. Pashtō is known in several dialects (G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, p. 11).

In the Western group subdivisions are similarly to be recognised. Zāzā, Gūrānī, Kurdi, Khūrī, Balōči, Gilakī (with Tālīshī, the dialect of Gozarkhon, and Māzandarānī) form sharply distinct groups. The southern dialects, Lurī, Fārsī, Kumzārī, and the literary New Persian show clear descent from a dialect similar to, and probably identical with, the Old Persian. To these Tātī belongs as the dialect of garrisons settled in the region of Darband.

In the central district lying between Tīhrān, Isfahān, Hamadḥān and Yazd, are found a number of dialects which have not yet all been fully investigated. They share a common vocabulary. The formation of the present affords a means of grouping them. The Sangsarī, Lāzgirdī and Shamarzādī agree in forming the present with the infix of a nasal *-n*-, *-nd*- (possibly representing the Old Iranian *-ant*-participle; similarly in Zāzā: Sangsarī *žimendī* 'I strike', Lāzgirdī *hām vāndim* 'we say', Shamarzādī *kafana* 'he falls'. Simnānī is then isolated, with present *māzonun* 'I know'. The dialects of Wonīshun (Wānīshān), Mahallāt and Khunsār agree in having *it-* (*āt*-, *et*-) in the pres.: Wonīshun *ētxemerūn* 'I break', Mahallāt *ātimirin*, Khunsār *itḥāmārān*. Nātanzi, Farizandī and Yaranī form one group: in the pres. Nātanzi *koron* 'I do', Farizandī *akāron*, Yaranī *akoron*. Sōī (*ākerom*), Meimeī (*ākere* 'he does'), Kōhrūdī (*akerūn*), Kesheī

(*akerūn*) also have *ä-*, while Zefrei (*korōn*), like Nātanzi, has no preverb. Siwandī is again isolated in phonology (cf. for 'sun', *fešk* 'dry'), and pres. *mēkeri* 'I do'. Nānī, Anārakī and Yazdī (as spoken by the Zardushtis of Yazd and some of the adjacent villages) show some resemblance: Nānī *mī-, ī-, š-* (sing. and plur. with the preterite verb), Yazdī sing. *mī, dī, šī*, plur. *mō, dō, šō*; pres. Nānī *hānigi* 'I sit', Yazdī *me ānige*, Nānī *mī kirti* 'I do', Yazdī *mē kre*; vocabulary, Nānī *mī ēndāvni* 'I send', *mī mēndift* 'I sent', Yazdī *me vēnive*, pret. *mēnēft*. Near Isfahān the dialects of Gaz, Se-deh, Kafrōn, Komshe and Khorzūgh are closely related, but with differences in detail: Gazī *ināne* 'I sit', Khorzūghī *ināne*, Se-deh *nikōne*, Kafrōn *hōningōne*, Komshei *ininge*.

Morphology. 1. Gender. Gender expressed by distinct forms of nouns and adjectives is either eliminated entirely from New Irānian, as in Ossetic, New Persian, Gazi, Parāči and other dialects, or has survived in a system of two genders (masculine and feminine). In Pashtō and Mundji these two genders are still in full vigour. Ōrmuḡi has preserved traces of the distinction of masc. and fem. in the participles (*nastak* beside *nāsk* 'taken'), and similarly in the Shughnī group. In the western dialects, Simnānī distinguishes a masc. (*ī*) and fem. (*ia*) of the indefinite article. In the Gūrānī dialects, the Aurāmānī shows slight trace of gender (*a* 'he is', *ānū* 'she is'), and Kandūlai keeps the masc. determinative suffix (*-ā, -ākā*) distinct from the fem. (*-ī, -ākī*). Traces of gender are recorded in Farizandī (*-e* 'he is', *-ā* 'she is'). The Zāzā dialects have a fully developed system: in nouns, masc. *-ō*, fem. *-ā*; the adjective has at times fem. *-ā*; in pronouns masc. *nō*, fem. *nā* 'this'; in verbs *yānnō* 'he comes', *yānnā* 'she comes', *āmā* 'he came', *amē* 'she came'.

2. Nominal inflexion. Ossetic stands apart in New Irānian with a full inflexion representing for the most part an innovation. Elsewhere the inflexion is much reduced; in New Persian and other western dialects, it has disappeared. A system of two cases (direct and oblique) is found in Yaghnābi: *yar* 'mountain', obl. *yari*, plur. *yart*, obl. *sutūrti* 'sheep'; in Pashtō *yar* 'mountain', obl. *yrā*, plur. *yrūna*, obl. *yrō, yrūnō*; in Mundji *-y*, obl. *-an*, plur. *-ī*, obl. *-af*, in Yūdghā *kyē* 'house', obl. *kyēn*, plur. *kyēi*, obl. *kyēf*. Wakhi has a distinct oblique plur.: sing. *xūn* 'house', plur. *xūn, xūništ*, obl. *xūnav*, and similarly Sarikoli *ēd* 'house', plur. *ēd*, obl. *ēdav* (see P. Tedeseo, in *Z.I.L.*, iv. 94 sqq.). Parāči has sing. *yus* 'house', gen. *yusikā*, abl. *yusi*, plur. *yusān*, gen. *yusān(a)*. In the west Balōči has the same two cases: *lōg* 'house', obl. *lōgā*, plur. *lōg, lōgān*, obl. *lōgān* but also a gen. sg. *lōga*, with *-a* from *-ay*; Simnānī: *āsp* 'horse', obl. *āspi*, plur. *āspi*, obl. *āspun*; Kurdi (Mukri): *xutā* 'God', obl. *xolāi*; *dū* 'water', obl. *āwī*; plur. direct and obl. *āspān* 'horses'. In forming the plural New Persian has *-ān* (Old Irānian *-ānam* gen. plur.), a trace of old inflexion, but also the abstract suffix (probably originally in collective sense) *-hā*, corresponding to the Pahlavi *-yh*, as also the Judaeo-Persian *-yh*, cf. the form of the Turfan texts *kisvarihān* 'regions'. A different abstract suffix is used in Ossetic *-tā*, Yaghnābi *-t* (cf. Middle Sogdian *-ty*), and in Wakhi *-ist* (cf. Middle Sogdian *-yšt*).

Verb. The divergence from the Old Irānian system, already marked in Middle Irānian, has developed further in New Irānian. New verbal systems have been evolved. In spite of independent growth, however, a general resemblance is found, for example, between New Persian and Ossetic. In New Persian means are to hand to express active and passive, indicative, conjunctive, optative, imperative, infinitive, present (punctual and durative), imperfect, preterite, perfect (punctual and durative), pluperfect, future and conditional.

Infinitives. The infinitives show independent selection from Old Irānian verbal nouns. Old Persian *-tanaiy* reappears in New Persian *-tan*, Sivandī *berdēn* 'bear', Vonishun *bertān*, Sangisari *bebartēn*, Ardistanī *māden* 'die', Mukri Kurdi *kēšān* 'draw', Gilaki *giŋtan* 'say', Tāti *diran* 'see', and other western dialects, beside a second infinitive (representing the Old Irānian verbal noun *-ti-*, which serves in the dative in Avestan *-tē* as infinitive): New Persian *guft* 'speak', Gazi *kārt*, *ke* 'make', Mukri Kurdi *kušt* 'kill', Ardistanī *vā* 'say', Zefre *bebērt* 'bear'. Other verbal nouns are found: Ossetic *fārsun* 'ask', Gazi *kārāmūn, kārtmūn* (with related dialects), Yazdī *retvūn* 'pour out', *dōdūn* 'give', Gūrānī (Aurāmānī) *āmāi* 'come', *kārdāi* 'make', Zāzā *kārdāi* 'make', Balōči *janag* 'kill', Yaghnābi *karak* 'do', Wakhi *xanak* 'speak', Ōrmuḡi *xanōk* 'laugh', Parāči *kuḡō* 'make', Sanglēči *šūāk* 'go', Ishkashmī *xarruk* 'eat', Shughnī *vidāu* 'bear', Mundji *vēd* 'know', *lūrtāy* 'reap', Yūdghā *kerah* 'make', Pashtō *kyāl* (here *-al* represents the Old Iranian *-aba-*).

Present tense. In Old and Middle Irānian pres. indic. and pres. conj. are clearly separated. Both modes of thought are expressed in New Irānian. Conj. pres. inflexion, distinct from indic. pres., is preserved in Yaghnābi (*kunī-ist* 'he does', conj. *kunāt*) and Ossetic (*kenui* 'does', conj. *kēna*). Other dialects have one form of present inflexion, which therefore serves to express both present and aorist (with meanings of fut. and conj. pres.). In certain dialects, as in early New Persian *kunam* 'I do', Mundji *xāram* 'I eat', Yūdghā *xoyem* 'I plur.', Oroshorī *kinūm* 'I do', Shughnī *xaram* 'we eat', 'I plur.', Sanglēči *xaram* 'I plur.', this form appears alone in both senses. But greater precision was attained by use of prefixes, suffixes and periphrastic forms marking off the present. So in Khūri *de-* (deferom 'I eat'), Kurdi Mukri *dā-* (*dākāwim* 'I fall'), Kurmāndjī *a-* (*akawam* 'I fall'), Abdū *ti-* (*tiberum* 'I bear'), Khunsari *it-* (*itārān* 'I bring'), Mahallāti *āt-* (*ātūn* 'I come'), Nānī *ē-*, *ī-* (*mī tāri* 'I bring', *ivāzi* 'he runs'), Luri Bakhtiāri *ī-* (*ikunom* 'I do'), Yaranī *a-* (*abarōn* 'I bear'), Farizandī *a-* (*abarōn* 'I bear'), Sōi *ā-* (*āhārū* 'he grinds'), Gūrānī Kandūlai *mā-* (*mākārū* 'I make'), New Persian *hami*, *mī* (*mīkunam* 'I do'), Yazdī *ve-* (*me vēpēse* 'I cook'), Gazi *-e* (*ārūle* 'he grinds'), Zāzā of Siwerek *-n-* (*bārmānnān* 'I weep'), Lāzgirdī *-n-*, *-nd-* (*a vāin* 'I say', *ēon vāndān* 'they say'), Sangisari *-n-*, *-nd-* (*a vāndi* 'I say'), Ōrmuḡi *bu-*, *b-* (*b-nasam* 'I take', *bu kē* 'he makes'). Periphrastic forms are used in Parāči: *ānem xārūn, ān xārūnem* 'I eat'. Gilaki has *amondaram* 'I am coming' (infinitive *amon* 'to come' with *daram*), beside the durative preterite *amonde bum* 'I was coming', and Balōči *kānayā* 'I am doing', Zāzā *kārdōy-ān* 'I am doing'. Nātanzi *boron* 'I bear' and Gilaki *bārām* have no prefix. The aorist (in meaning fut. and

conj. pres.) may equally be defined. Parāčī *janem* 'I strike' (aor.) is without preverb but the present indic. is formed periphrastically. Similarly in Zāzā the aor. I sing. *bārān* is distinct from the indic. *bānnān*; in Gūrānī (Kandūlai) aor. I sing. *bārū* beside indic. *mākūrū*; in Gāzī *berān* aor. I sing. beside indic. *berāne*. But most commonly the aor. is marked by the preverb *be-*: New Persian (colloquial) *būkunām*, Gilaki *bābāram*, Zāzā *bēbārmān*, Simnānī *bābārun*, Kurdi Mukri *bēkām* 'I do', Pashtō has *wu* (*wu kram*, but also *kram*, beside the indic. *kawum*). Shughni has a preverb *tsa-* (*tsā sāwē* 'if thou go'), Sangleči a suffix *-a-*: *az šom-a* 'I go', Wakhi and Sarikoli may suffix *-ō*.

Apart from Yaghnābī which has a preterite with augment (*akunim* 'I did'), all New Irānian dialects employ forms of the *-t* participle (representing the Old Irānian *-ta-* part.) to express the preterite. In accordance with the original distinction of this participle in transitive and intransitive, a twofold form of expression was developed: for transitive verbs passive in construction, for intransitive active, as, for example, in Gāzī *bimādī* 'I saw', but *debōyān* 'I became'. This passive transitive preterite is well maintained in the dialects Tālishī, Simnānī, Gāzī, Sōi, Kurdi, Gūrānī, Zāzā, Nātanzī, Nānī, Sivandī, Fārsī dialects, Balōči, Ōrmuṛī, Parāčī, Pashtō, Mundjī, Wakhi, and others, and is known in early literary New Persian (*girift-aš* 'he took'). When the personal suffixes accompanied the participle, they usually preceded, but in some cases tended to be affixed, as in Gāzī *biddī* 'thou sawest', but *dārtāz* 'he had', Simnānī *ta hākārdāt* 'thou madest', Aurāmānī *dāt* 'thou gavest', *dās* 'he gave', Mundjī *mān lām* 'I gave', *to liyat* 'thou gavest'. The intransitive was expressed by the participle with the verb substantive. The two forms remained then sharply distinct. But in New Persian (and traces of the development are found in the Middle Persian of the Turfan texts) the transitive preterite is modelled on the intransitive, and both are made identical: *kardam* 'I made', *kardī*, *kard* as *āmadam*, *āmadī*, *āmad* 'I came', etc. In the original passive construction there is no affix to the participle, as in Zāzā *min* (*tō, āi, mā, šimā, inān*) *kārd* 'I made', etc., but *ās āmān* 'I came', *tī āmāi*, *ō āmā*, *mā āmāimā*, *šimā āmāi*, *ē āmāi*.

Perfect and Pluperfect. A perfect and a pluperfect were developed from the adjectival form of the participle (in Pahlavi and Sogdian *-tk*, Old Irānian *-taka-*, as in Avestan *nivaštaka-* 'turned'), to which were added the pres. and pret. of the verb substantive. Here too the construction is passive in transitive verbs, e.g. Gūrānī (Kandūlai) perf. trans. *-āš kārđān* 'he has made' (*-n* 'he is'), pluperf. trans. *-š bāstāi* 'he had bound' (cf. *nāš* 'he was not'), Gāzī perf. intrans. *bēyān* 'I have become' pluperf. intrans. *bībēbōyān* 'I had become'. But in New Persian the perfect and pluperfect, alike transitive and intransitive, are identical in form: *kardam* am 'I have done', *kardah būdam* 'I had done', as *āmadah am* 'I have come', and *āmadah būdam* 'I had come'.

1) See K. Barr, in *Iranische Dialektaufzeichnungen aus dem Nachlass von F. C. Andreas*, herausgeg. und bearbeitet von Arthur Christensen, K. Barr und W. Henning, *Kurdische Dialekte, Gārrūsī*, § 37, note 1.

Passive. In New Irānian the passive (which is of infrequent use in the colloquial language) shows but few traces of the Middle Irānian passive in *-zh-*: Gūrānī (Kandūlai) *kiryān* 3rd sing. perf. pass. 'has been made' *māsūčān* 'it burns'; Zāzā *ās kišyēnān* 'I am killed'; Kurdi of Sinnā has *akuzyēm* 'I am killed'. From Yaranī is quoted *bahmariā* 'was broken'. The passive with umlaut in Kurdi Mukri *dākirē* may represent the Old Iranian passive in *-ya-*. Eastern Balōči employs *-ij-* (as it seems borrowed from the identical Sindhi passive): *k'usijān* 'I am killed'. But usually in New Irānian dialects the passive is expressed by the participle with auxiliary verbs. So in Balōči *kuštāgān* 'I am killed'; New Persian has used the verbs *āmadan* 'to come', *gaštan* 'to turn', *šudan* 'to go, become' (this latter is now the usual auxiliary); in other dialects *baw-* 'to become' is frequent: Gilāki *bākande buboste* 'it was dug down', Simnānī *vāpārsā mābin* 'I am asked'. Mundjī uses the verbs *āy-* 'to come' (for the pres.) and *šy-* 'to go' (for the preterite) with the participle in *-gā*. In Ōrmuṛī the auxiliary is *šūk* 'to go', and in Parāčī *ch-* 'to go' or *par-* 'to go', and similarly *šwāl* 'to go, become' in Pashtō. In Ossetic two forms are found, *nymad ten* 'I am counted' and *bazyndāna* 'will be made known'.

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III. PERSIAN LITERATURE.

Definition. By Persian literature we understand all works written in modern Persian, in contrast to middle Persian (Pahlavi), or in other words the whole of Persian literature from the Arab conquest of the present day. It should be observed however that this literature can be regarded as a unity only up to a certain point. The vicissitudes of western Asiatic history brought it about that Persian became the literary language of a number of peoples whose vernaculars had no connection

with Persian. Persian became the language of the upper classes of these peoples, just as French became in the xviiith century for various peoples in Europe. The result is that Persian literature in the wide sense includes not only the literature of Persia, but also the literature of Central Asia, and to some extent of Turkey, India and Afghānistān. Although down to the xvth—xviith century these literatures were very slightly differentiated, in modern times the differences between them have become so strongly marked that their literatures can no longer be considered as a single whole. This circumstance makes a comprehensive survey of all the literature which may be called Persian an impossible task and forces the student to set more precise limits, which must also apply to this article. Here therefore by Persian literature we mean only the literature of Persia, and such writers as belong to Central Asia, India or Afghānistān will be more or less disregarded.

The beginnings. It has so far not been possible to trace the initial stages of Persian literature exactly. There is, it is true, no lack of anecdotes relating to these first steps but they are so obviously unreliable that they are hardly worth consideration. It is of course natural that these early stages could only have been recorded by chance, as from the point of view of later ages they appeared of very little value.

Nevertheless the fragments that have survived make it possible to put forward certain hypotheses which are probably not too far from the actual truth. The early centuries after the Arab conquest saw a gradual decay of Pahlavi literature. At first sight it might appear that literary activity in Persia ceased completely. But this was not the case. If we turn to the Arabic literature of this period we find that a large number of Persian poets and scholars were writing in Arabic. The valuable anthology of al-Tha'ālibī (d. 1038), *Yatimat al-Dahr* (pr. 1885), contains most interesting information which shows that already in the ixth century Arabic had become the literary language of the upper classes in Khurāsān and Transoxania. But at the same time there were signs of activity in the opposite direction. The political situation of Persia, whose rulers were trying to cast off the Arab yoke, and the gradual exhaustion of the caliphate demanded not only political opposition to the Arabs but also the ending of the domination of the Arabic language in the field of literature. But the 150 years of the supremacy of Arabic did not pass without leaving a trace. Pahlavi had become a dead language; there was therefore only Persian to oppose to Arabic as a literary language. On the other hand, there prevailed, especially in poetry, Arabic forms (*qaṣida*, *ghazal*) and the Arabic quantitative metre ('*arūd*'), which so firmly established rhyme, probably foreign to Pahlavi, that a return to the poetical technique of the Sāsānian period was impossible. Arabic poetry had however to submit to certain changes, such as the introduction of the very long syllable into prosody, which was not possible in Arabic at all and probably arose in the process of inserting Persian words into Arabic lines. How and when the first lines of verse entirely in Persian arose it will hardly be possible to ascertain with certainty. Persian sources profess to consider the fragments that survive of a *qaṣida* by 'Abbās Marwazī said to have been composed in Marw (809) in honour of

Ma'mūn, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd, as the oldest poem in Persian. Unfortunately it is still somewhat difficult to express a definite opinion on the genuineness of these lines. The anthologies (*tadhkira*) and dictionaries (notably Asadī's valuable *Lughat-i Furs*) contain isolated lines from poets like Abū Hafṣ Sughdī, Ḥanzala Bādghisī, Maḥmūd Warrāk Harawī, Firuz Mashriḳī, Abū Salik Gurgānī etc. of whom some may possibly be as early as the viiith century. These fragments however are but miserable remnants, which give evidence of the existence of poetry but do not enable us to obtain a clear idea of Persian verse in its earliest period.

xth—xiiith century. As early as the tenth century we find these early efforts attaining a very high degree of artistic perfection. The courts of the various princes around whom the poets gathered formed centres of literary activity. But as the poets were usually directly dependent on their patrons and had to some extent to adapt themselves to their taste, it is quite natural that almost every dynasty in Persia was surrounded by a group of poets who present a certain unity, especially from the point of view of style, so that the classification of Persian poets by dynasties, as has been usual in Persia from early times, has a certain amount of justification in literary history. In order to give some lucidity to our account of the rather complicated process of the literary evolution of Persian poetry, we shall retain this classification, at the same time subdividing our account according to the various kinds of poetry so that the links may not be broken. In the first section the following kinds of poetry are mainly concerned: *a.* lyrical court poetry, *b.* epic, *c.* mystic. Prose hardly comes into consideration at all in this section, as the older Persian literature scarcely ever uses prose for belles-lettres. Prose is for old Persia the language of scholarship only. But it is to be noted that for the pre-Mongol period the language of scholarship is predominantly Arabic so that even in this field a higher degree of development of Persian prose is only slowly attained.

a. The Court Lyric. While as early as the time of the Tāhirids and Ṣaffārids we can recognize the first approaches to the formation of a characteristic court style, we do not see it in its full perfection till the time of the Sāmānids (875—999), whose capital was Bukhārā. Although here also the devastation wrought by time has left us only a few remains, it is still absolutely clear that at this time a flourishing literary activity in Bukhārā was in full swing. Round the Sāmānid court gathered a large number of distinguished poets, who on the one hand were engaged in singing the praises of the rulers in sonorous *kaṣīdas* and on the other in bitter rivalries with one another for pre-eminence, a struggle carried on with poetical weapons also, i. e. satires (*hadjw*, *hidjā*). Of all these poets the greatest was the celebrated Rūdākī [q. v.] of Samarḳand. His *kaṣīda Mādar-i mai* is an unsurpassed masterpiece. Rūdākī seems to be the first creator of the type of the Persian poet which all others endeavoured to copy: poet, aristocrat, liberal, frivolous, amorous, wine-loving, chivalrous, devoted only to the joys of life, never touching its gloomier sides. In the field of didactic poetry also he won great fame by a version (which has unfortunately not come down to us) of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. But he introduced another theme into Persian poetry, the

lament for lost youth, which he expressed in moving language. His younger contemporary Kisā'ī [q. v.] (b. 953) of Marw dealt with the same theme. It may be assumed that these laments were not simply exercises in style but had a genuine foundation in the circumstances of the Persian poet. His duty was to adorn the court of his prince, to share his pleasures and to amuse him; a soured old greybeard was not suited for this and was no doubt, little appreciated in spite of former services. No less characteristic are the laments of the famous Shāhid of Balkh who is said to have been the first to collect a complete *Dirwān*. He laments principally the injustice in the distribution of the world's goods, which clearly points to his lack of success at court. The language of all these poets is clear and lucid; they are still very moderate in the use of poetic artifices and observe the limitations of poetry. Of second class (or perhaps by chance less known) names of this circle of poets the following may be mentioned: Ma'rūfī Balkhī (c. 954—961), Abū Shu'āib Harawī, Abū Zarra'a Djurdjānī, Abū Tāhir Khusravānī, Djūybārī Bukhārā'ī, Amīr Aghādjī, Bukhārā'ī, Rawnakī, Ma'nawī, Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Bustī (known also from his poems in Arabic) and 'Ammāra Marwazī.

After the fall of the Sāmānids a new literary centre arose in Ghazna at the court of the celebrated Sultān Maḥmūd (q. v., 998—1030) and his successors. This school received its key-note from the famous poet 'Unṣurī (q. v., d. 1050) of Balkh. His *kaṣīdas*, which celebrate the sultān and his campaigns and endeavour to prove his claim to the throne of Persia by theological hair-splittings, are very fine examples of the more serious court poetry. Rūdākī's frivolity would have been out of place at the court of the rigidly orthodox sultān. Two other poets who were mainly active at the court of his brother Amīr Naṣr recall in their joie de vivre more the poetry of the Sāmānid period. They are Minūčihri (q. v., d. c. 1050) of Damghān, who has given us in several poems fine specimens of bibulous humour and liked to make allusions to pre-Islāmic legends, and Farrukhī of Sistān (q. v., d. 1037—1038), whom Persian literary historians are fond of comparing with the master of the Arabic *kaṣīda* al-Mutanabbī [q. v.]. The glowing colours of his descriptions of nature are really marvellous expressions of the imagination. As a theorist also he is known for his treatise *Tardjumān al-Balāgha*. No less important is Asadī (q. v., d. between 1030—1041) of Tūs, who was the first to enrich the varieties of court poetry with the *munāzara* or disputation (like the *tensone* of Southern France). Two poets of this name are usually distinguished; the younger, author of the *Garshasp-nāma*, is said to be a son of the elder. But there are reasons for thinking such a distinction unnecessary and the existence of two Asadis doubtful. Under the successors of Sultān Maḥmūd, who were no longer able to hold together their father's gigantic empire, poetry was still held in high honour. Of the poets who adorned their courts the master of the *kaṣīda* Abū 'l-Faraj Rūnī (d. about the beginning of the viiith = xiith century) and his pupil Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān (d. 1131) were specially prominent. The latter in particular, who spent a great part of his life in prison, created a new kind of poem, the *Habsiyāt* (prison *kaṣīdas*), in which he lamented his cruel

fate. No less important is 'Uṭh mān Mukhtārī (d. about the middle of the viii = xiith century) in whose poems the learning of his time gradually penetrates into poetry. The other dynasties who shared the power with the Ghaznawids, but were hardly on the same level, also endeavoured to attract poets of talent to their courts. Mention must thus be made among the poets of the Būyids (932–1055) of Kamāl al-Dīn Bundār of Raiy, who in addition to literary Persian used the dialect of Raiy for his poems. The celebrated Kaṭrān Djabilī (q.v., d. 1072–1073) also sang the praises of the Būyids, but he was for the most part in the service of the rulers of Ādharbāidjān and his poems were long thought to be the work of Rūdakī. Even beyond the Oxus among the Turkish Ilak-Khāns (931–1165) Persian poetry flourished. The best poet of this school was the brilliant 'Am'ak (d. c. 1148), who shared his fame with Rashīdī and Naḍjībī Farḡhānī. 'Am'ak's *qaṣidas* are especially distinguished by their unusually fresh and joyous *nasibs*, which are full of unexpected turns of speech.

As already mentioned, prose played very little part at this period in the life of the court. But we must mention at least three works of the greatest importance for the history of the development of Persian prose style, namely the universal history in Persian of the Sāmānid vizier Abū 'Alī Bal'amī (q.v., d. 996), the highly interesting history of the Ghaznawids by Abu 'l-Faḍl Baihaḳī (q.v., d. 1077–1078) and the *Kābūs-nāma* (begun 1082) of prince Kai-Kā'ūs b. Iskandar b. Kābūs.

Court poetry undoubtedly reached its highest development in the time of the Saldjūks [q.v.] (1037–1300). But the simplicity and the vigour and freshness of colour which so delight us in Sāmānid poets gradually disappear; the *qaṣida* becomes more arid, but attains more and more technical dexterity, which finds expression on the one hand in an accumulation of poetical artifices and on the other in the utilisation of all branches of scholastic learning to create choice and unusual images. While in the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd the works of the court poets were readily intelligible to any reader of some education, the later Saldjūk period produces poems which presuppose a well-educated reader and could be a source of pleasure only to specialists. Many works of this period are really only intelligible through commentaries which have been preserved. Among the poets of this period the following are outstanding: Azraḳī of Herāt (q.v.; d. c. 1113), who procured a somewhat doubtful fame as author of the *Alfiya-Shalfiya*, a didactic poem on the art of love. Adīb Šābir, the great master of the *qaṣida*, who was sent by his sovereign on a political mission to the Khwārizm-šāh where he met a tragic end (between 1145–1151). The favourite of Sulṭān Sandjār, Amīr Mu'izzī [q.v.], about whose wealth and fabulous greed the biographers have much to say. Lāmi'ī [q.v.] of Djurdjān, 'Abd al-Wāsi' Djabalī (q.v.; d. 1160) who has quite a peculiar style and brings many animals into his *qaṣidas* with great skill. The place of honour among all these masters must be given to the unrivalled Anwārī [q.v.], whose *qaṣidas*, among which are the famous "tears of Khurāsān", are undoubtedly the finest that this complicated style was able to produce (d. between 1189–1191). The rulers of Khwārizm

endeavoured to check Anwārī's influence with the work of Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ (q.v.; d. 1182–1183). This poet, who is also entitled to credit for his work as a theorist, is distinguished by unusually caustic language but as a poet he can scarcely be compared with Anwārī, beside whom only the characteristic figure of Khākānī (q.v., d. 1199), who sang the praises of the Šāhs of Shirwān, remains unfaded. The difficulty of the language of this original poet is proverbial in the east but nevertheless he is recognised to this day as the greatest master of the *qaṣida*. Sūzānī of Samarḳand (d. 1173–1174) was also an occasional panegyrist of the Saldjūks but he was known chiefly for his satires and parodies which are often obscene but very witty. Women also wrote poetry; for example we have a few lines by Sulṭān Sandjār's friend Mahistī, which show great talent although they unfortunately contain unusually cynical expressions. Niḏāmī 'Arūdī [q.v.] of Samarḳand was a poet at the Ghūrīd court; he is chiefly notable for his *Cahār Maḳāla*, one of the most important sources for the biographies of poets. The end of this period is marked by the two last great poets of *qaṣidas*, Ḥāḥir al-Dīn Fāryābī (q.v., d. 1202), whose poems in spite of facility of technique show in comparison with Anwārī a certain decline of the court style, and Kamāl-i Ismā'il called *Khallāq al-Ma'āni* or "Creator of Spiritual Ideas" (d. 1237). This last poet turned in his later years from the court style and preferred the contemplative life of a Šūfī *shāikh* to success at court. His best work is already full of the spirit of Šūfī mysticism and in this field also he succeeded in creating real masterpieces.

b. Epic. The first essays in epic poetry, a genre which had been practically unknown to the Arabs and which, so to speak, represented the Irānian national element in Persian literature, were made by Persian poets even before the time of the Sāmānids, in the period of the first wars against their Arab masters. In this field therefore the Persians had no foreign models and were completely dependent on pre-Islāmic tradition and to some extent on popular poetry. Unfortunately once more only fragments of the oldest works have come down to us, which do not permit us to gain anything like a clear idea of their character. In this field it was again the old master Rūdakī who created the first work of any size, namely the celebrated version of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* of which only some 50 baits have come down to us. At the same court the talented young and vivacious poet Daḳīḳī [q.v.] undertook a larger work, namely a metrical version of the official Sāsānian book of kings, the *Khudāi-nāma*. His premature death prevented him from carrying out this grandiose scheme. All that he left was about 1,000 baits, which seem to have given the stimulus to the greatest achievement of Persian poetry, the *Shāh-nāma* of the celebrated Abu 'l-Kāsim Firdawsī [q.v.] of Tūs (born c. 934, d. between 1020–1026). This gigantic work, which according to the poet himself contains 60,000 baits and combines the whole epic tradition of Persia into an artistically perfect whole, became the foundation for a long series of later poems or *mathnavīs*, as this genre is called, from an Arabic technical term. Firdawsī's second work, finished when he was well over seventy years of age, namely his *Yūsuf u-Zulāikḥā*, is from the artistic point of view little

inferior to his masterpiece. The story of Joseph, which with later poets (Djāmi) became a song of songs of mystic love, becomes in his hands a moving lament of the boy carried off to a strange land, which may well describe the feelings of the aged and homeless poet in Baghād. Firdawsi's first successors followed his example closely and wrote regular epics, among which the already mentioned *Garshasp-nāma* of Asadī and works like the *Barzū-nāma*, *Sām-nāma* etc. may be particularly noted. But very soon the character of the epic changes and it gradually becomes a romance of chivalry. Thus for example the *Wāmiḡ wa-ʿAdhrā*, now lost, of the already mentioned 'Unṣurī, in spite of its many descriptions of fighting, is mainly concerned with the love-story of the hero and heroine. This transformation is still more evident in Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī's [see DJURDJĀNĪ] celebrated *Wis u-Rāmīn* (written about 1048), the Persian counterpart of the European Tristan story, in which the hero, regarded from the point of view of the heroes of old Persia, is almost entirely devoid of knightly qualities. The court epic attains its zenith in the quintette (*Khamsa*) of the great Nizāmī [q. v.] of Gandja (1141—1203). Some of his poems have really very little connection with the old epics and are, like *Laili u-Madjnun*, predominantly lyrical and romantic in tone. After Nizāmī the Persian court poets hardly ever attempted to treat of new subjects and remained within the bounds already laid down for them.

c. *Mysticism*. We have so far been mainly concerned with the court poetry, but the other current in Persian literature has its source in very different circles. Šūfism [see TAŠAWWUF], arising on Arab soil, entered Persia also and spread among the artisans and to some extent also among the merchants who populated the towns of Persia. In its quite early stages Šūfism became connected with the *futuwwa* movement [q. v.] and the mystical note became more and more emphasised. So far as we can judge, the oldest Šūfī lyrics arose from the demand for a poetry of their own which should brighten the public meetings of the Šūfī bodies. Isolated lines, quatrains and *ḡayḡ*'s of pronounced Šūfī colouring arose as early as the tenth century, but the first more or less extensive collections belong to the first half of the xith century. While the famous Bābā Ṭāhir 'Uryān (see ṬĀHIR; d. 1019) expresses pronounced Šūfī views only in his prose works and in his quatrains follows the model of the popular poetry (even in language, for a number of them are written in dialect), Bābā Kūhī Shirāzī (d. 1050) is already a mystic through and through in the full sense of the word. His *Dirwān* which has come down to us is, it is true, much corrupted, but the theories of the xth century are quite apparent from his verses which are interspersed with Qur'ān verses and ḥadīths. Until quite recently it was generally thought that the earliest Šūfī poet was the celebrated Shaikh Abū Sa'īd of Maihana. But there is no longer any doubt that he only once in his life composed a quatrain on the spur of the moment. All the other poems ascribed to him are either forgeries, or possibly were really declaimed by him during his sermons without having been composed by him. The mystical lyric attains a higher degree of perfection in Anṣārī [q. v.] also called Pīr-i Anṣār or Pīr of Herāt (1006—1088), whose principal work is the celebrated *Munāḍjāt*, ardent

prayers full of feeling in rhymed prose. The soil was now sufficiently prepared and Persian mysticism began to bear its finest flowers, which have given Persian poetry world-fame. But before we pass to these great masters we must briefly mention two names which it has hitherto been the custom to mention in connection with Šūfism. These are the famous scholar 'Omar Khayyām (q. v.; d. c. 1123) and the preacher of Ismā'ilism Nāṣir-i Khusrāw [q. v.]. To return to orthodox Šūfism we must first mention Sanā'ī (q. v.; 1048/1049—1141), the poet of Ghazna. If his *Dirwān*, half secular, half mystical, reveals further development along the path laid by Anṣārī [q. v.], his didactic poems, among which we may mention the *Ḥadīḡat al-Ḥaḡḡiḡ*, represent the first attempt to enliven the theories of Šūfism by inserting parables of a popular character. This device, only sparingly used by Sanā'ī, is brilliantly exploited by his successor, the celebrated Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (see AṬṬĀR; 1119—1230). In his poems the inserted tales attain full development and frequently display the greatest artistic perfection in their simplicity. The climax of this ascending series is formed by the incomparable and gigantic work of the great Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (q. v.; 1207—1273) also known as Mawlā-yi Rūm. His didactic poem, which bears the proud title of *Mathnawī*, i. e. "the poem" *par excellence* (perhaps with allusion to al-Kur'ān), is the finest thing that Oriental mysticism with its unlimited riches has produced. The famous Sa'dī (q. v.; 1184—1292?) is also usually reckoned among the mystics, although really only a few of his works have a distinctly mystical tinge. Sa'dī is rather a teacher of practical wisdom; he endeavours to show his readers the way by which in his troubled period the all too heavy blows of fate could be softened.

d. *Prose*. We have already observed that classical Persian literature was accustomed to clothe belles-lettres with a metrical garb, and preferred Arabic for learned works. The prose literature of this period is therefore not so rich as the poetry is. Along with the already mentioned work of Bal'ami we may also note the famous Abū 'Alī b. Sīnā (Avicenna; q. v.), who in addition to his works in Arabic wrote an encyclopædia of philosophy in Persian, the *Dāniṣh-nāma-yi 'Alā'ī*. The dialect of Ṭabaristān was used at the end of the tenth century by Marzbān b. Rustam [q. v.] for the *Marzbān-nāma*, a version of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [q. v.]. Unfortunately this work is now lost and known only from Sa'd Warāwīnī's Persian translation (written between 1210—1215). The *Siyāsat-nāma* of the Saljuḡ wazīr Nizām al-Mulk (q. v.; d. 1092) is an important book, which besides containing valuable historical material well reflects the political ideas of the period. This list of the most important works shows quite clearly that there is practically no belles-lettres proper. The first work that we can put in this class is the Persian translation of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* finished in 1144 by Abū 'l-Ma'ālī Naṣr Allāh [see NAṢR ALLĀH]. But here again it must be pointed out that the book was not then regarded as light literature but as a kind of "mirror for princes", that is to say as a learned work. The aim of the Persian translation of the *Faradī ba'd al-Shidda* completed in 1155 by Ḥusain al-Mu'ayyadī was similar, but with particular stress on the didactic element. The end of the xith century

brings a series of romances of chivalry and versions of pre-Islāmic material, the greater part of which is known only in later versions, often only in the form of popular romances. We may mention here the romance *Kitāb-i Samak 'Iyār* by Sadaḳa *Shīrāzī* composed in 1189, the fantastic and enormous romance of Amīr Ḥamza, the *Bakhtyār-nāma* and the romance of the Beduin hero *Ḥatīm Tayī*. To conclude this section, we may mention that in this period we already find a certain development of historical writing, a series of works on poetics, and the first attempts at anthologies (*tadhkira*, among them 'Awfi's [q. v.] valuable *Lubāb al-Albāb*). But as this compressed survey of Persian literature is forced to confine itself to belles-lettres such works cannot be dealt with here.

From the Mongols to the sixteenth century. The early years of Mongol rule were a period of tribulation for Persia. Although later Mongol rulers took an interest in the restoration of the country the destruction done in the early invasions was so vast that the land could only recover slowly. In the general havoc it could hardly be expected that Persian literature would continue on its earlier lines. Yet it is this period that produces the great series of eminent historians whose works form the foundation of all research by European scholars. Without going into further details we must at least briefly mention the more important names. These are 'Aṭā Malik *Djuwainī* [see *DJUWAINI*], Waṣṣāf [q. v.], the great Rashīd al-Dīn [q. v.], Faḍl Allāh and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi *Kāzwīnī* [see *KAZWINI*]. Poets on the other hand became rare and they seek comfort mainly in mysticism. Court poetry after the destruction of the brilliant court life survived mainly in outlying parts of the country which had suffered less in the general destruction. But this poetry could not for the most part rise above the level of the classical period and seeks to surpass its predecessors in dexterity of technique. Several poets who knew that they possessed a certain perfection of style left their native land and sought refuge with the rulers of India. For example Badr-i Cāc, a fairly skilled master of the *qaṣida*, left Central Asia to become court poet of Muḥammad b. Tughluq (1325—1351); there he was followed by Kānī'i of Tūs who however afterwards went to Asia Minor. An endeavour to give new life to the court language, which had become arid and formal, by the addition of Mongol and Turkish loan-words was made by Pūr-Bahā-yi *Djāmī*, who described the earthquake at Nishāpūr in 1267—1268 in a successful *qaṣida*. Only the mystical poets still retain traces of the ecstasies which filled the works of their predecessors. Of great importance is Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāḳī of Hamadhān (d. 1289) who in his *Lamā'at*, suggested by Anṣārī's *Munādjāt*, produced a work *sui generis*; his *'Ushshāḳ-nāma* also contains much that is valuable. Less known but interesting is Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī whose *Mishāḥ al-Arwāḥ* in many ways recalls the *Divina Commedia*. Awḥadī [q. v.] of Maragha attained great renown. His *Djām-i Djām*, which is now very little read, was copied 400 times in a single year. For European scholarship the *Gulshan-i Rāz* of Maḥmūd Shabistārī (d. 1320) had considerable importance. This was the first work from which a clearer idea of the teachings of Ṣūfism was obtained. A further development of the mystical quatrain is found in

Afḍal al-Dīn Kāshānī (also called Bābā Afḍal; d. 1307), who also can claim mention as the author of several treatises of a philosophical character. Among all these quite a special position is occupied by Nizārī Kūhistānī (d. 1320). Although an Ismā'īlī, like Nāṣir-i Khusraw at an earlier date, he is distinguished from the latter by sarcastic outbursts against orthodox Islām with such drastic effect that almost all authorities declared his writings heretical and hostile to religion. As a result manuscripts of his works are very scarce. Some of his longer poems (like *Muḡhir u-Azhar*) read like deliberate parodies of the aphorisms of Sa'dī and the court epic.

If Persian literature in the Mongol period had fallen into a kind of lethargic trance, under Timūr and his successors (1370—1405) it experienced a renaissance. The reason for this is probably that, with the decline of Mongol sovereignty, a large number of petty local dynasties arose who were all anxious to restore the ancient usages of court life and to adorn their courts with poets. This period therefore became a new flowering-time of Persian poetry and it may well be called the second classical period. Although the greater part of its poetry lacks the freshness and vigour of the pre-Mongol period, some of its poets succeeded in surpassing their predecessors. Of the masters of this period the following may be mentioned: Ibn Yamin (q. v.; d. 1368), for a time court poet to the Sarbadārs in Sabzawār, a great artist in the *khifā*, which was very little cultivated before him and then mainly for *vers d'occasion*. Khwādju Kirmānī [see *KIRMĀNĪ*; d. 1281], author of a *Khamsa* which endeavours to discard the rather pedantic learning of Nizāmī and is distinguished by grace and lightness of touch. His *ghazels* also show an endeavour to cast off Sa'dī's moralising tendency and to melt into pure expressions of feeling. 'Ubaid [q. v.] Zākānī (d. 1371), one of the most original figures of Persian literature, whose occasionally rather bold parodies contain ruthless criticism of and contempt for the Persian aristocracy. Salmān [q. v.] Sāwādī (d. 1376), celebrated for his difficult play on words, witticisms and technical skill, and lastly Lisān al-Ghaib Khwādja Ḥāfiz [q. v.] Shīrāzī (d. 1389), the incomparable master of the *ghazel*, who was able to combine the greatest freshness and depth of feeling with the elegance demanded by the taste of the age and brought the *ghazel* to the height of its development, never again reached by any one after him. Two less talented parodists must be mentioned as characteristic representatives of the period: Abū Ishāḳ Aṭ'ima, the poet of cooking, and Kārī Yazdī (second half of the xvth century), the tailor poet. Their works show that the grand style of the court poetry was already in decline and a new wave was about to break which revealed its weaknesses and made new "humble" objects the subject of its art. Among the prose writers we may here mention *Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Nakhsabī* [see *NAKHSABĪ*], whose book of the parrot (*Tūṭī-nāma*, 1330), a version of the old and now lost *Sindbad-nāma*, had a great success and was utilised by several later writers. His short prose romance *Gulrīz* should also be mentioned.

Under Timūr's successors the striving after artificiality increases still further. The poet's object is not to be generally understood. On the contrary his aim is to write only for a few select connois-

seurs who are able to appreciate his difficult tours de force. Outwardly this aim finds expression in the widespread use of a new form of poem, the *mu'ammā* [q. v.], a kind of riddle on names in verse. The best poets of this period were not ashamed to devote their attention to the *mu'ammā* and even the mystic *Djāmī*, who had cut himself off from the world, wrote a treatise on the theory of it. The authors of this period are all more or less influenced by *Šūfism*, which was probably a result of the years of trial and of the great invasions, which had clearly shown even to the great ones of the earth the transitoriness of worldly fortune. The famous *shāikh* and much honoured saint *Ni'mat Allāh Kirmānī* [see *NI'MAT ALLĀH WALI*; d. 1431] who founded a darwish order which bore his name, left, in addition to some 500 short prose treatises, an extensive *Diwān* which is not without a certain beauty. The mystic *Kāsim al-Anwār* [see *KĀSIM-I ANWĀR*; d. 1433-1434] is important; in his *Diwān* he used not only Persian but also Turkish and even the dialect of *Gilān*. *Kātibi* [q. v.] *Nishāpūri* (d. 1434-1435) returned to the scheme of the *khamṣa* but almost all five of his parts are pervaded by mystical allusions and endeavour to conceal a certain adherence to stereotyped pattern by artifices of technique. 'Ārifī of *Herāt* (d. c. 1449) achieved great fame by his celebrated *Hāl-nāma* also called *Gūy u-Čawgān*. 'Iṣmat *Bukhārā'i* (d. 1425-1426), who was able to work up an old *Šūfi* legend in his *Adham-nāma* to a beautiful work of art, is also of interest. *Husain Wā'iz Kāshifī* [see *KĀSHIFĪ*] (d. 1504-1505) occupies a prominent place; he achieved great fame by his version of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* called *Anwār-i Suhailī* and set the pattern which has never been equalled for a highly artificial and unusually difficult prose style. The greatest master of this period is undoubtedly 'Abd al-Raḥmān *Djāmī* [see *DJĀMĪ*; d. 1492], a prolific poet who left in addition to seven great *maṭnawīs* an extensive *Diwān* and many treatises. In spite of great versatility and a certain depth of feeling (as, for example, in his celebrated *Yūsuf u-Zulaikha* or *Lailī u-Mad'nūn*) all his work shows traces of decline, which is especially apparent when his poems are compared with works of the classical period. In this period also the writing of history flourished, and out of a number of distinguished historians we may mention *Hāfiẓ-i Abrū* [q. v.], 'Abd al-Razzāk [q. v.] *Samarḳandī* (d. 1482), *Mirḳhwānd* (q. v.; d. 1498) and *Khwāndamīr* (d. after 1534).

It has been the custom in Europe to close the history of Persian literature with the *Timūrid* period. The *Šafawid* period is, it is quite true, a period of great decline in Persian poetry. As these rulers did not encourage praise of the secular government, the poets of this period sought in their *qaṣīdas* to celebrate the supposed ancestors of their rulers, the imāms of the *Shī'a*, which gave the poet *Muḥtasham Kāshānī* (d. 1588) the opportunity to compose his famous *Hafṭband* in honour of the imāms. Many other names could be mentioned such as *Hātifi* (q. v.; d. 1520-1521), *Bābā Fighānī* (see *FIGHĀNĪ*; d. 1519), *Umīdī* (d. 1519 or 1523-1524), the two *Ahlīs*, *Turshīzī* (d. 1527-1528) and *Shīrāzī* (d. 1535-1536), *Hilālī* (q. v.; d. 1528-1529), *Lisānī* (d. 1533-1534), *Wakhshī* (see *WAKHSHĪ BĀRĀQĪ*; d. 1583). But it must be confessed that

very little attention has so far been paid by orientalists to these poets and practically nothing has been written about most of them. It seems however that isolated works, such as the *Farḥād u-Shīrin* of *Wakhshī*, deserve attention and might afford quite interesting material for the student. A characteristic feature of the xvth and also of the xviih century is the migration of Persian poets to India, attracted by the brilliant court of Akbar and his successors. The result was that a second centre of Persian poetry arose in India and gradually a peculiar Indian style developed, which in turn exerted a considerable influence on the literature of central Asia. The best known of these Indo-Persian poets are 'Urfī [q. v.] *Shīrāzī* (d. 1590-1591), who endeavoured to replace bombastic rhetoric by impressiveness and "sweetness" (*halāwat*), and his teacher *Faiḍī* (d. 1595), a distinguished scholar, who studied the religious doctrines of India and even translated several works from Sanskrit into Persian. The xviih century again shows a long series of names, among which we mention those of *Šahābī* (d. 1601-1602), the last great master of the quatrain, *Zulāfi* (q. v.; d. 1615), author of *Sab' Saiyāra*, seven longish poems of which the most notable is *Maḥmūd u-Ayāz*, *Tālib-i Āmulī* (d. 1626-1627), the author of an interesting romance of adventure in verse, and lastly the *Hāfiẓ* of the xviih century: *Šā'ib* [q. v.] *Tabrizī* (d. 1677-1678) who is still much read in India and Central Asia. *Šūfism*, which was mercilessly persecuted by the *Šafawids*, falls almost completely into the background in this period, but instead a very copious theological literature of the *Shī'a* develops in Persian. As the theologians of this period wanted their works to be as widely disseminated as possible, they succeeded in creating a peculiarly light and elegant prose style, which is very favourably distinguished from the artificial periods of the *Timūrids* and prepares the ground for modern Persian literature. Philosophical literature also was considerably enriched by the works of the great *Mollā Šadrā* (see *ŠADR AL-DĪN*; d. 1640-1641) and his successors.

The *Kādjārs* and modern Persia. The *Kādjār* monarchy established at the end of the xviih century brought with it a literary revival in Persia. While *Fath 'Alī's* court poets still followed the old traditions and produced little of value, a distinct change becomes apparent in the second half of the xixh century, the result of a closer contact with the European powers who were vying with one another for predominance in Persia. *Fath 'Alī Shāh's* court poets, like *Nashāt* (q. v.; d. 1828-1829) with his tender lyrics, *Šabā* (d. 1822-1823) with his *Shāhān-shāhnāme*, an imitation of *Firdawsī*, which celebrates the wars of 'Abbās *Mirzā* with the Russians, or the "*Djāmī of the sixteenth century*", *Wiṣāl*, all have much that is admirable to their credit, but nevertheless they are only epigones who lack originality completely. Quite a new note is struck in the works of the three great masters of this period: *Kā'ānī* (d. 1853-1854), *Shāibānī* (q. v.; d. 1888) and *Yaghmā* (q. v.; d. 1860). Although *Kā'ānī* studied both French and English and translated several books from these languages, his *qaṣīdas* are still, broadly speaking, repetitions of the long obsolete court style. But in the *nasīb*s of these bombastic exercises in style there are many wonder-

fully realistic scenes which would be quite impossible in the "golden age". *Shahbānī*, who suffered great injustice from the *Kādjārs*, strikes a gloomy and pessimistic note and bitterly laments the rottenness of the whole structure of the *Kādjār* monarchy. *Yaghmā*, perhaps the most interesting of all three poets, whose life was an unbroken chain of sorrows, attacked the Persian notables in bitter satire and ended with even blacker pessimism and a complete denial of the possibility of a happy life. His effort to purify the Persian language of Arabic loanwords is of interest. A great influence on further development was exercised by the *Dār al-Funūn* (1852), the first educational institute intended to further the study of western learning, the teachers in which were almost exclusively Europeans. The work of this institute required the translation of a series of western textbooks. This task however revealed that the rhymed prose of the classical period could not be used for such a purpose. The works of these first translators, who in addition to the textbooks also translated several novels, chiefly from the French, was of tremendous importance for the literary language of Persia and prepared to some extent the way for the literature of contemporary Persia. The *Dār al-Funūn* was also of great significance for learning in Persia. Its first director *Riḍā Qūlī Khān* (q. v.; d. 1871), who used the *takhalluṣ* *Hidāyat* for his poetry, was one of the greatest literary historians of Persia. Among his pupils were the famous historian *Šanī' al-Dawla*, later known as *Ihtishām al-Saltāna* (d. 1896), whose works are still one of the most valuable sources for the history of modern Persia. The efforts of the *Dār al-Funūn* also produced a widespread desire to help in making known the achievements of European science. Remarkable in this respect is the work of *Mirzā 'Abd al-Rahmān Nādjīār-Zāda* who under the name of *Tāliboff* published a series of popular works which dealt with the most varied subjects. Of these works the most important are the *Kitāb-i Ahmad* and *Masālik al-Muhsinin*. Of the greatest importance for Persian literature of the 19th century was the introduction of printing (first press in *Tabriz* in 1816—1817), which also made newspapers possible. But the first newspapers were intended only for court circles. It was not till 1851 that the first newspaper of any size appeared. The press made remarkable progress during the great struggle for the constitution (*mashrūṭa*) especially after the opening of the *Maḍjlis*.

This struggle hastened the literary revolution, which had been prepared for by the work of the writers of the 18th century. The political struggle made quite new demands upon the participants. Literature was no longer to be the special property of the aristocracy but had to speak clearly and intelligibly to the masses. Satirical poetry, which was particularly cultivated during these years (1906—1909), therefore broke away from the old tradition; instead of the old literary language which was difficult to understand it uses the language of the street and of the bazaar, instead of the dry old classical forms it sets out to imitate the street ballad (*taṣnīf*). The vernacular also found its way into prose. *'Alī Akbar Dihkhudā* (*Dakhaw*), the great master of the feuilleton, wrote his biting and humorous pamphlets *Čarand-parand*, which brightened the revolutionary paper

Šūr-i Iqrāfīl. This style was also adopted by later writers and influenced two of the best satirical works of recent years, namely the incomparable collection of stories *Yakī būd yakī na-būd* ("Truth and Fiction") by *Āghā Saiyid Muḥammad 'Alī Djamāl-zāda* (1922) and the trilogy by *Muḥammad Mas'ūd* (*M. Dihālī*) the last part of which appeared in 1934 under the title *Ashraf-i Makhluqāt* ("the Crown of Creation").

In the war against the antiquated, the dramatic form, unknown to the classical literature, was also used. While old Persia had had only farces ("wandering players") and religious mysteries (*ta'siya* [q. v.] or *azā*), the comedy after the European model made its appearance in the form of Persian translations of the famous works of the *Ādharbāidjānī* author *Faṭḥ 'Alī Akhund-zāda*, which were translated by *Mirzā Dja'far Karadjadāghī*. These plays obviously served as models for the original plays by the well known politician and founder of freemasonry (*farāmūsh-khāna*) in Persia, *Mirzā Malkum-Khān*. If the theatre was influenced on the one hand by *Ādharbāidjānī* literature, on the other acquaintance with the Turkish drama made possible the appearance of versions of Molière's plays, among which we may mention *Le médecin malgré lui*, *Le Misanthrope* and *Tartuffe*. The lack of a regular stage in Persia however made the further development of the drama impossible for the time being. Only in recent years have tragedies appeared in Persia, among which the historical *Dāstān-i khūnin* (1926) by *Saiyid 'Abd al-Rahīm Khal-khālī*, *Akhirin yadgar-i Nādirshāh* (1927) by *Sa'id Nafīsī* and *Parwīn* (1931) by *Šādiḳ Hidāyat* may be mentioned. The wave of satire in the first decades of the 20th century also produced the first satirical novel *Siyāhat-nāma-yi Ibrāhīm-beg* by *Hādjdji Zain al-'Ābidīn* of *Marāgha* (d. 1910). This work, planned in three parts on the model of the *Divina Commedia*, had a fabulous success and is still of value as a characterisation, exaggerated it is true, of the defects of old Persia.

The Present Day. In order not to destroy the continuity we have already been compelled to mention some of the most recent works. It would be very difficult to give at this time a comprehensive sketch of the last few decades. The period after the War and the great changes that have taken place in Persia naturally have also had their influence on literature. Yet it is not so easy for Persian literature, particularly poetry, to cast off the thousand-year-old traditions of the classical literature. The struggle with these traditions found expression mainly in two ways: on the one hand prose attempts to gain predominance over poetry and thus to reverse the old proportions, and on the other the new poetry endeavours both in form and matter to break through the old limitations. This second task is the more difficult as it requires unusual ability to prevent the efforts of the innovators appearing as mere schoolboys' work alongside of the perfection of the classics. For this reason the greatest of the modern poets still adhere rather tenaciously to the traditional forms, even if as regards matter they are far removed from the old models. The greatest of the modern poets, *Saiyid Muḥammad Adīb-i Piṣhāwarī* (d. 1931), can hardly be distinguished as regards form from the classical poets, of whose

technique he has a complete mastery, but as regards matter his poems with their glowing hatred of England and echoes of the World War are something quite new for Persia. The same may be said of the celebrated Malik al-Shu'arā' Bahār, whose great *qaṣidas* in spite of their traditional style are almost entirely political in content. On the other hand, Abu 'l-Kāsim 'Arif Kāzwīnī (born c. 1879—1880) has cast off the old tradition to a considerable extent. Of classical forms he prefers the *ghazal*, but has attained his greatest fame by popular *taṣnīfs*, some of which played a great part during the fighting in the Persian Revolution. The poems of Iradjmīrzā (d. 1926) are very famous; his main theme was the fight for the liberation of the Persian woman. Unfortunately his works are characterised by a repulsive cynicism which is quite irreconcilable with the loftiness of his ideals. Among the younger poets first place must be given to Rashīd Yāsīmī (born 1897), whose tender lyrics distinctly betray the influence of European poetry. Yāsīmī has also distinguished himself as a literary historian. Nīmā is endeavouring to create new forms and in his *Maḥbas* ("prison") he succeeded in impressively depicting the tragic lot of the Persian peasant. Mention must also be made of Nizām Wafā, author of two short *mathnawīs* which the European reader will feel to be too sentimental. The *Sargudhasht-i Ardashīr* is interesting; its author, Waḥīd Dašt-girdī, is editor of the *Armaghān*, the best Persian literary monthly. There are also women-writers and the rather naive verse of the poetess Parwīn shows that we may hope for success in this field also.

Revolutionary tendencies in Persian poetry are represented by Mīr-zāda 'Ishkī (killed in 1925), noted for his poem *Idēl-i Pīr-mard-i Dihkān*, and Kāsim Lāhūtī, now working in the USSR (b. 1887), who has with great skill been able to overcome the old traditions and to give his revolutionary poems artistic forms most effectively.

If the Persian poetry of recent years is still feeling its new way only very tentatively, the prose can show remarkable achievements. The first years after the War gave the Persians their first historical novel '*Ishk u-Saltanat*' (printed 1919) by Shaikh Mūsā Hamadḥānī, the chief hero in which is the Achaemenid Cyrus. The episode of Bīzhan and Manīzha from Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* was worked up into a long novel by Aghā Mīrza Ḥasan-Khān Badī', the story of *Mazdak* was used by Ṣan'atī-zāda Kirmānī, who also wrote a novel from the life of *Mānī* (pr. 1927). The most interesting of all these historical novels is the *Shams u-Tuḡhrā* (in three parts: written in 1909) of Muḥammad Bākīr-Mīrzā Khusrāwī, who describes the condition of Fārs under Mongol rule (xiiith century). Kamālī's novel *Lāzika* (1931) is outspokenly nationalist. If the historical novels are intended to remind the Persian reader of the departed greatness of his country and arouse his national pride, the second group of modern novels is devoted to the criticism of present conditions. The difficult position of women in Persia is dealt with by 'Abbās Khalīlī in his *Rūzgār-i siyāh* (2nd ed. 1925). The same author has written a number of shorter novels and stories, among which we may mention *Intikām*, *Insān* and *Asrār-i Shāh*. The hard lot of the working classes and the criminal conduct of the Persian bureaucracy before the revolution of 1921 are described by

Muṣṭafā Muṣḥfiḳ Kāzīmī in his *Tihrān-i makhḥūf* (2nd ed. 1924). The same author has also published several shorter novels. Aḥmad-'Alī-Khān Khudādāda deals with the sufferings of the peasant in his *Rūz-i siyāh-i kārgar* (1927). The novel *Maḥjma-i Dīwānagān* (1925) of the already mentioned Ṣan'atī-zāda is fanciful and Utopian; the same author in 1934 published another Utopian novel, *Rustam dar Kār-n-i bist u-duwrum*, in which he endeavours to demonstrate the inadequacy of the old ideals of chivalry.

This compressed survey, which can only mention more important works, shows that modern Persian prose has developed much more vigorously than poetry. If we consider the difficulties which the Persian moderns had to overcome, there can be no doubt that the next few years must produce an ever greater literary revival and that new Persia will soon produce works of art, which will be able to take their place beside the noble creations of the classical period in the literature of the world.

Bibliography: Only comprehensive surveys are given as this is not the place to give a complete list of monographs on individual authors. — E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*: I. *From the earliest Times until Firdawsī*, II. *From Firdawsī to Sa'dī*, London 1906—1908; do., *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion (A. D. 1265—1502)*, Cambridge 1920; do., *A History of Persian Literature in Modern Times (A. D. 1500—1924)*, Cambridge 1924 (so far the best and most complete work); do., *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*, Cambridge 1914; H. Ethé, *Neupersische Litteratur*, in *G. I. Ph.*, ii. 212—368 (a brief survey but indispensable for references); P. Horn, *Geschichte der persischen Litteratur*, Leipzig 1901; A. E. Krimski, *Die Geschichte Persiens, ihrer Litteratur und der Theosophie der Darwische*, vol. i., Moscow 1916; vol. ii. (lith.), 1909; vol. iii., 1914—1917 (Russian); I. Pizzi, *Storia della poesia persiana*, Turin 1894, 2nd vol.; R. Levy, *Persian Literature, an Introduction*, London 1923; Ridā-Kūli-Khān, *Maḥjma' al-Fuṣḥā*, Tihrān 1295; do., *Riḳāḍ al-'Arifin*, Tihrān 1305 (both works of great value); Shiblī Nu'mānī, *Shi'r al-'Adjam*, i.—v., Lahore 1924 (Hindūstānī); K. Tschajkin, *Kurzer Abriss der neuesten persischen Litteratur*, Moscow 1928 (Russian); E. Berthels, *Abriss der persischen Literaturgeschichte*, Leningrad 1928 (Russian); do., *Der persische historische Roman im XX. Jahrh.*, Leningrad 1932 (Russian); do., *Das persische Theater*, Leningrad 1924 (Russian); A. E. Krimski, *Das persische Theater, sein Ursprung und seine Entwicklung*, Kiev 1925 (Ukrainian).

(E. BERTHELS)

PERTEW PASHA, the name of two Ottoman statesmen.

I. PERTEW MEHMET PASHA, Ottoman admiral and wezīr, started his career on the staff of the imperial harem, became *kapudji bashi* [q. v.], later Agha of the Janissaries and in 962 (1555) he was advanced to the rank of wezīr; in 968 (1561) he was appointed third wezīr, in 982 (1574) second wezīr and finally commander (*serdār*) of the imperial fleet under the *kapudan pasha* Mu'ezzin-zāde 'Alī Pasha. He later fell into disgrace and died in Stambul where he was buried in his own *türbe* in the cemetery of Eiyüb.

Bibliography: J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iii. 382, 438; Mehmed Thureiyā, *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, ii. 37 sq.

II. PERTEW MEHMED SA'ID PASHA, Ottoman dignitary and poet. He was of Tatar descent and was born in the village of Darīdja near Urmiya. In his early youth he came to the capital Stambul and entered upon an official career. In Muḥarram 1240 (Sept. 1824) he became *beylikdji efendi*, i.e. State referendary and in Sha'bān 1242 (March 1827), head of the imperial chancery (*ra'is al-kuttāb*). Two years later he lost the post of chancellor and went on a special mission to Egypt. On his return he became in 1246 (1830) assistant (*kiaya*) to the grand vizier. On the 23rd Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1251 (March 12, 1836) he was appointed minister for civil affairs (*mülkiye nāzirī*) and given the title of marshal (*müşār*). In the spring of 1836 he was given the title of Pasha but was dismissed by the autumn. In the beginning of Sept. 1836 he was banished by Maḥmūd II to Scutari in Albania. Pertew Pasha set out a few weeks after his banishment to his place of exile but did not reach it. He died in Adrianople three hours after a banquet which the governor there, Muṣtafā Pasha, gave in his honour (according to Gibb, *H. O. P.*, iv. 333: Emin Pasha). No one doubted that his sudden death was due to poison and public opinion ascribed the crime to Maḥmūd himself. On his family see *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, ii. 38. His son-in-law, who shared his views, was the intriguing private secretary to Maḥmūd II, Waṣṣāf Bey, a highly educated man but lacking in character and accessible to bribery, who lost his office about the same time as Pertew Pasha and was banished to Tokat in Anatolia; cf. G. Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei*, i., Leipzig 1866, p. 255 sq. Pertew Pasha's successor was his political opponent 'Ākif Pasha, cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 357 sq. — As a statesman Pertew Pasha took up a pronounced anti-Russian attitude and was no less hostile to the Christians, whom he oppressed with long obsolete and forgotten laws. His feeling against the Christians increased with advancing years.

As a poet, Pertew Pasha composed a *Diwān*, which was esteemed as a model of the poetical art of the period of Maḥmūd II. There are two editions of it: Bülāk 1253 (80, 91 pp.) and Stambul 1256 (80, 130 pp.). On other works by Pertew Pasha see Brūsālī Mehmed Tāhir, *'Othmānī Mū'ellifleri*, ii. 114 sq. — His valuable library, rich in manuscripts, is now in what was formerly the Selimiye monastery in Scutari.

Bibliography: G. Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei*, i., Leipzig 1866, *pass.*, esp. p. 255 sq.; Gibb, *H. O. P.*, iv. 332 sqq. with references to Jouannin and J. van Gaver, *Turquie*, Paris 1843, for an account of the death of Pertew Pasha in Adrianople; Mehmed Thureiyā, *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, ii. 38; Sāmi Bey Frāsherī, *Kāmus al-'Alām*, p. 1494 sq.; Brūsālī Mehmed Tāhir, *'Othmānī Mū'ellifleri*, ii. 114. — This Pertew Pasha is not to be confused with the statesman and poet Pertew Edhem Pasha who died on the 7th Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1289 (Jan. 6, 1873) as governor of Kastamuni [q. v.], a number of whose poems have been published e. g., a *Shāhnāme* and *Lāhika*, s. l. (= Stambul) n. d., and *Ilāk al-Aḥkār fī 'Aḥd al-Abkār*, Stambul 1304. On him cf. Mehmed Tāhir, *op. cit.*, ii. 114 sq.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

PESANTREN. [See PASANTREN.]

PESHĀWAR, a district, *taḥṣīl*, and city in the North-West Frontier Province of British India. The district which lies between 71° 25' and 72° 47' E. and 33° 40' and 34° 31' N. has an area of 2,637 square miles and a population of 947,321 of whom 92 per cent are Muslims (1931 Census Report). It is bounded on the east by the river Indus, which separates it from the Pandjāb and Hazāra, and on the south-east by the Nilāb Ghasha range which shuts it off from the district of Kōhāt. Elsewhere it is bounded by tribal territory. To the south lie the territories of the Ḥasan Khēl and Kōhāt Pass Afridis; westwards, the Khaiber Afridis and Mullāgoris. Farther north, across the Kābul river, the various Mohmand clans stretch to the Swāt river. The northern boundary of the district marches with the territories of the Utmān Khēl, the Yūsufzais of Swāt and Buner, the Khudu Khēl, Gaduns and Utmānzais. Mountain passes famous in frontier history connect it with the surrounding tribal tracts. In the north-east, the Mora, Shākot, and Malakand passes lead into Swāt. The historic gateway of the Khaiber connects it with Afghānistān, while, to the south, the Kōhāt Pass runs through a strip of tribal territory, known as the Djowaki peninsula, into the neighbouring district of Kōhāt.

References to the district occur in early Sanskrit literature and in the writings of Strabo, Arrian, and Ptolemy. It once formed part of the ancient Buddhist kingdom of Gandhāra, for, from the Khaiber Pass to the Swāt valley, the country is still studded with crumbling Buddhist stupas. Here, too, have been unearthed some of the best specimens of Graeco-Buddhist sculpture in existence, while one of Aśoka's rock edicts is to be found near the village of Shāhbāzgarha in the Yūsufzai country. Both Fa-hien, in the opening years of the fifth century A. D., and Hiuen Tsang, in the seventh century A. D., found the inhabitants still professing Buddhism. It is also on record that Puruṣhapura was the capital of Kanishka's dominions. Through centuries of almost unbroken silence we arrive at the era of Muslim conquest, when, between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, numerous Pathān tribes from Afghānistān spread over and conquered the country roughly corresponding to the modern North-West Frontier Province (T. C. Plowden, *Kalid-i Afghānī*, chap. i.—v., Selections from the *Tārīkh-i Murāṣṣa*).

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, according to local tradition, two large branches of of Pathān tribes, the Khakhai and the Ghōriya Khēl, migrated from their homes in the hilly country around Kābul to the Djalālābād valley and the slopes of the Safid Kōh. The most important divisions of the Khakhai were the Yūsufzai, Gugiyani and Tarklānī; the Ghōriya Khēl were divided into five tribes, the Mohmands, Khalils, Dā'ūdais, Čamkannis and Zerānis. The Yūsufzais, advancing into the modern Peshāwar district, expelled the inhabitants, known as Dilazāks, and finally conquered the country north of the Kābul river and west of Hoti Mardān. By the opening years of the sixteenth century, the Ghōriya Khēl had also reached the Khaiber area. Eventually these powerful tribes dispossessed the original inhabitants, driving some to the Swāt Kōhistān and forcing the Dilazāks across the Indus. Later, the Ghōriya Khēl attempted to oust the Khakhai

branch but were signally defeated by the Yūsufzais.

Since the modern Peshāwar district lay athwart the route of invading armies from the direction of Central Asia, much of its history resembles that of the Panjāb. The Pathāns of this part of the frontier proved a thorn in the side of the Muslim rulers of India, and, although nominally incorporated in the Mughal empire, they were never completely subjugated, even Akbar and Aurangzib contenting themselves with keeping open the road to Kābul. With the decline of Mughal power this area became a part of the Durrāni empire founded by Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī. Disintegration set in under his weak successors and eventually in the early nineteenth century Peshāwar was seized by the Sikhs of the Panjāb. Sikh rule was of the loosest type, and Peshāwar groaned under the iron heel of the Italian General Avitabile. With the annexation of the Panjāb in 1849, the Peshāwar valley came permanently under British control and remained an integral part of the Panjāb until the formation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901. (A detailed examination of British administration and of the various expeditions against the frontier tribes will be found in *The Problem of the North-West Frontier* by C. Collin Davies). In recent years this area has been the scene of the activities of 'Abd al-Ghaffār Khān, the founder of the "Red Shirt" movement, which, although ostensibly based on Gandhi's creed of non-violence, has seriously disturbed the peace of the Peshāwar valley.

Peshāwar City, the capital of the North-West Frontier Province, has a population of 87,440 and is situated near the left bank of the Bārā river about 13 miles east of the Khaiber Pass. Its importance as a trading centre on the main route between India and Afghānistān has increased since the construction of the Khaiber railway in 1925. It has 16 gates which are closed every night and opened before sunrise. The richest part is the Andarshahr where the wealthier Hindus have taken up their abode. In this quarter, conspicuous on account of its high minarets of white marble, stands the mosque of Mahābat Khān who was governor during the reign of Shāh Dījāhān. On the north-west the city is dominated by a fort known as the Bālā Hīṣār. The Shāhī Bāgh with its spacious and shady grounds is a favourite resort of the inhabitants in the spring. The fame of the Kīṣṣa Khwānī or Storytellers Bazaar is known throughout the length and breadth of the frontier and beyond.

Two miles to the west of the city are the cantonments (population 34,426), the principal military station in the province. Some three miles to the west of the cantonments is the famous Islāmiya college which, although essentially a Muslim college, opens its doors to students of all castes and creeds.

Bibliography: C. Collin Davies, *The Problem of the North-West Frontier*, 1932; do., *British Relations with the Afridis of the Khyber and Tirah*, in *Army Quarterly*, January 1932; M. Foucher, *Notes sur la géographie ancienne du Gandhara*, 1902; *Frontier and Overseas Expeditions from India*, vol. i., 1907; Supplement A, 1910; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, s. v. Peshawar; H. R. James, *Report on the Settlement of the Peshawar District*, 1865; *North-West Frontier Province Administration Reports*

(published annually); W. H. Paget and A. H. Mason, *Record of Expeditions against the N. W. F. Tribes since the annexation of the Punjab*, 1885; *Panjab Administration Reports* (published annually); *Peshawar District Gazetteer*, vol. A, 1933; T. C. Plowden, *Kalid-i Afghāni*, 1875; H. Priestly, *Hayat-i Afghāni*, 1874. (C. COLLIN DAVIES)

PESHWA. [See PISHWA.]

PETERWARDEIN. [See PETROVARADIN.]

PETROVARADIN (Hungarian Pétervárad, Turkish Waradin واراندين), a famous fortress and town in Sirmia (Yugoslavia) on the main railway line Belgrad (—Petrovaradin)—Novi Sad—Subotica—Budapest, lies on the right bank of the Danube opposite Novi Sad (Neusatz), chief town and headquarters of the Danube banate, with which it is connected by two bridges and since 1929 also administratively. There are two fortresses, an upper one which rises 150 feet above the Danube on rocks of serpentine surrounded on three sides by the river (forming the most northerly spur, 400 feet high, of the Fruška Gora) and a lower one which stands at the foot of the cliffs on the north. In the upper fortress there are no private houses but only military buildings, including the celebrated arsenal with many trophies from the Turkish wars, while the other fortress has a fine market, a main and two side streets. Numerous trenches have survived within the area of the two fortresses which have room for 10—12,000 men. The town proper lies half on the Danube and before its union with Novi Sad it had over 5 000 inhabitants (1921). There are many vineyards in the vicinity.

There was a settlement here even in Roman times called Cusum in which definite traces of the cult of Mithra have been found. According to one legend, the settlement received its later name Petricum from Peter the Hermit, who assembled the armies for the First Crusade here. In any case the town was known as Petrikon in the wars of the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenos (1143—1180) with Hungary. After belonging for a brief period to Byzantium, Petrovaradin returned to the kings of Hungary, and Bela IV in 1237 presented the town and the royal palace to the Cistercian abbey there of the B. M. V. Belefontis de monte Varadinipetri. This abbey survived throughout the middle ages until 1521 but from 1439 it and the town of Petrovaradin passed under the control of the ban of Mačva.

In Sulaimān I's second campaign against Hungary, the first blow was dealt at Petrovaradin: the grand vizier and brother-in-law of the sultān, Ibrāhīm Pasha (cf. *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, i. 93—94), stormed the town on the 15th and the fortress after a brave resistance on the 27th July. The Turks held Petrovaradin till 1687 when they began to withdraw gradually after the fall of Ofen. Soon afterwards the town was occupied by the Austrians (finally in 1691) and after Sürmeli 'Alī Pasha had besieged it in vain for 23 days in 1694 (from Aug. 29) it was definitely ceded to them by the peace of Carlowitz 1699. But it is from the war of 1716—1718 that Petrovaradin is best known. The grand vizier Shāhid 'Alī Pasha (on him cf. 'Abd al-Rahmān Sharaf, ii. 138 and *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iii. 528—529) with an army of 150,000 men encountered Prince Eugene of Savoy near the town and tried to begin

a regular siege. The Austrian general however foiled this attempt and instead fought a five hours pitched battle with his 64,000 men which ended in the defeat of the Turks (Aug. 5, 1716). This battle, in which 'Alī Pasha himself fell, with the fall of Temesvár and Belgrade (1717) brought about a decision in the war and led to the peace of Požarevac [q. v.] which established the Turkish frontier much farther south of Petrovaradin (indeed over the Save). A little later the empress Maria Theresa built the new fortress. In the Hungarian war of independence (1848—1849) Petrovaradin was for over nine months in Hungarian hands until it surrendered to the Austrians in Sept. 6, 1849. On the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1918 the town passed to Yugoslavia.

Bibliography: (in addition to references in the article): Ewliya Çelebi, *Siyāhatnāme*, vii. (Stanbul 1928), p. 145—147 (gives a very full account of the capture by the Turks; the other statements are rather vague as most of the figures are left unfilled in); Hammer, *G. O. R.*², ii. 50; iii. 866 und iv. 145; Zinkeisen, *G. O. R.*, ii. 652 and v. 533—534; Sh. Sāmi, *Kāmus al-A'lām*, ii. 1489 (wrongly thinks, that Petrovaradin remained Turkish down to the reign of Ahmad III [1703—1730]); 'Abd al-Rahmān Sharaf, *Ta'rikh-i Dewlet-i 'othmāniye*, ii. 143; Meyers Reisebücher: *Türkei* etc.⁵, Leipzig—Vienna 1898, p. 33; J. Modestin in *Narodna enciklopedija*, iii. (Zagreb 1928), p. 336—337 (where some further literature is given); *Almanah kraljevine Jugoslavije*, Zagreb 1931, p. 531; *Glasnik Istoriskog društva u Novom Sadu*, vol. vi., Heft 1—2, Sremski Karlovci 1933 (special number devoted to Novi Sad and Petrovaradin with important contributions and several old plans [from 1688] of the latter town).

(FEHIM BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

PHARAO. [See FIR'AWN.]

PIÅLE PASHA, Ottoman Grand Admiral, came according to St. Gerlach, *Tage-Buch* (Frankfurt a/M. 1674, p. 448), from Tolna in Hungary and is said to have been the son of a shoemaker probably of Croat origin. Almost all contemporary records mention his Croat blood (cf. the third series of the *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, ed. E. Albèri, Florence 1844—1845, and esp. III/ii. 243: *di nazione croato, vicino ai confini d'Ungheria*; p. 357: *di nazione croato*; III/iii. 294: *di nazione unghero*; p. 418). Following the custom of the time his father was later given the name of 'Abd al-Rahmān and described as a Muslim (cf. F. Babinger, in *Litteraturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkenszeit*, Berlin and Leipzig 1927, p. 35, note 1). Piåle came in early youth as a page into the Serai in Stambul and left it as *kapudji bashi* [q. v.]. The year 961 (1554) saw him appointed Grand Admiral (*kapudan pasha*; q. v.) with the rank of a *sandjakbey* and four years later he was given the status of a *beylerbey* (J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 406). He succeeded Sinān Pasha, brother of the grand vizier Rustam Pasha [q. v.], in the office which he had held from 955—961 (1548—1554). When after his capture of Djerba and other heroic achievements at sea he thought he might claim the rank of wezir with three horse-tails, Sultān Sulaimān, thinking it too soon for this promotion and regarding it as endangering the prestige of the wezirate (cf. Hādjdji Khalifa, *Tuhfat al-Kibār*, first edition, fol. 36 and J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 406), married him

to his grand-daughter Djewher Sultān, a daughter of Selim II (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 392: summer of 1562). It was not till five years later that he received the three horse-tails as a wezir related by marriage (*dāmād*) like Mehmed Şokolli Pasha. In the meanwhile he had carried out several of his great exploits at sea and attained the reputation of one of the greatest of Ottoman admirals. Along with Torghud Re'is, at the instigation of the French ambassador d'Aramon, he had harassed the coast around Naples, besieged and taken Reggio and carried off its inhabitants into slavery. In 982 (1555) he endeavoured in vain to besiege Elba and Piombino (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 418) and finally took the fortified harbour of Oran in Algeria with 45 galleys. In the following year with 60 warships he occupied the port of Bizerta (Bent-Zert) and a year later ravaged Majorca with 150 galleys and burned Sorrento near Naples. In 965 (1558) he lay inactive with his fleet, 90 in number, before Valona in Albania in order to watch the enemy fleets there which were preparing an enterprise against Djerba and Tripolis. July 31, 1560 saw his greatest exploit at sea, namely the capture of Djerba which had shortly before been taken by the Spaniards; this he did with 120 ships setting out from Modon. On Sept. 27, 1660, he held his triumphal entry into Stambul, to which he had sent in advance the news of his victory by a galley (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 421 sqq.). The Grand Admiral did not take the sea again till four years later when in Aug. 1564 he took the little rocky peninsula of Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera from the Spaniards and in order to prepare for the conquest of Malta, which the sultān's favourite daughter Mihrimah [see RUSTEM PASHA] was conducting with all her resources. This time however fortune no longer favoured him, for the siege of Malta in June—July 1565 failed against the heroic courage of the Christian defenders who performed miracles of bravery and inflicted heavy losses on the Ottomans. During the Hungarian campaign of Sulaimān in the spring of 1566 Piåle Pasha was placed in charge of the harbour and arsenal of Stambul (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 438), after previously undertaking a successful raid on Chios and the Apulian coast (*ibid.*, iii. 506 sqq.) in which the island of Chios and its harbour passed into his hands (Easter Sunday 1566). Under Selim II, his father-in-law, he was disgraced and deprived of office of Grand Admiral because, it was alleged, he had kept the greater part of the booty of Chios for himself (according to the report of the embassy of Albrecht de Wijs of May 1568 in J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 782) and replaced by Mu'ezzin-zāde 'Alī Pasha. He at once endeavoured to regain the imperial favour by new exploits at sea. In April 1570, he set sail with 75 galleys and 30 galleots, landed first of all on the island of Tine which he captured and next took part in the conquest of Cyprus. On January 20, 1578 — according to Ottoman sources on the 12th Dhū 'l-Ka'da 985 (Jan. 21, 1578) — he died in Stambul according to Stephan Gerlach (cf. his *Tage-Buch*, Frankfurt a/M. 1674, p. 448). His vast estates passed some to the imperial treasury and some to his widow and children. His widow later married the third wezir Mehmed Pasha and his second son became Sandjak Bey of Klis (Clissa) above Split (Spalato in Dalmatia) in 1584 (cf. the Italian record quoted by J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.* iv. 104, note 1: *La*

Sultana fo moglie di Piale ora di Mohammedbassa terzo vezir, ha ottenuto dal Sign. il Sangiacio di Clissa per il secondo suo figlio con Piale). Piale Pasha is buried in Stambul in the Kāsim Pasha quarter in the mosque founded by him (cf. Hāfiz Husein, *Hadikat al-Djawiāmi*^c, ii. 25 sqq.).

Bibliography: In addition to works quoted in the text the histories of Zinkeisen and Iorga, and Rāmiz Pasha-zāde Mehmed Efendi, *Kharīṭa-i Kapudānān-i Deryā*, Stambul 1285; also Hāfiz Husein, *Hadikat al-Djawiāmi*^c, ii. 25 sqq. and Mehmed Thuraiyā, *Sidjill-i othmāni*, ii. 41 sq. (FRANZ BABINGER)

PIASTRE. [See GHRŪSH.]

PIE. [See PÅI.]

PINANG or PULAU PINANG, an island on the western shore of the Malay Peninsula, lying in latitude 5° 24' N. and longitude 100° 21' E. The area is 276 km.²; it is separated from the mainland by a channel from 3 to 16 km. broad. The town of Pinang is built on the northeastern promontory, 4 km. off the shore of the mainland. The official names, Prince of Wales' island and Georgetown, never became popular and exist only in official documents. — The island was acquired in 1786 for the East India Company against a yearly payment from the Sultan of Kēdah by an agreement with Capt. Light, who founded the colony in the same year. He hoped the place would become an emporium of the eastern seas. It was practically uninhabited at the time and was made a penal settlement shortly afterwards. It remained the penal station of India till 1857. In 1805 it became a separate Presidency. When in 1826 Singapore and Malaka were incorporated with it, Pinang continued to be the seat of government; in 1837 Singapore was made the capital. In 1867 the Straits Settlements were created a Crown Colony; since that year Pinang has been under the administrative control of a resident responsible to the Government of the Straits. He is assisted by officers of the Malayan Civil Service. Unofficial members of the legislative council of the colony, which holds its sittings in Singapore, are appointed with the sanction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to represent Pinang. — Pinang has an excellent harbour and is important as a port of call; there is regular steamer-communication with the Dutch East Indies, Singapore, (British) India etc. The terminus of the Federated Malay States' railways is on the mainland opposite. Trade is adversely affected however by the proximity of Singapore, there are no port duties. — The island is now well opened up, the population has rapidly increased; it is largely Chinese and Tamil, though Malays are well represented, most of these originating from the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra; all of them are Muḥammadans of the *Shāfi'i* rite. — Wellesley Province, a strip of land opposite on the mainland, forms part of the settlement of Pinang. It was acquired in 1800 from the Sultan of Kēdah against a yearly sum paid for it and includes a district which was purchased in 1874 from the Sultan of Perak. The soil is well cultivated; there are large estates owned by Europeans and Chinese. Until recently a second strip of territory on the mainland and adjoining islands, known as the Dindings, formed part of the settlement; it was ceded by Perak and has now been restored to that state. — The population of the whole settlement, Dindings included, was 304,000 according

to the census of 1921, that of the town 123,000; the number of Muḥammadans is not known.

Bibliography: *Memoir of Captain Francis Light*, in *Journal Straits Branch R. A. S.*, No. 28, p. 1 sqq.; F. A. Thomas, *A school geography and history of Penang*, Singapore 1906; *Malaya*, ed. R. O. Winstedt, London 1923.

(R. A. KERN)

PİR (P.), elder. In the Sūfi system he is the *murshid*, the "spiritual director". He claims to be in the direct line of the interpreters of the esoteric teaching of the Prophet and hence holds his authority to guide the aspirant (*murid*) on the Path. But he must himself be worthy of imitation. "He should have a perfect knowledge, both theoretical and practical, of the three stages of the mystical life and be free of fleshly attributes". When a *pir* has proved — either by his own direct knowledge or by the spiritual power (*wilāyat*) inherent in him — the fitness of a *murid* to associate with other Sūfi's, he lays his hand on the aspirant's head and invests him with the *khirka*. The *murid* need not necessarily receive his investiture from that *pir* who gave him instruction, who is called the *pir-i suhbat*. *Pir* also is the title given to the founders of derwish orders.

Bibliography: R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, and literature there quoted; J. P. Brown, *The Darvishes*, Oxford 1927. (R. LEVY)

PİRİ MEHMET PASHA, an Ottoman grand vizier, belonged to Amasia and was a descendant of the famous Djalāl al-Dīn of Akserāy and therefore traced his descent from Abū Bakr. He took up a legal career and became successively *kaḍi* of Sofia, Siliwri and Galata, administrator of Mehmed II's kitchen for the poor (*'imāret*) in Stambul and at the beginning of the reign of Bāyazid II attained the rank of a first *defterdār* (*bash defterdār*). In the reign of Selīm I he distinguished himself by his wise counsel in the Persian campaign (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 412, 417 sqq.), was sent in advance to Tabriz to take possession of this town in the name of the sultān, and at the end of Sept. 1514 was appointed third vezir in place of Muṣṭafā Pasha who had been dismissed (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 420). He temporarily held the office of a *kā'immaḳām* of Stambul and after the end of the Egyptian campaign was appointed grand vizier in place of Yūnus Pasha, who had been executed on the retreat from Egypt in 923 (1517). In this capacity he took part in the conquest of Baghdād in 1521. Soon after the occupation of Rhodes, Piri Pasha fell from the sultān's favour as a result of the slanders of the envious Aḥmad Pasha who coveted his office, and was dismissed with a pension of 200,000 aspers on the 13th *Shābān* 929 (June 27, 1523). His successor was Ibrāhīm Pasha [q.v.], a Greek from Parga. Piri Mehmed lived another ten years and died in 939 or 940 (1532–1533) at Siliwri, where he was buried in the mosque founded by him. One of his sons, Mehmed Beg, had predeceased him in 932 as governor of İc-il. Piri Mehmed Pasha created a number of charitable endowments, among them a mosque in Stambul called after him (cf. Hāfiz Husein, *Hadikat al-Djawiāmi*^c, i. 308), a medrese and a public-kitchen as well as what was known as a *iab-khāne*. — While his *laḳab* was Piri, he used Remzi as a *makhlaṣ* for his

poems, which are of moderate merit (cf. J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, ii. 327 sqq. with the wrong year of death and also i., p. 187 under *Pirî* without the identity of the two being recognised, also Laṭîfî, *Tadhkira*, p. 168 under *Remzî*).

Bibliography: Mehmed Thuraiyâ, *Sijill-i 'Othmânî*, ii. 43, more fully in 'Othmânzâde Mehmed Tâ'ib, *Hadikat al-Wuzarâ*, Stambul 1271, p. 22 sqq and the Ottoman chroniclers of the xvth century. — Brûsalî Mehmed Tâhir, 'Othmânî Mi'ellîfleri, ii. 111 sqq. deals with Piri Mehmed Pasha as a literary man. According to him he wrote a small collection of poems (*Diwânîc*) and an exposition of a part of the *Methnewî* and of the *Shâhidî* entitled *Tuhfe-i Mîr* but both works are described as still in MSS. (FRANZ BABINGER)

PİRİ MUHYİ 'L-DİN RE'İS, Ottoman navigator and cartographer, was probably of Christian (Greek) origin and is described as nephew of the famous corsair Kemâl Re'is (on the latter see the Bonn dissertation by Hans-Albrecht von Burski, *Kemal Re'is, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der türkischen Flotte*, Bonn 1928 and especially J. H. Mordtmann, *Zur Lebensgeschichte des Kemâl Re'is*, in *M. S. O. S.*, xxxii., part 2, Berlin 1929, p. 39—49 and p. 231 sq.), who was probably a renegade. His father is said to have been a certain Hâdjî Mehmed, while he himself in the preface to his sailing-book calls himself the son of Hâdjî Hâkîrî, which is perhaps only to be taken as a name chosen to rhyme with Piri (cf. Sinân b. 'Abd al-Mannân or Dâwûd b. 'Abd al-Wudûd and similar rhyming names of fathers of renegades usually formed with 'Abd). As Hâkîrî cannot be an 'alam but at most a *makhlas*, the pure Turkish descend of Piri is more than doubtful, if he was not called simply Hâkîrî Mehmed, i. e. bore a name for which there is evidence, for a later period it is true, in the *Sijill-i 'Othmânî*, ii. 239. The same source (ii. 44) says that the corsair's full name was Piri Muhyî 'L-Dîn Re'is. In any case it may safely be assumed that Piri is to be taken as a *takhallas*, while the real name ('alam) was probably Mehmed — the combination Piri Mehmed was quite customary in the xvth century — i. e. an 'alam to which Muhyî 'L-Dîn corresponded as *khiṭāb* (cf. *Isl.*, xi., 1921, p. 20, note 3). Of the life of Piri Re'is, who made many voyages under his uncle Kemâl Re'is (d. 16th Shawwāl 916 = Jan. 16, 1511) and later distinguished himself under Khair al-Dîn Barbarossa (q. v.; July 4, 1546) we only know that on these raids he had acquired an unrivalled knowledge of the lands of the Mediterranean. He afterwards held the office of *kapudan* of Egypt and in this capacity sailed from Suez on voyages to the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea. In 945 (1547) he occupied 'Aden (cf. *Die osmanische Chronik des Rustem Pascha*, ed. by Ludwig Forrer [*Türk. Bibl.*, xxi., Leipzig 1923], p. 174 sqq. with full commentary). In 959 (1551) he lost on the coast of Arabia several of his 30 ships, took the port of Maskat and carried off a number of its inhabitants as slaves. He then laid siege to Hormuz but raised the siege and returned to Basra, having accepted bribes to do so, it is said (according to Peṭewî, 'Âli, Hâdjî Khalfâ, *Tuhfat al-Kibâr*, first edition, fol. 28 according to J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 415). A report that an enemy fleet was approaching

decided him to return hurriedly home with only 3 galleys but with all the treasure he had collected. He was wrecked on the island of Bahrain, but succeeded with two ships in reaching Suez, then Cairo. Kôbâd Pasha, the governor of Basra, had in the meanwhile reported to the Porte that the expedition had been a failure, which resulted in an order for the execution of Piri Re'is being sent to Cairo. He was beheaded there, in 962 (1554—1555), it is said, but probably rather in 959 or 960 and his estate sent to Stambul. After his death envoys are said to have arrived from Hormuz representing the plundered inhabitants to demand the return of the treasure he had carried off; they were naturally not successful. The post of *kapudan* of Egypt was given to another noted corsair, Murâd, the dismissed sanjakbey of Kaṭîf (probably the same as survives in the proverb, according to H. F. v. Diez, *Denkwürdigenkeiten von Asien*, part i., Berlin 1811, p. 55, as *Murâd kaptan*).

Piri Re'is is generally known as the author of a sailing-book of the Aegean and Mediterranean known as *Bahriye* in which he describes all the coasts he had voyaged along with an account of the currents, shallows, landing-places, bays, straits and harbours. Piri Re'is had already begun the work in the reign of Selim I (d. Sept. 1520) although he says in the preface that he did not begin it till 927 (end of 1520), in order to make the dedication to Sulaimân the Magnificent be more impressive. He presented the completed atlas to the latter in 930 (1523). Paul Kahle has published an edition with text and translation based on the known manuscripts, entitled *Piri Re'is, Bahriye. Das türkische Segelhandbuch für das Mittelländische Meer vom Jahre 1521* of which so far (middle of 1935) vol. i., text, part 1 and vol. ii., part L, section 1—28 have been published, Leipzig and Berlin 1926. Separate sections had been previously published, e. g. H. F. v. Diez, *op. cit.*; E. Schaub, *Sizilien*, in *Centenario delle Nascita di Michele Amari*, ii., Palermo 1910, p. 1 sqq.; R. Herzog, *Ein türkisches Werk über das Ägäische Meer aus dem Jahr 1520*, in *Mitteilungen des Kaiserl. Deutschen Archäolog. Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, xxvii., 1902, p. 417 sqq.; E. Oberhummer, section Zypern, in: *Die Insel Zypern*, Munich 1903, p. 427—434. — Other sections in Carlier de Pinon, ed. E. Blochet (with pictures) and K. Foy, in *M. S. O. S.*, part ii., xi., 1908, p. 234 sqq. Cf. thereon F. Taeschner in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxvii. (1923), p. 42 with other references.

The so called "Columbus map", found in October 1929 by Khalil Edhem Bey in the Seray Library in Stambul, according to his signature on it of the year 1513, seems also to go back to Piri Re'is; it is in Turkish in bright colours on parchment, 85 by 60 cm., and represents the western part of a map of the world. It comprises the Atlantic Ocean with America and the western strip of the Old World. The other parts of the world are lost. It has been supposed that this is the same map as Piri, according to a statement in his *Bahriye*, presented to Sulṭân Selim in 1517 which would explain its preservation in the Imperial Library. On it cf. Paul Kahle, *Impronte Colombiane in una Carta Turca del 1513*, in *La Cultura*, year x., vol. 1, part 10, Milan-Rome 1931; do., *Una mapa de América hecho por el turco Piri Re'is, en el año 1513, basándose en una mapa de*

Colón y en mapas portugueses, in *Investigación y Progreso*, v., 12, Madrid 1931, p. 169 sqq.; "C" in *The Illustrated London News*, clxxx., N^o. 4845 on Febr. 27, 1932, p. 307: *A Columbus Controversy — and two Atlantic charts* (with reproduction); P. Kahle, *Die verschollene Calumbus-Karte von 1498 in einer türkischen Weltkarte von 1513* (with 9 maps, 52 pp., Berlin and Leipzig 1933); also Eugen Oberhammer, *Eine türkische Karte zur Entdeckung Amerikas*, in *Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1931, p. 99—112; do., *Eine Karte des Columbus in türkischer Überlieferung*, in *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Ges. in Wien*, lxxvii., 1934, p. 115 sqq. and lastly P. Kahle in *Geographical Review*, 1933, p. 621—638.

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(FRANZ BABINGER)

PĪSHWĀ, the title given to one of the ministers of the Bahmanī sultāns of the Deccan; the chief minister of *Shiwaḍjī*; the head of the Marāṭhā confederacy. (Persian "leader"; Pahl. *pēshōpay*; Arm. *pēshōpay*. For older forms see Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, i. 230).

Shiwaḍjī, the founder of Marāṭhā political power in the Dakhan, was assisted by a council of ministers known as the *Aṣhta Pradhan*, one of whom was the *Pishwā* or *Mukhya Pradhan*. The office of *Pishwā* was not hereditary and the nature of *Shiwaḍjī*'s autocratic rule can be gauged from the fact that his ministers were not even permitted to select their own subordinates or *nā'ib*s, all of these being appointed by *Shiwaḍjī* himself. Next to *Shiwaḍjī* the *Pishwā* was the head of both the civil and military administration, placing his seal on all official letters and documents. During the reign of Rājārām the power of the *Pishwā* was eclipsed by that of the Pant Pratinidhī. It is usual to regard Bālādjī Visvanāth (1714—20) as the first *Pishwā* because he was the real founder of a line of rulers who gradually supplanted the rājās of Sātārā as heads of the Marāṭhā confederacy. But there were really six *pishwās* before his time, namely, *Shāmraḍjī Nilkanth Rozekar*, *Moro Trimbak Pingle*, *Nilkanth Moreshwar Pingle*, *Parashram Trimbak Pratinidhī*, *Bahiro Moreshwar Pingle*, and *Balkrishna Vasudev*.

Bālādjī Visvanāth Bhaṭṭ (1714—1720), the founder of the dynasty of the *pishwās*, was an able Čitpāwan or Konkanasth Brahman whom *Shahū* (1708—1749) appointed as chief minister. The difficulties facing *Shahū*, the political confusion in Mahārāṣṭra, and the weakness of the later rājās of Sātārā were the chief factors underlying the growth of the power of the *pishwās*. The imprisonment of the Pratinidhī Dādobā (*Djagdjī-vanrāo*) at the time of *Shahū*'s death removed another obstacle to their advancement and marks the end of Deshasth Brahman political influence in the Dakhan. Bālādjī Visvanāth found the country torn by civil war: he left it peaceful and prosperous. By complicating the revenue accounts he increased

Brahman control over the state finances. During his period of office the Mughal emperor, Muḥammad *Shāh*, recognized the right of *Shahū* to levy *čawth*, a contribution of one-fourth of the land revenue throughout the Dakhan, and permitted him to supplement this levy by an additional tenth of the land revenue, called *sardesmukhi*. His son, Bādjī Rāo I (1720—1740), adopted a policy of territorial aggrandizement. The year before his death, a treaty, principally of a commercial nature, was concluded with Law, the Governor of Bombay (Aitchison, vi., N^o. i.). The third *Pishwā*, Bālādjī Bādjī Rāo (1740—1761), entrusted the government to his cousin, Sadāshiv Rāo, the Bhāo, and the command of his armies to his brother, Raghunāth Rāo, better known as Raghoba. His period of office was marked by the rapid extension of Marāṭhā power, his armies ravaging the country from the Carnatic to the Panḍjāb until their crushing defeat at Pānīpat [q. v.] in 1761. As a result of an agreement in 1755 an Anglo-Marāṭhā expedition crushed the power of Angria, a pirate chief whose depredations were a constant menace to the shipping of the Konkan coast. At the end of this expedition a treaty (Aitchison, vi., N^o. iii.) was made with the *Pishwā* which provided for the exclusion of Dutch traders from Marāṭhā territory. Dissensions broke out after the death of this *pishwā* which seriously impaired the strength of the Marāṭhās. Power now passed to the Marāṭhā generals, Sindhia of Gwālīor, Bhonsla of Nāgpur, Holkar of Indore, and the Gaekwār of Baroda.

During the rule of Mādhu Rāo (1761—1772) Sindhia, in 1771, once more re-established Marāṭhā influence in northern India, and *Shāh 'Ālam*, the Mughal emperor, who had deserted the English, became a puppet under Marāṭhā control. Mādhu Rāo was succeeded by his brother, Narāyan Rāo (1772—1773), who was murdered at the instigation of his uncle Raghoba. For a time the Marāṭhā confederacy was divided into two hostile camps, the supporters of Raghoba, who was a pretender to the *pishwāship*, and the Court Party under Nānā Phadnavis, who supported the claims of Mādhu Rāo Narāyan (1774—1795), a posthumous son of Narāyan Rāo. The action of the Bombay Government in supporting the claims of Raghoba led to war between the English Company and the Marāṭhās which ended, thanks to the exertions of Warren Hastings, with the Treaty of Sālbaī in 1782. This treaty which virtually recognized the independence of Sindhia secured peace between the English and the Marāṭhās for twenty years. Marāṭhā history now becomes a struggle between Nānā Phadnavis (Bālādjī Djanardhan), who attempted to bolster up the power of the *pishwā*, and Māhādājī Sindhia, who strove to control the *Pishwā* in order to use him as a cloak to cover his aggressions.

The seventh and last *pishwā* was Bādjī Rāo II (1796—1818). During the governor-generalship of the Marquis Wellesley, after the death of Nānā Phadnavis, in 1800, there followed a struggle for supremacy at Pūna between Holkar and Dawlat Rāo Sindhia who had succeeded Māhādājī Sindhia in 1794. During this struggle the *Pishwā* fled to Bassein where he threw himself upon the protection of the English. In 1802, by the Treaty of Bassein (Aitchison, vi., N^o. xiii.) Wellesley constituted himself protector of the *Pishwā* who agreed to accept a "subsidiary" force and to permit the

English to mediate in his disputes with the other Indian princes. This naturally did not prove acceptable to the other members of the Marāṭhā confederacy. Unfortunately Bādji Rāo came under the influence of an unprincipled favourite, Trim-bakdji, who was privy to the murder of the Gaekwār's emissary who had been invited to Pūna under a guarantee from the English of his personal safety. When Elphinstone, the Resident, reported that the Pishwā was secretly conspiring to form a Marāṭhā coalition against the English, the Pishwā was forced to come to terms and sign the Treaty of Pūna (1817), which completed the work of Bassein. But Bādji Rāo's promises were written in water for, when Lord Hastings proceeded to crush the Marāṭhās, the Pishwā rose in revolt and plundered the British Residency. Eventually his forces were defeated and the pishwāship was abolished. Bādji Rāo, however, was granted a pension and allowed to reside at Bithūr where he died in 1851. His adopted son, Nānā Sāhib, disappeared in 1858.

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PIST (P.), a kind of food compounded of the liver of gazelles or almonds etc. A daily portion of the size of a pistachio (*pistah*) is taken by those derwishes and others who undertake long fasts, e.g. the *čilla* or forty-day fast, and is sufficient to maintain life.

Bibliography: Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, s. v. *pist*, *čilla*. (R. LEVY)

PLATO. [See AFLATUN.]

PLEVEN (Plewna, Plevna, Turkish Plewna پلونا), an important town in Northern Bulgaria, 350 feet above sea-level in a depression formed by the little river Tučenica (c = tz), which flows not far from the town on the right into the Vid, the right bank tributary of the Danube. Surrounded by hills and at the intersection of the high roads to Vidin, Nikopol, Sofia and the passes of the Balkans, Plevna has long been a place of strategic importance; it is now also crossed by one of the main railway lines (Sofia-Plevna-Šumen-Varna). This busy town, the capital of a circle, where the chief business is in cattle and wine, and which has museums, which recall the Russo-Turkish War, is rising rapidly and in 1926 had 29,063 inhabitants.

Although in the vicinity of Plevna there are the remains of Roman settlements, the town really arose only under the Turks. We have however very little definite information about this period of the town's history. Ewliyā Čelebi's statement that Plevna was built by the Wallachian ban Ladka (لاذقة) has of course to be taken with caution; on the other hand, his assertion that "in the year 720 (1320) in the time of the Ghāzī Khudāwendigār it was taken by Mikhāl-Beg", is not free from objections on chronological grounds. According to the same writer, Plevna after the conquest was an arpalık-fief of the sons of Mikhāl-Beg and at a later date was still within the sphere of influence of the noble family of the Mikhāl-oghlu [q. v.], who had several buildings erected there. According to Ewliyā Čelebi and other Turkish sources (cf. vol. iii., p. 495^a and *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva*, xiii. 73 and 81), Plevna is the last resting-place of Mehmed Beg, a son of Köse Mikhāl, who died in 825 (1422), as well as of the celebrated 'Alī Beg Mikhāl-oghlu who is said to have died after 1507. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, 'Alī Beg was buried in the mosque founded by him. That Plevna was the capital of a district in the sandjak of Nikopol we know not only from Ewliyā Čelebi but also from Hādjdji Khalifa (*Rumeli und Bosna*, transl. by v. Hammer, *Spomenik*, xviii. 23). In the xviiith century, when Ewliyā Čelebi visited the town, it had 2,000 houses, a ruined fortress, a college founded by the above mentioned 'Alī Beg, 7 schools, 6 tekke's and 6 inns etc. — In the last days of Turkish rule, Plevna had, according to Sh. Sāmī (*Kāmus al-A'lām*, ii. 1532—1533), 17,000 inhabitants and 18 mosques but, as many Muslims migrated after the Russo-Turkish war, the population sank to 14,000 and most of the mosques were described in 1889 as in ruins.

But it was not till the Russo-Turkish war of 1877—1878 that Plevna became world famous. When the Russians after crossing the Danube on July 19, 1877 appeared before Plevna, they met with the unexpected resistance of 'Othmān Pasha, who had come up from Vidin. They attacked unsuccessfully on July 20 and 30 and suffered heavily. As Plevna was not fortified, 'Othmān Pasha now had strong and extensive earthworks thrown up around it. On Sept. 11 and 12 the Russians with the help of the Rumanians, whom they had summoned to their assistance, made a third attempt to take Plevna by storm and were again repulsed with great losses. After all these and further failures (on Sept. 18 and Oct. 19) the allies decided upon and began a regular siege of the town which was conducted by Totleben, the defender of Sebastopol, in person.

In spite of all 'Othmān Pasha was not yet shut in on his west side and received munitions and supplies from there until Oct. 10. In the middle of November he was completely surrounded and on the morning of Dec. 10 he undertook a last desperate sortie in an attempt to break through the western lines of the besieging army of 120,000 men (including the Czar). This bold effort was accompanied by success for a few hours but in the meanwhile the heroic 'Othmān Pasha (the "Lion of Plevna") was himself wounded, and towards midday on the same day was finally forced to surrender with some 40,000 men. The Russians

had already forced their way into Plevna, the five months' siege of which had cost them and the Rumanians over 40,000 men.

The fall of Plevna opened the way for the Russians to Adrianople and on to San Stefano, where they dictated the peace which was there concluded.

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(FEHIM BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

PLEVNA. [See PLEVEN.]

POLEI, transcribed by Arab writers as بَلَاي, is the old name of a stronghold in the south of Spain the site of which is the modern Aguilar de la Frontera, a little town with about 13,000 inhabitants, in the province of Cordova, 12 miles N.W. of Cabra and of Lucena. The identification of Polei with Aguilar was made by Dozy on the strength of information supplied by a charter of 1258. The town which played a considerable part in the rising of the famous 'Omar b. Hafṣūn [q. v.] against the Umayyad emirs of Cordova is again mentioned in the xith century by the geographer al-Idrisi. The ruins of a fortress which dates from the Muḥammadan period can still be seen there.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

POMAK, the name given to a Bulgarian speaking Muslim in Bulgaria and Thrace. This name which is usually given them by their Christian fellow-countrymen, used also to be given occasionally by Bulgarians to Muslims speaking Serbian in western Macedonia. There however the Serbian Muslims are usually called *torbeši* (sing. *torbeš*) by their Christian fellow-citizens, sometimes also *poturi*, more rarely *kurki* etc. How far these Serbian Muslims are still called Pomaks by some people depends mainly on the influence of the Bulgarian school and literature and would only be correctly applied when used of Muslims who had actually migrated from Bulgaria, e.g. in 1877—1878 (cf. J. H. Vasiljević, *Južna Stara Srbija*, i. 187—188, 207 and 236). In the Rhodopes the Bulgarian Muslims are also called *achrjani* (ch = kh) or *agarjani* (Ischirkoff, ii. 15). In some parts of Southern Serbia and Bulgaria the name *čitak* (pl. *čitaci*) is occasionally heard and it used

sometimes to be said (most recently by A. Urošević, in *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva*, vol. v., 1929, p. 319—320) that this name was only given to Serbs converted to Islām; the truth seems to be however that this name is limited to Turks in the two countries (cf. H. Vasiljević, *Muslimani*..., p. 34 and Elezović, in *Srpski književni glasnik*, xxviii., 1929, p. 610—614 and in *Rečnik kosovsko-metohiskog dijalekta*, ii. 449). No more correct is the statement that *apovci* is the name given to Serbian Muslims in Southern Serbia; for this seems to be a name applied to one another only by Albanians who are closely related to one another (brothers and cousins, according to H. Vasiljević, *Muslimani*..., p. 34).

The origin and the etymology of these names are in part more or less obscure and arbitrary. The usual explanation that the name Pomak comes from the verb *pomoći* "to help" and means helper (*pomagač*) i. e. auxiliary troops of the Turks, was first given by F. Kanitz (*Donau-Bulgarien und der Balkan*, vol. ii., Leipzig 1882, p. 182) but was soon afterwards (1891) declared by Jireček (see *Bibl.*) to be inadequate. Another equally improbable popular etymology is that which explains Pomak by the Bulgarian word *māk* = "torment, force", and justifies this explanation by saying that the conversion of the Bulgars to Islām on a considerable scale was carried out by force and constraint (Ischirkoff, ii. 15). Quite recently Iv. Lekov (see *Bibl.*) has explained the name Pomak from *poturnjak* (lit. "one made a Turk"). Whether the word *čomak* which in Turkish means "club, cudgel", in Uigur "Muslim" and in South Russia "pedlar" (cf. Barthold, *Orta Asia*..., p. 82—83), is in any way connected with Pomak, or has been influenced by the Bulgarian *poturnjak* or confused with it has still to be investigated.

The history of the conversion of the "Pomaks" or "Torbeši" is very little known in detail. In any case the adoption of Islām did not take place everywhere at once but was gradual and at different periods. A beginning was made immediately after the battle of Marica (1371) and after the fall of Trnovo (1393): many Serbs and Bulgars at this time, especially as Jireček thinks, the nobles and the Bogomils among these, adopted Islām. After these first conversions under Bāyazid II considerable numbers of converts were made according to native tradition in the reign of Selim I (1512—1520); for this purpose he is said to have sent his "favourite Sinān Paṣha" into the territory of the Šar-mountains. The highlands of Čepino (in the Rhodopes) were converted according to local histories in the beginning of the xviith century, according to Jireček (*Fürstenthum*, p. 104) however, not till the middle, in the reign of Mehmed IV (1648—1687); the grand vizier Mehmed Köprülü is said to have taken a leading part in the work. The conversion to Islām of the Danube territory (Loveč etc.) is put in this period. Towards the end of this century (xviith) further conversions took place among the Serbs in the Debar region. In some districts Islām only gained a footing on a large scale in the course of the xviiith century and sometimes not till the beginning of the xixth (e.g. in Gora, south of Prizren).

Until recently one was very often inclined to believe that these conversions to Islām were made under compulsion, even by force of arms, but now the view is beginning to prevail that the authorities

never took any direct steps to proselytise their Christian subjects; conversion was on the contrary voluntary and for quite different reasons except in a few exceptional cases (cf. e. g. H. Vasiljević, *Muslimani* . . ., esp. p. 53—61).

Towards the end of the sixteenth century when the process of conversion had ceased for decades everywhere, the great majority of the Slav Muslims (Bulgar and Serb) were to be found in the Rhodopes and the mountains of eastern Macedonia and in groups of considerable size up and down Macedonia as far as the Albanian frontier, a wide area which stretched in the north from Plovdiv (Philippopolis) to Salonika in the south and in the east from the central course of the Arda over the Vardar and even beyond the Crni Drim, i. e. across the districts of Ohrid, Debar, Gostivar and Prizren to the west. At that time only a small part of this territory which was interspersed with Christian areas belonged to the principality of Bulgaria; the greater part was still Turkish and only after the Balkan War passed to Serbia or after the World War to Yugoslavia. — In addition to the main body of Muslim Bulgars in the Rhodopes mountains, there were at the same time also sporadic groups north of the Balkan range in the Danube territory, in the circles of Loveč, Plevna (Plevna) and Orehovo (Rahovo).

Since then however the frontiers of the "Pomaks" have receded considerably. During the siege of Plevna almost all the Bulgarian Muslims fled from the Danube districts to Macedonia; although they returned in 1880 they soon afterwards migrated into Turkey. After the union of eastern Rumelia and Bulgaria in 1885 the Rhodopes "Pomaks" also began to emigrate. — The frontiers of the "Torbeši" likewise were not unaffected. The Balkan War and the World War brought about certain changes which resulted in the migration of some bodies of Serbian Muslims out of Southern Serbia.

As a result of various wars and the territorial changes that followed them, the statements regarding the number of Muslim Slavs in Bulgaria, Macedonia (or Southern Serbia) and Thrace as well as about their total number differ considerably and are often unreliable. For example Jireček (1876) estimated the total at about 500,000 including 100,000 in Loveč and Plevna (see *Bibl.*). At the beginning of the twentieth century Gavrilović (see *Bibl.*) estimated the total at only 400,000 and Ischirkoff at about the same (1917).

As regards the distribution of these Muslim Slavs according to countries the following statistics may be quoted. In what used to be the principality of Bulgaria Jireček estimated (1891) their number at most 28,000 souls and before the Balkan War there were within the old frontiers of Bulgaria (according to official statistics of 1910) 21,143 (0.49% of the population). In the lands acquired in the Balkan War in Southern Bulgaria there were however many more Pomaks, mainly in the regions of the rivers Arda, Mesta and Struma so that the official census of 1920 makes their number 88,399 (1.82% of the whole population). A somewhat higher figure is given by the *Annuaire du Monde Musulman* for 1929 (p. 305), namely 16,000 Pomaks in Bulgaria proper and 75,337 in Thrace, i. e. 91,337 in all. Finally the latest published statistics (1926 census) give 102,351 Bulgarian speaking Muslims in Bulgaria, i. e. 1.87% of the population, while the number

of Muslims in Bulgaria without distinguishing their languages was then 789,296 or 14.41% of the population. — Of these 102,351 Bulgarian speaking Muslims only 5,799 lived in the towns and the remaining 96,552 in the villages; the proportion of men to women was 1,000 to 1,065. Literate Pomaks in the whole of Bulgaria in 1926 numbered only 6,659 in 1926 (of whom 5,534 were men).

The number of Pomaks (in reality of Muslim Slavs) in Macedonia was according to S. Verkovič (1889; see *Bibl.*) 144,051 men (this figure is therefore doubled in *Données statistiques sur l'ethnographie de la Macédoine*, publ. by the Comité national de l'Union des organisations des émigrés macédoniens en Bulgarie, Sofia 1928, and amounts to 288,092 [with an error of minus ten souls]), according to G. Weigand (*Die nationalen Bestrebungen der Balkanvölker*, Leipzig 1898) 100,000 men, according to V. Kănčov (1900; see *Bibl.*) 148,800 and according to Vl. Sis (*Macedonien*, Zürich 1918) 150,030 souls.

As regards the number of Serbian speaking Muslims in Southern Serbia, they were estimated by H. Vasiljević (*Muslimani* . . ., p. 11 sqq.) whose calculations are however to some extent based on the situation before the Balkan War, at 100,000 souls; now (1935) the figure is put at 60,000 and the number of Serbo-Croat speaking Muslims in the whole of Yugoslavia at about 900,000 (exact figures cannot be given because the statistics according to religions have not been published).

For Thrace the figure of 75,337 Muslim Bulgars has already been given from the *Annuaire*; in Western Thrace there were according to the interallied census (of March 1920) 11,739 (cf. *La question de la Thrace*, ed. by the Comité suprême des réfugiés de Thrace, Sofia 1927).

On these statistics the following observations may be made. The Bulgars (e. g. Kănčov) usually include as "Pomaks" all the Macedonian Slavs of Muslim faith, i. e. including Serbs from Southern Serbia. On the other hand on account of their religion these Muslim Slavs are sometimes carelessly counted with the Turks. Moreover some statistics are not completely free from chauvinistic and political bias. The European estimates finally are based on approximations or are quite arbitrary.

In spite of the fact that the Pomaks and Torbeši are occasionally included among the Turks and in spite of the fact that they sometimes call themselves Turks, they are nevertheless the purest stratum of the old Bulgarian or Serbian population as the case may be who have preserved their Slav type and Slav language (especially archaic words) very well, sometimes even better — as a result of their being cut off from the Christians and their isolation in outlying districts — than their Christian kinsmen, who have been constantly exposed to admixture from other ethnic elements. They have a certain feeling of aversion for the Turks whose language they do not understand. It is only in the towns that we find that in course of time some of these Slavs have adopted the Turkish language. What bound them to the Ottomans was not language but principally a common religion with its prescriptions and customs (e. g. the veiling of women) which along with Turkish rule naturally imposed upon them many Arabic and Turkish

words. In spite of this there survived among them many pre-Islamic customs and reminiscences of Christianity (observation of certain Christian festivals etc.).

That the Bulgar Muslims in particular occasionally (esp. in 1876–1878) fought with the Turks against the Christian Bulgars may be ascribed to the fact that as a result of their low cultural level they made no clear distinction between nation and religion and that their Christian fellow-countrymen treated them as Turks and not as kinsmen. These mistakes were repeated in the Balkan War when the victorious Bulgar troops and the orthodox priests were led to so far as to convert the Pomaks in the Rhodopes and other districts to Christianity mainly by pressure and force of arms. But on the conclusion of peace they returned to Islām again. This is frankly admitted by the Bulgarian geographer Iširkov (Ischirkoff) and the Bulgarian writer Iv. Karaivanov (in his Bulgar periodical *National Education*, Küstendil 1931, according to Čamalović [see *Bibl.*]).

Fifty or sixty years ago the songs and ballads of the "Pomaks" were the subject of much dispute. A Bosnian ex-cleric, Stefan Verković (1827–1893), an antique dealer in Seres, published under the title of *Veda Slavena* (i.e. the "Veda of the Slavs" Belgrad 1874, vol. i.) a collection of songs which were alleged to have been collected mainly among Pomaks and which celebrated "pre-Christian and pre-historic" subjects (the immigration into the country, discovery of corn, of wine, of writing and legends of gods with Indian names, of Orpheus etc.). A. Chodzko, A. Dozon (*Chansons populaires bulgares inédites*, Paris 1875; cf. also *Revue de littérature comparée*, xiv., 1934, p. 155 sqq.) and L. Geitler (*Poetické tradice Thrákk i Bulharů*, Prag 1878) also strongly supported belief in this "Veda": it was even assumed that the Pomaks were descended from the ancient Thracians, who had been influenced first by Slav culture and then by Islām.

But the ballads on such subjects neither the Muslim nor the Christian Bulgars knew anything and Jireček, who investigated the question on the spot, repeatedly described this "Slav Veda" as the fabrication of some Bulgarian teachers (*Fürstenthum*, p. 107¹). We now know that Verković's chief collaborator was the Macedonian teacher Iv. Gologanov (cf. Pentscho Slawejkoff, *Bulgarische Volkslieder*, Leipzig 1919, p. 15).

In view of the fact that the Muslims in question consist mainly of conservative dwellers in the mountains and villages — who are very industrious, honourable, and peaceful — they are for the most part illiterate and there could be no possibility of any literary activity among them. The only people among them who can write are the *khōdjas*, who frequently use the Turkish language and Arabic alphabet when writing. They also frequently use the latter alphabet when writing their mother tongue. Of earlier generations of Bulgar Muslims many distinguished themselves in the Turkish army or otherwise in the Turkish service. The modern generation who have been educated in the state schools have more national consciousness and are more progressive but are too few in number to make themselves felt in politics or otherwise.

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(FEHIM BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

PONTIANAK, the name of a part of the Dutch residency "Wester-Afdeeling" of Borneo, also of the Sultanate in the delta of the river Kapuas and of its capital.

As a Dutch province Pontianak includes the districts of Pontianak, Kubu, Landak, Sanggau, Sēkadau, Tajan and Mēliau. The administration is in the hands of an assistant-resident whose headquarters are in Pontianak where the Resident of the "Wester-Afdeeling" also lives. The Dutch settlement is on the left bank of the Kapuas, where also is the Chinese commercial quarter. The Malay town lies opposite on the right bank.

The sultanate of Pontianak with its capital of the same name is independent under the suzerainty of the Netherlands and is 4,545 sq. km. in area. In 1930 the population consisted of 100,000 Malays and Dayaks, 562 Europeans, 26,425 Chinese and 2,378 other Orientals. The term Malays includes all native Muḥammadans among them many descendants of Arabs, Javanese, Buginese, and Dayaks converted to Islām. The Dayaks

in the interior are still heathen. Roman Catholic missions are at work among the latter and the Chinese. This very mixed population is explained by the origin and development of Pontianak.

The town was founded in 1772 A.D. by the Sharif 'Abd al-Rahmān, a son of the Sharif Husain b. Aḥmad al-Kadri, an Arab who settled in Matan in 1735 and in 1771 died in Mampawa as vizier revered for his piety. In 1742 'Abd al-Rahmān was born, the son of a Dayak concubine, and very early distinguished himself by his spirit of enterprise. He attempted to gain the ruling power, successively in Mampawa, Palembang and Bandjarmasin, from which he had to retire with his band of pirates, although the sultān had been his patron, after he had taken several European and native ships. By this time he had married a princess of Mampawa and Bandjarmasin and possessed great wealth. On his return to Mampawa his father had just died. As he met with no success here, he decided to found a town of his own with a number of other fortune-seekers. An uninhabited area at the mouth of the junction of the Landak with the Kapuas, notorious as a dangerous haunt of evil spirits seemed to him suitable. After the spirits had been driven away by hours of cannon fire he was the first to spring ashore, had the forest cut down and built rude dwellings there for himself and his followers.

The favourable position of the site and the protection which trade enjoyed there soon attracted Buginese, Malay and Chinese merchants to it so that Pontianak developed rapidly and Sharif 'Abd al-Rahmān was able by his foresight and energy to hold his own against the neighbouring kingdoms of Matan, Sukadana, Mampawa and Sanggau.

He appointed chiefs over each of the different groups of people and regulated trade by reasonable tariffs. He was able to impress representatives of the East Indian Co. in Batavia to such an extent that they gave him the kingdoms of Pontianak and Sanggau as fiefs after the company had bought off the claims of Banten to Western Borneo. As early as 1772 the Buginese prince Radja Hādjdī had given him the title of sultān. After his death in 1808 his son Sharif Kāsīm succeeded him. He was the first to change the Arab ceremonial at the court for more modern ways.

According to the treaty concluded with the Dutch Indies government in 1855, the sultān receives a fixed income from them while they administer justice and police of the country. The relationship to the Dutch Indies government has now been defined in a long agreement of 1912, which also settles the administration of justice and the taxes. From the local treasury, then constituted, the sultān receives 6,800 gulden a month; he also receives 50 % of the excise on agriculture and mines.

In keeping with the nature of its origin Pontianak is predominantly Muslim in character and a relatively large number take part in the pilgrimage to Mecca. For these pilgrims who are known as *Djāwa Funtiana*, the sultān when he performed the pilgrimage in the 80's founded several *wakf* houses in the holy city.

The main support of the whole population is agriculture and along with it trade in the products of the jungle. The exports are copra, pepper, gambir, sago, rubber and rotan, especially to Singapore and Java. Rice, clothing and other articles required by Europeans and the more prosperous Chinese and Arabs are imported. The import and export trade is

mainly in the hands of the Chinese. They live together in the Chinese quarter in the European half of Pontianak on the left bank where also the other foreign Orientals have settled.

This is therefore the centre of trade and commerce in the valley of the Kapuas.

The Chinese traders maintain with their own steamers connections with the Chinese merchants farther up the river and also over seas with Singapore, both in competition with the Royal Paketfahrt Co.

In the swampy lands of Pontianak, intercourse with the outer world is almost exclusively by water. Only in recent years have motor-roads been laid over the higher ground from Pontianak to Mampawa and Sambas, to Sungei Kakap and from Mandor to Landak.

It may be particularly mentioned that Pontianak is a healthy place for the town is very often inundated and it is so far from the sea that there is no malaria.

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POONA. [See PUNA.]

PORT SA'ID, a Mediterranean seaport of Egypt at the entrance of the Suez Canal on its western bank, in 31° 15' 50" N., 32° 18' 42" E., 145 miles from Cairo by rail via Zagāzīg and Ismā'iliya, 36 and 125 miles from Damietta and Alexandria respectively along the coast. It was founded in 1859, as soon as the Suez Canal was decided, during the reign of Sa'id Pasha [q. v.], Viceroy of Egypt, and was named after him. Except for the strip of sand which, varying in width between 200 and 300 yards, separates Lake Manzala from the Mediterranean, the site of the present town was under the water. This site was selected by a party of engineers under Laroche and de Lesseps, not on account of being the nearest point across the isthmus to Suez, but because the depth of the water there corresponded most favourably to the requirements of the projected canal. As soon as work was started on the Canal, five wooden houses were constructed above the water, supported on massive piles and equipped with a bakery and a water-distiller for the use of the pioneers. A year later, dredgers began to deepen the waters of the newly established harbour, and the mud thus raised was immediately utilized for more buildings which soon numbered 150 houses, 150 cottages, one hospital, one Catholic and one Orthodox Church, and one Mosque, besides the workshops, covering 30,000 square metres in all. This, however, did not suffice for the rapid growth of the population as the work on the Canal progressed towards Ismā'iliya. To meet this emergency and in the absence of stone quarries within reasonable reach of Port Sa'id, the manufacture of artificial stones capable of resisting the action of sea-water was begun by Messrs. Dussaud in 1865. Details of this process are given in 'Alī Pasha Mubārak's *Khitaṭ* (x. 38—40). These stones weighed about 22 tons each and were used both for the construction of the two huge breakwaters of the outer harbour and for the creation of further building ground. In the same year, mail boats sailed up the Canal to Ismā'iliya while others brought imports to Port Sa'id. In 1868 the breakwaters were finished, and in 1869 the Canal was completed. As a result,

the town was thronged by consuls and representatives of many nations, and the population reached 10,000.

Like most Eastern foundations of this period, Port Sa'id was from the beginning markedly divided into Egyptian and European quarters. The first has grown up in the west and south-west around the mosque, officially inaugurated on Friday 14th Sha'bān 1300 (1883); and the second is situated near the Canal entrance and the beach towards the north and north-east. A regular water-supply now comes from the Nile by the Isma'iliya Canal and the pipes leading to a large reservoir (château d'eau) capable of holding several days' supply. The great rapidity of the growth of Port Sa'id may be illustrated by the increase of its population, numbering 49,884 in 1907.

The town quickly rose to eminence as an emporium of Egyptian trade — second only to Alexandria in that country, — and it also became one of the most important stations for sea-borne traffic between the East and the West. Its outer harbour, covering an area of 570 acres, its two moles or breakwaters built in such a way as to protect the Canal from the continuous onrush of sea-water and sand-drifts, and its docks numbering originally three on the western bank, all had to be extended. A large floating dock (259 ft. long, 85 ft. wide and 18 ft. deep, with a lifting capacity of 3,500 tons) was constructed; and, further, in the years 1903—1909, new docks were established on the eastern bank. To accommodate the workmen on these docks, the new town of Port Fu'ād, named after the present King of Egypt, has sprung up on the east side.

To safeguard the ships approaching the Canal by night, the Khedive Isma'il ordered four light-houses to be erected at the expense of the Egyptian Government at Rosetta, Burullus, Burdj al-'Izba near Damietta, and Port Sa'id. The last is 174 ft. high and its beam is distinct from those of the other three and is visible at a distance of 20 miles. It lies at the base of the western mole which, at its sea-ward extremity, carries a colossal statue of Ferdinand de Lesseps by E. Fermiet, unveiled in 1899.

Among the notable buildings of Port Sa'id are the offices of the Suez Canal Company. The town has a very cosmopolitan population and is noted for no special industry. Small dealers live on the sale of Oriental wares and curios to tourists on their passage to the East or to the West.

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POŽAREVAC (pronounced Pósharevatz; in the French orthography Pojarévatz; Passarovitz is a corruption like the Turkish Pasarofça, a rising commercial town in Yugoslavia (in the Danube banate), headquarters of the district of the same name in the fertile plain between Morava and Mlava, only 10 miles from the Danube port of Dubravica with 13,731 inhabitants (1930).

The town, the name of which is popularly

connected with the Serbo-Croat word *požar* ("fire") (M. Đ. Miličević, *Kneževina Srbija*, Belgrad 1876, p. 172 and 1058), is first mentioned towards the end of the xvth century. It must however have been previously in existence and have become Turkish like the surrounding country in 1459. According to the Turkish treasury registers of Hungary of 1565 (A. Velics, *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek*, ii., Budapest 1890, p. 734), Požarevac belonged to the Turkish sandjak of Semendre (Semendria, Smederevo), and in the middle of the xviiith century Hādījī Khalifa describes it as the seat of a judge (*kāḍilīk*) (cf. *Spomenik*, xviii., Belgrad 1892, col. 26). Towards the end of the century many Serbs migrated from Požarevac and at the beginning of the xviiith century it is sometimes mentioned as a village.

Požarevac was however destined soon to become famous through the peace which ended the Austro-Turkish war of 1716—1718. At the end of 1714 Turkey had already declared war on Venice on the pretext that the peace of Carlovitz was not being observed and in 1715 occupied Morea and some of the Ionian Islands. Austria, which at first intervened to negotiate as an ally of Venice, in 1716 entered the war herself and her armies led by Prince Eugene won three great victories, at Peterwardein, Temesvár and Belgrad, so that England intervened to secure peace. After long preparations (cf. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*², iv. 159—164) the congress of Požarevac was convoked. The negotiations at which plenipotentiaries of Turkey, Austria, Venice with England and Holland as mediators took part began on June 5, 1718 and the Treaty was signed on the 21st July.

Peace was concluded on a basis of the country actually held by the opponents at the time (*uti possidetis*): Austria retained the eastern part of Sirmia, the banate with Temesvár, the whole of N. E. Serbia, with Belgrad, Požarevac etc. and Little Wallachia; Venice also retained a few places she had taken on the Dalmatian and Albanian coasts, received certain commercial preferences and the island of Cerigo (Turkish جرجو) and had to

restore to Turkey the whole of the peninsula of the Morea and the south-eastern districts of the Hercegovina. By a commercial agreement which was also concluded in Požarevac on July 27 Austria secured certain trading and other privileges in the Ottoman Empire.

Following the traditional formalities observed after the conclusion of a treaty of peace the first Turkish plenipotentiary Ibrāhīm Pasha went to Vienna with his retinue and Count Wirrmont, the Austrian representative in the negotiations, to Constantinople. A member of the Turkish embassy wrote in 1726 an interesting account which has been published by Fr. van Kraelitz in text and translation (*Bericht über den Zug des Gross-Botschafters Ibrahim Pascha nach Wien im Jahre 1719*, in *S.B.Ak. Wien*, vol. 158 [1908]; in *T.O. E.M.*, vii. [1332 = 1916], 211—227, the Turkish text of this edition was reprinted by A. Refik).

During the Austrian occupation (1718—1739) Požarevac was the most important place in this territory. In the Serbian war of independence against Turkey it was besieged for a long period, and had finally to surrender to the Serbs (1804). In 1813, the town again fell into Turkish hands but became Serbian again in 1815.

In the years of peace that followed (1815—1915) Požarevac developed. Prince Miloš in 1825 made it his second residence and had two konaks (palaces) built there. Shortly afterwards a Prussian officer visited the town and left interesting notes on the conditions there (Otto v. Pirsch, *Reise in Serbien im Spätherbst 1829*, Berlin 1830, part i., p. 119—171). In the second half of the nineteenth century the population increased steadily but otherwise the town offered "little of interest" (F. Kanitz, *Serbien*, Leipzig 1868, p. 13).

At the beginning of the twentieth century Požarevac was one of the most important towns in Serbia. In the Great War it was occupied by the Germans in 1915 and by the Bulgarians (from Oct. 1916) but in the autumn of 1918 it was again occupied by the Serbs. Since then it has belonged to Yugoslavia.

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PRANG SABIL, the name of the *djihād* [q. v.] in the East Indian archipelago; *prang* (Indon.) = war.

The course of history has made it impossible for Muslims to fulfil their duties with respect to the *djihād*. The representatives of the law however still teach and the masses readily believe that arms should only be allowed to rest against the *kāfir* so long as any success must be despaired of. In a Muḥammadan country under non-Muslim rule like the Netherlands Indies the teachers however prefer to be silent. At most they say that under the prevailing conditions there is no legal inducement to conduct the *djihād* in view of the superior forces and the comparative freedom enjoyed by believers. Or on the other hand, they expound particularly those texts which remove the more serious feuds between Muslim and *kāfir* to the next world. — When political events, catastrophes, misfortunes of any kind result in disturbances, it is not at all uncommon for the Muslim population of the East Indian Archipelago to look at these things from a religious point of view. It may happen on such an occasion that the feeling of being bound to fight the unbeliever is aroused again. If the leaders utter the war-cry "prang sabil", it finds a ready answer. It is true that according to the law, the signal for the *djihād* should be given by the imām. There is now no imām; but even in the time when the sultān of Turkey was still recognised as imām any misgivings were easily overcome if the imām remained inactive. Outside the boundaries of the territory in which

the holy war is proclaimed, the silent sympathy of the believers is with the fighters. Any forcible conversion which takes place, anywhere in the Archipelago is generally praised by Muslim chiefs and represented as a fulfilment of the more solid obligations of the *djihād*.

This practical teaching of the prang sabil was of particular importance in Atjeh in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Circumstances were very much in its favour. The Atjehnese were a self-satisfied people, convinced of their own superiority and also of a warlike disposition. Non-Muslims were everywhere hated or at least despised. At the same time those individuals who were in any way connected with divine worship were held in great honour. These qualities were however not in themselves sufficient to conduct a prang sabil with success against a disciplined attacking power. A military leader was necessary. There was indeed a sultān in Atjeh but he was a negligible factor as regards the situation in the country. The chiefs, the real rulers of the land, preferred to confine themselves to their own territory; they were not fitted for co-operation. Bands of armed men ravaged the country doing the *kāfir* as much damage as possible but they could raise no claim for general co-operation and assistance as they were not waging war in the way Allāh had willed. The law lays down the sources from which the costs of the *djihād* can be met; pillage and plundering, as was the practice of these bands, could never be blessed by Allāh. In addition the organisation of these bands was such that they never held together long. In these circumstances it was the '*ulamā*' (also used as a singular) who took in hand the organisation of the war; among these the most prominent were the '*ulamā*' of Tirō, from olden times a centre of study of sacred lore. They reproached the chiefs with their slothfulness and the people with preferring worldly advantages to heavenly rewards. Going up and down the country they preached the doctrine of the *djihād* and there was no one who could openly oppose them; indeed they represented the divine law. In order to be able to wage war a war-chest was needed. The '*ulamā*' claimed the share of the *zakāt* set aside for Allāh's purposes; the '*ulamā*' of Tirō in particular used it to train a strong force of duly converted recruits. The '*ulamā*' were for a long time the soul of the war. It is however clear that the authority which they had gained over the secular rulers could only last so long as they were able to inspire the people to continue fighting. When the war was over, they returned to their old still very influential position as representatives of the holy law. — Various writings which together form a regular war literature, proved an effective means of inspiring their warriors with enthusiasm. They were an accompanying feature of the prang sabil. '*Ulamā*' wrote pamphlets and tractates in which attention was called to the duty of waging the holy war; emphasis was laid on the heavenly reward that awaited the *shahid*, and the *kāfir* to be overcome were painted in the blackest colours. An elaborate poem, the *Hikajat Prang sabil*(1), of which there were many versions, was specially intended to be declaimed in order to increase the courage and contempt for death of those who heard it.

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PUL (FULBE), a West African tribe, originally pastoral nomads, now to a large extent settled and agricultural. Fulbe, their name for themselves, is the plural of Pulo; they are called Fulani by the Hausa, Felata by the Kanuri, and by French writers Peul. Their language is called by themselves Fulfulde.

They appear to have come in from the north-east, perhaps ultimately from Fezzān, but their lines of migration in more recent times have rather been from west to east. Migeod, in 1923, found them in what is now the British Mandated Territory of Cameroons, which they had penetrated during the lifetime of persons whom he met. Their main centres of distribution are Futadjallon in French Guinea and Massina in Haut-Sénégal-Niger.

Ethnographically, though various theories have been advanced, they are now accepted as Hamitic by race. Meek (vol. i., p. 94) points out that they have a strong resemblance to the Proto-Egyptians. Delafosse was disposed to class them as hybrids between some mysterious Beni-Israel (not yet satisfactorily accounted for) and the tribe or tribes whom they found already in occupation: according to one account, the Tekrör (now called the Toucouleur [q. v.]). Frobenius (*op. cit.*, p. 165) says they migrated to the S. W. from Fezzān in order to escape the oppression of the "Gara", identified by himself and others with the Garamantes of Herodotus. He finds them spoken of in Soninke tradition under the name Bororo (still retained by the Nomad Fulbe in Adamawa at the time of Passarge's visit in 1893) or Borojogo, as a despised subject race. He finds no originality in the legends collected from their "singing men" (*mabube*), but holds that, so soon as they become independent they adopted the traditions of their former overlords. In passing, it may be remarked that Frobenius is clearly in error when he says (*ibid.*): „Schon Barth identifizirte sie mit den Leucaethiopen".

Barth's own words are (ii. 505): „Darum aber möchte ich sie nicht (!) für die Leucaethiopes der Alten halten". Barth's own view is that they are half-way between a mixed Arabo-Berber and a pure negro stock. His reference, in the same passage, to indications of a connection between their language and that of the "Kaffer Südafrika's" must be based on the existence of noun-classes in both, a fact which will be dealt with in a later paragraph.

Meek, after considering various hypotheses, comes to the conclusion (i. 96), that "the Fulani are probably a very ancient Libyan tribe whose original home was Egypt or Asia". He considers the nomad Fulbe as the purest representatives of the Hamitic element in Nigeria (i. 26).

Their physical characteristics are perhaps best summed up in the following quotation from Meek (i. 26), which agrees in the main with the accounts of Mungo Park, Barth, Nachtigal, Passarge and other travellers:

"Their colour varies from a light to a reddish brown"; — Passarge says "hellrötlich gelb" — "their physique is slender and sinewy, and sometimes even effeminate; the face oval, the lips thin, the head dolichocephalic, the forehead rather receding

towards the temple, the nose straight or even aquiline, and often slightly rounded at the tip. There is little or no prognathism, the hair is ringlety and often straight... On his chin a man wears a scraggy tuft of beard. The eyes are almond-shaped and overhung by long black silken lashes. The beauty of countenance and graceful carriage of Fulani women are well known. In character the Fula is distrustful and shy, shrewd and artful. No African native can equal him for dissimulation and finesse".

This estimate coincides on the whole with that of the observers previously mentioned. Passarge calls them "eine ritterliche Nation", in the sense that they despise both manual labour and trade, regarding war, the chase and the care of cattle as the only occupations worthy of a man. They have more dignity and force of character than the negro; at the same time, "traue ich dem Fulla (*sic*) mehr überlegte Hinterlist zu. Er ist der grössere Charakter, aber auch im gegebenen Moment der grössere Schurke". Barth, also, says (ii. 505): „Die liebenswürdige Seite im Charakter der Fulbe ist ihre Einsicht und ihre Lebhaftigkeit, während sie andererseits einen ausserordentlichen natürlichen Hang zur Bosheit haben und bei weitem nicht so gutmütig sind wie die eigentlichen Schwarzen".

Passarge describes them as "fanatical in religion", but, as the nomad Fulbe are still, at any rate to some extent, pagan (Meek, i. 200 and elsewhere), this must refer to the settled Fulbe, called by the Hausa *Fulanin Gidda*, who would seem to have been converted to Islām, like the other tribes of Nigeria, about the eleventh century (Meek, ii. 1—11). Those settled Fulbe are "by free intermarriage and wholesale concubinage with the races whom they have conquered, fast being absorbed by the negro. Their noses are broadening, their lips are thickening, their hair is curling, their build is coarsening, and the prognathous mouth of the Negro type is beginning to appear. While they have profoundly modified the Negro type of those with whom they have settled, this modification must, in the absence of fresh infusions of Fulani blood, tend rapidly to disappear... they do not intermarry with the nomad pagan Fulani" (Meek, i. 28).

According to Labouret, nomad Fulbe are scattered over the country in small colonies "généralement installées à côté des villages sédentaires pour en garder les troupeaux". They supply the settled population with dairy products: Fulbe women selling milk and butter are a familiar sight to travellers.

The Fulbe reached the Upper Senegal region about 1300 A. D., when the Ghana empire was at the height of its power. About 1400, a section of the tribe, coming from Termes in the north-west, established themselves in Masina, under chiefs of the Djallo family. This kingdom was conquered by Askia Omar, the Songhai chief, in 1494. About the same time or not much later, a Pulo chief (*ardo*) named Tengella revolted against Omar, but was killed in 1512. His son, Koli, set up an independent pagan kingdom in Badiar, on the Upper Gambia, and his descendants, known as the Denianke dynasty, remained in power from 1559 to 1776.

The Fulbe entered Bornu during the xvth century and, as they had done elsewhere, gradually penetrated

the country in the guise of inoffensive herdsmen, until, watching their opportunity, "by a sudden coup, they made themselves its political masters" (Meek). Towards the end of the xviiith century, Shehu Usman dan Fodio (born 1754) initiated a religious revival which ended in the conquest of Northern Nigeria. Usman established his capital at Sokoto (built by his son Belo in 1810) and before his death in 1817 was acknowledged as *Sarkin Musulmi* or spiritual head of the Muslims within his empire. He was succeeded by his son Belo, the "Sultan Bello" visited by Denham, Clapperton and Oudney in 1821. He had his capital at Sokoto and later at Wurno, while his uncle Abdulahi ruled at Gando.

Meanwhile, in the west, a Pulo *marabout*, Seku Hamadu, had converted the Masina Fulbe to Islām about 1810, seized Djenne and even (1826) made himself master of Timbuktu; but the dominion founded by him was short-lived, his grandson being overthrown by al-Hādjī 'Omar in 1862. Before this, in 1776, the Muslim Tekror, in Futa Toro, had revolted against the Fulbe Denianke and established a "theocratic elective monarchy" (Delafosse) which lasted till the French annexation in 1881. — 'Omar, at the head of another section of the Tekror, had conquered the local Fulbe and continued to give trouble to the French authorities till his death in 1864 (Delafosse).

The settled Fulbe do not differ greatly in customs from other Islāmized tribes, though even these appear to retain some traces of their pagan ancestry. Animal tabus, which may or may not be connected with totemism, are observed by some Muslim families (Meek, i. 174); apparently Hausa are meant, but it would seem as if the statement were intended to include at least one "Fulani Muslim sub-tribe". Moreover, when Muḥammad al-Tūnī says (Meek, i. 99): "In Sudan it is related that they descend from a chameleon", this, so far from being "a fable invented for the purpose of contempt" may reflect a real totemic belief.

A system of castes, otherwise unknown in Negro and Bantu Africa is common to the Fulbe, Wolof, Malinke, Marka and Bammana, with this difference that, with the Fulbe, the "castes" originated in tribal distinctions ("werden durch bestimmte Völker gebildet": Frobenius, p. 166), and therefore are rigid, whereas, among the Mande, "werden die Kasten durch Sippen gebildet, die in ihrer Kastenzugehörigkeit schwanken". The castes of the Fulbe are:

Nobles	Rimbe (plural of Dimu)
Serfs	Rimaibe
Traders and Herdsmen	Diawambe
Singers and Weavers	Mabube
Leather-workers	Sakebe (elsewhere Gargassabe)
Wood-workers	Laobe (elsewhere Sekaebe)
Smiths	Wailbe (plural of Bailu)

It is noteworthy that the Fulbe, unlike the other tribes mentioned, did not recognise a separate class of slaves. The serfs (called "Hörige" by Frobenius) were the descendants of the Rimbe by captive women. The wood-workers' and traders' castes are peculiar to the Fulbe; the rest are common to all the other tribes.

In contrast to the Galla, Somali and other pastoral Hamitic tribes, the Fulbe do not seem

to have any special customs or ritual connected with milk. They keep two distinctive breeds of cattle, one or both of which they are believed to have brought with them in their southward migration. Some particulars concerning their cattle are given by Meek (i. 115—118).

The Fulfulde language was long thought to be absolutely unique. If Barth found in it "Andeutungen eines Zusammenhanges dieses Stammes mit den Kaffern Südafrikas", he must have had in mind the system of noun-classes, which, in some respects, resembles that of the Bantu speech-family, though both more complete and more logical than the latter. F. Müller placed the language in a class by itself, forming one division of the "Nuba-Fulah group", for which he could discover no other affinities. A. W. Schleicher (1891) attempted to connect it with Somali, relying chiefly on verbal coincidences, entirely disregarding the system of noun-classes, and admitting that one important grammatical feature of Fulfulde is not to be found in Somali. In so far as he classes the language as Hamitic, he is partly in agreement with Meinhof who, somewhat later, came to the conclusion that it represents a pre-Hamitic stratum, from which were developed, on the one hand, the Hamitic languages as known to us to-day (Shilha, Saho, Galla, etc.), on the other, the Bantu family.

In addition to the class-system already mentioned (in which the plural is formed by a change, not, as in Bantu, of prefix, but of suffix), Fulfulde exhibits a remarkable cross-division into *a*. human and non-human; *b*. large objects and small objects. Here, the plurals are formed by a change of initial consonant according to certain fixed rules summed up by Meinhof as the Law of Polarity. From this latter classification, Meinhof worked out a hypothesis as to the origin of grammatical gender, which has much to commend it. This is set forth in his *Sprachen der Hamiten* (1912). More recently, however, he has found reason to modify his view of Bantu origins, and considers it at least possible that the class-system is not a primitive feature in Fulfulde, but might have been taken over from some Bantu or "Semi-Bantu" language (Westermann prefers the term "Klassensprachen" for the latter and would extend it to include others than those enumerated in H. H. Johnston's *Comparative Study*). It has also emerged that Fulfulde is less of an isolated phenomenon than had at first appeared. It has points of contact with Serer and other adjacent languages, and in particular, with the little-known Biafada of Portuguese Guinea, studied by G. A. Krause as long ago as 1895. Two important essays by A. Klingenheben in *Ztschr. f. Eingeborenen-sprachen*, 1923—1924 and 1924—1925 are calculated to shed new light on a complicated problem. Fulfulde, like Hausa, possesses a written literature, for which the form of Arabic script, locally known as *ajemi* (Ar. *ʿadjami*), has been used, probably, since the introduction of Islām. This script has peculiarities which cause it to differ markedly from that in use by the Swahili.

Some excellent facsimiles are to be found in Captain F. W. Taylor's *Fulani-Hausa Readings*.

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PŪNA, a city and district of British India in the Central Division of the Bombay Presidency. The district has an area of 5,332 square miles and a population of 1,169,798 of whom 54,997 are Muslims (*Census Report*, 1931). It was included in the powerful Āndhra kingdom of the Dakhan which came to an end about the middle of the third century A.D. The available

evidence also points to the fact that later the Western Čālukyas, the Rāshtrakūtas, and the Deogiri Yādavas ruled over this area. With the Khaldjī and Tughlūq [see MUHAMMAD TUĞHLUQ] invasions of the Dakhan it came under Muslim control. An interesting account of Pūna when it formed part of the Bahmanī kingdom has been recorded by the Russian traveller Athanasius Nikitin (1468-1474), who appears to have been the first foreign traveller whose impressions have been preserved for us since the visit of the Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hien, in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. (R. H. Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Hakluyt Society). Pūna remained under Muslim rule until the growth of Marāṭhā power in the latter half of Awrangzib's reign. The district is therefore associated with the beginnings of Marāṭhā history and closely connected with the career of Shiwādji. Under the Pishwās [q.v.] it became the centre of Marāṭhā power until the British conquest in the early nineteenth century.

Pūna city, which is situated at the confluence of the Muthā and Mula rivers, has a total population of 250,187, of whom 28,925 are Muḥammadans (*Census Report*, 1931). When but a village it was included in the *djāgīr* of Mālodjī Bhonsla, the grandfather of Shiwādji. Later, Shiwādji finding Pūna too exposed transferred his capital to Rāigad where his coronation took place. Pūna was the scene of his daring attack upon Shāyista Khān. With the growth of the power of the Pishwās Pūna once more became the capital and centre of the Marāṭhā kingdom. The fortified palace of the Pishwās, known as the Shānāwārī, was destroyed by fire in 1827. It was at Pūna in the year 1885 that the first meeting of the Indian National Congress took place.

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(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

PŪST or PÖST (P.), skin; Turkish: *pöstakı*; a tanned sheepskin, used as the ceremonial seat or throne of a *pīr* or *shāikh* of a dervish order. The head, sides and foot had mystical significances ascribed to them. It corresponds to the Arabic *bisāf*. According to Ewliya Çelebi (Stambul, i. 495), the *murīd*, after passing the test by the *pīr*, is called *ṣāhib pūst*. On ceremonial occasions amongst the Baktashī order, the hall or convent was set out with twelve pūsts of white sheepskin in remembrance of the twelve imāms.

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(R. LEVY)

PUWASA (Skr. *upawāsa*), in the East Indian Archipelago the name for the month of Ramaḍān and for fasting in this month or at other times. The Arabic names however are not unknown. Fasting is in Indonesia generally a favourite pious practice not only on the days prescribed or recommended by law but also as a means of attaining a desired end. The observation of the fast in Ramaḍān is here as elsewhere

regarded as the most important of the pillars of Islām; here also we find the popular belief prevailing that it can atone for the sins of the whole year. Not all however continue the fast to the end of the month; if any one finds it difficult he satisfies his conscience by fasting on the first and last days of the month; nevertheless such people or even those who do not fast at all have the same elevated sentiment which fills all and which stamps Ramaḍān as the Muḥammadan month like no other. Students, merchants, all whose business takes them away from home endeavour to spend this month at least in the family circle. In many districts the approach of puwasa is remarkable for the increase of slaughtering in the last days of the preceding month. The meat is preserved for use; meals in puwasa are somewhat heavier than usual in order to strengthen for the strain of fasting. The markets are also more animated towards the end of the month; this is the time to make purchases in view of the approaching end of the fast. The beginning of the month is publicly notified; e. g. the drums which form part of the equipment of the houses of prayer are beaten in a special way. The beating of the drums is repeated throughout the whole month at particular times of day, especially after sunset and shortly after midnight in order to warn the faithful that the time for eating is nearly over so that they can prepare the morning meal (Ar. *ṣaḥūr*). Finally at the end of the month when the period of abstinence is over, the drums are beaten with particular vigour. The ascertainment of the end and beginning of Ramaḍān usually leads to friction every year. Those who are free-thinkers in religious matters use the calendar and do not hesitate to announce the end of the fast in advance; all who demand that the law should be strictly followed and these include the modernists, stick to *ru'ya* (evidence of the senses). The *taraweh* (Ar. *tarāwīḥ*) service is held in the public houses of prayer immediately after the *'iṣhā'*; it is also eagerly attended by people who on other occasions do not observe the legal obligations of religion. The lack of seriousness and the unfitting conduct of many participants induces the devout to avoid this *taraweh* service and to observe it elsewhere with a small company of similarly minded people. It is worst in Atjeh; the *taraweh* service here is simply a caricature (Snouck Hurgronje). A special importance is usually attached to the last five odd nights of the month devoted to religious exercises in connection with the *lailat al-ḡadar*. They are not agreed as to which of these nights is most probably the correct one: the 21st and 27th are preferred but the practice varies in different localities. Part of the ceremonial observation of these nights consists in having illuminations in front of the dwelling-houses. In Java special emphasis is laid on the eating of meals together. Every one, if he can at all do it, gives a religious feast every evening. Later they go round their friends; open house is generally kept and time spent in rejoicing until far into the night. Besides these private entertainments there are meals of an official nature. The people of the village come to the house of the village headman to a religious feast; every one brings his share. The higher officials, especially the administrative officials, give a feast to their subordinates. The most splendid observance of these five nights however is found in the palaces of the Javanese

princes. According to ancient custom, these feasts took place in great splendour after sunset; the broad forecourts of the palaces give an excellent opportunity for them. These feasts known as *malṭman*, with which many legends are associated, follow one another in a hierarchical succession. First the prince has his on the 21st; next come the crown-prince, the princes of the blood, the governors and ministers; the dishes are intended for the host's subordinates. In recent years these *malṭman* have become restricted so that only the first of them retains its official character. The "little" feast is a day of rejoicing far surpassing the "great" feast. After the *fiṭra* has been performed on the last day of Ramaḍān or even earlier and ablutions have been taken with special care, in which the Javanese sometimes includes his cattle, a feast is prepared in the house in the evening after the breaking of the fast. The more devout make a modest meal precede this within the month of the fast to take farewell of the spirits of the deceased who wander about during Ramaḍān and now return to their abodes. The ceremonial *ṣalāt* on the 1st Shawwāl is little observed in Atjeh but is a great ceremony in other places; there is no *ṣalāt* in the whole year which is better attended; many, who otherwise never enter a mosque never fail to be present on this occasion. In Java the regents, the highest native government officials accompanied by the whole of the staff of the regency, all in full dress go in the early morning, before sunrise from the regent's house to the mosque in order to take part in the *ṣalāt* there. After the end of the *ṣalāt* they return in the same way. The regent then receives the homage of all. The same custom prevails in the southern Celebes; except that here the native princes take the place of the regents. On this day the young people let off fire-works. After the ceremonial *ṣalāt* people set out in new clothes to visit relations and friends; congratulations are given on the successful conclusion of the fast and pardon is asked for any sins committed deliberately or involuntarily in the past year. It is a widespread custom to visit on this day the tombs of ancestors which have previously been cleaned, and there to spend some time scattering flowers and incense in pious devotion. In Java again we have the custom for the higher officials to treat their subordinates to what are called "mountains of food" (dishes of all kinds arranged in artistic forms). In the native states, at the end of the fast, one of the three public holidays is observed, the essential feature of which is the public representation of the unity of the kingdom in the person of the prince. The three feasts are on the whole on the same lines. The prince appears in oriental splendour and shows himself in the outer court of the palace before the assembled people. Large supplies of food have already been prepared in the royal kitchens and are ceremonially piled up into mountains of food of exactly defined form and preparation. These "mountains" which are so large that it takes several persons to carry one, are carried to the place of audience as soon as the prince has taken his seat and at his command taken on to the mosque. Here the food is distributed after the chief supervisor of the mosque has offered a prayer for prince and country. On account of the blessing associated with it it is lucky to get any of the food. The six days' fast in Shawwāl recommended by law is only observed

by a few very pious people; a minor festival is observed on the 8th of the month to mark its conclusion.

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Q

QUETTA (Pashtu: Kwattā), a *taḥṣīl* and town in the Quetta-Pishin district of British Balūchistān [q.v.]. The district, which contains the *taḥṣīls* of Quetta and Pishin and the administrative sub-division of Čaman, has an area of 4,806 square miles and a population of 147,541, of whom 107,945 are Muslims. Nearly all these Muslims are Pashtu speaking Pathāns, only a very small minority speaking Brahūi and Balūči. The district, which is very mountainous, is bounded on the north-west by Afghān territory, on the east by the Zhōb and Sibi districts, and on the south by the Bolān Pass district and the Sarawān division of Kalāt.

The *taḥṣīl* of Quetta, which is held on lease from the Khān of Kalāt, has an area of 548 square miles and a population of 76,649. The town of Quetta was destroyed by earthquake in 1935. In 1931 it had a population of 60,272, of whom 25,391 lived in the cantonment (*Census of India*, 1931, vol. iv., Baluchistan).

Until the middle of the eighteenth century, when Quetta finally came under Brahūi control, the history of Quetta-Pishin is probably identical with that of Kandahār [for early history see the art. BALŪCHISTĀN and KANDAHĀR]. Quetta was temporarily occupied by the British during the First Afghān War, 1839—1842 (see W. Hough, *A Narrative of the march and operations of the army of the Indus in the expedition into Afghanistan*, 1840). Its strategical importance was first recognized by General John Jacob who urged Lord Canning, in 1856, to garrison this important point of vantage (*Views and Opinions of General John Jacob*, ed. Pelly, p. 349). The proposal was rejected on the grounds that, surrounded by hostile tribes and cut off from its true base, the isolated position of the garrison would be extremely precarious. Ten years later, Sir Henry Green, the Political Superintendent of Upper Sind, seeking to improve the British scheme of frontier defence, proposed that Quetta should be garrisoned and connected by rail with Karāči. Unfortunately for those who desired an advance into Balūchistān the proposal had to face the united opposition of Lord Lawrence

and his Council, all of whom were champions of non-intervention. Ten years passed. The exponents of "masterly inactivity" were no longer predominant in the Viceroy's council chamber; Khīwa [see KHWĀRIZM] had fallen before the Russians, who were drawing nearer and nearer to the gates of India; and, more dangerous still, the estrangement of Shīr 'Alī had brought the Amir of Afghānistān and the Government of India to the brink of war. It was therefore decided, in 1876, to occupy Quetta. The British right to despatch troops into Kalāt territory had been recognized by the treaty of 1854 (Aitchison, xi. 212—213). Chiefly owing to the efforts of Major (afterwards Sir Robert) Sandeman, this treaty was renewed and supplemented on December 8, 1876, by the Treaty of Jacobābād (*Parl. Papers*, 1877, lxiv., c. 1808, p. 314—316). In return for an increased subsidy the Khān granted permission for the location of troops in, and the construction of railways and telegraph lines through, Kalāt territory. This was followed by the formation of the Balūchistān Agency, for on February 21, 1877, Sandeman was appointed Agent to the Governor-General with his headquarters at Quetta.

The strategical importance of Quetta is now almost universally recognized. Protected on the south-west by the lofty Chiltan range and on the north-east by the Zarghun plateau, it dominates all the southern approaches to the Indus valley.

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R

RĀ', tenth letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value of 200. For its palaeographical evolution see the article ARABIA, plate i. It belongs to the group of the liquids and is frequently interchanged with *l* and *n*. It regularly corresponds to the *r* of other Semitic languages. It is not guttural but lingual.

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(A. J. WENSINCK)

RABĀB, the generic name in Arabic for the viol, or any stringed instrument played with a bow (*ḥaws*). The origin of the name has been variously explained: *a.* from the Hebrew *lābāb* (*l* and *r* being interchangeable); *b.* from the Persian *rubāb* (*√rawāwa*), which was played with the fingers or plectrum; and *c.* from the Arabic *rabba* (to collect, arrange, assemble together). The first derivation is scarcely feasible. The second has a *raison d'être*, although the mere similarity in name must not be accepted without question. In spite of the oft repeated statement that the Arabs admit that they borrowed the *rabāb* from the Persians, together with the word *kamān* for the bow, there is not the slightest evidence for it. No Arabic author (so far as the present writer knows) makes an admission of this kind, nor have the Arabs adopted the word *kamān* for the bow, their own term *ḥaws* having been considered sufficient. It is true that we read in the *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm* (xth century) that "the *rabāb* is well-known to the people of Persia and *Khurāsān*" (237), but this author was writing in hither Persia, and we know from al-Fārābī that the *rabāb* was also well-known in Arabian lands. One argument against the alleged borrowing from Persia is that the *rubāb* with the Persians has ever been a plucked and not a bowed instrument. Still, the Arabs may have borrowed the plucked instrument and adapted it to the bow. On the other hand, the Arabic root *rabba* as the parent of the word *rabāb* has much in its favour. As the Arabic musical accousticians point out, plucked instruments such as the *'ūd* (lute), *ṭunbūr* (pandore), etc. gave short (*munfaṣīl*) sounds, but bowed instruments such as the *rabāb* gave long or sustained (*muttaṣīl*) sounds. It was application of the bow which "collected, arranged, or assembled" the short notes into one sustained note, hence the term *rabāb* being applied to the viol (see Farmer, *Stud.*, i. 99).

The *rabāb* is mentioned as early as the Arabic polygraph al-Djāhīz (d. 868) in his *Maḍmūnāt al-Rasā'il*. Yet we cannot be sure whether this was

the bowed *rabāb* or the plucked *rubāb*. At any rate, it already had a legendary history when he wrote. According to the *Kashf al-Humūm* (xvth—xvith century) it is first found in the hands of a woman of the Banū Ṭaiy (fol. 263). Turkish tradition ascribed its "invention" to a certain 'Abd Allāh Fāryābī (Ewliyā Ćelebī, *Siyāhat-nāme*, i/ii. 226, 234). An Andalusian legend places its invention within the Iberian peninsula (Delphin and Guin, *Notes sur la poésie et la musique arabes*, p. 59). One thing is certain even if we have iconographic evidence of the viol in the viiith or ixth century (cf. *infra*), the earliest literary evidence of the use of the bow comes from Arabic sources, i. e. from al-Fārābī (d. 950), the *Iḥwān al-Safā'* (xth century), Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037), and Ibn Zaila (d. 1048), as I have fully demonstrated elsewhere (*Stud.*, i. 101—105).

Seven different forms of viol are known to Islāmic peoples, viz.: 1. The Rectangular Viol, 2. the Circular Viol, 3. the Boat Shape Viol, 4. the Pear Shape Viol, 5. the Hemispherical Viol, 6. the Pandore Viol, and 7. the Open Chest Viol.

1. The Rectangular Viol. This consists of a wooden frame, more or less rectangular, over the face (*wadīḥ*) and back (*ṣāḥr*) of which is stretched a membrane (*djilda*). The neck (*'unuḳ*) is cylindrical and is of wood, whilst the foot (*ridjī*) is of iron. It has either one or two strings (*awṭār*), generally of horsehair. Al-Khalīl (d. 791) says that "the ancient Arabs sang their poems to its [the *rabāb*'s] voice [or sound]" (Farmer, *Stud.*, i. 100). In the *Kashf al-Humūm* (fol. 267) we read that it was used to accompany the pre-Islāmic *ḥaṣīda* and the elegaic poem. Probably the pre-Islāmic *rabāb* was of this rectangular form. Lane (*Lexicon*, p. 1005) held this latter view. Ibn Ḡhaibī (d. 1435) [q. v.] describes this viol of the bedouin as rectangular (*murabba'*) and with a membrane face and back and one string of horsehair (fol. 78v). Niebuhr (i. 144) says that it was still called the *murabba'* in the xviiith century. We certainly have a rectangular instrument shown in the frescoes of Ḳuṣair 'Amra (Musil, pl. xxxiv.), but it is played with the fingers and not with a bow. Yet even in modern times the *rabāb* of the desert was to be found played in this way as well as with a bow (Crichton, ii. 380; Burckhardt, *Bedouins*, p. 43; do., *Travels*, i. 389; Burton, *Personal Narrative*, iii. 76). Niebuhr (Tab. xxvi., F) delineates a rectangular viol of two strings, although he says that he saw a viol of one string in Cairo. Villoteau (722—724: 913—918) distinguishes between the two instruments. In Egypt, he says, the *rabāb al-shā'ir* (poet's viol) had one string, whilst the *rabāb al-mughannī* (singer's viol) had two strings. Lane (*Mod. Egypt*, chaps. xviii., xxi.) also describes them. These instruments never form part of a concert orchestra, being relegated to the folk. For other delineations of the instrument see Fétis (*Hist.*, ii. 145), Engel

(*Catalogue*, p. 211; *Researches*, p. 88), Chouquet (p. 204), Sachs (*Reallex.*, p. 317). Actual specimens abound in museums, e.g. Brussels, N^o. 382 and New York, Nrs. 242, 391.

2. The Circular Viol. The modern instrument of this form consists of a circular wooden frame or pan, the face, and sometimes the back, being covered with a membrane. There is no foot. There is no special reference to this form in Arabic literature nor is there any definite iconographic evidence of it earlier than the xviiith century when it is described and delineated by Niebuhr (i. 144; Tab. xxvi., G) who found it at Baṣra. It had but one string. It is still found among the folk of Palestine (Sachs, p. 30, 40, Tab. 3, 17) and the Maghrib (Chottin, p. 50) where it is still known as the *rabāb* or *ribāb*. For other delineations see Lavignac (p. 2790) and Chottin (pl. vi.).

3. The Boat Shape Viol. This form is confined to the Maghrib. It consists of a piece of wood hollowed out into the shape of a boat. The chest (*ṣadr*) is covered with thin metal or wood pierced with ornamental rosettes (*nuwwārā*), whilst the lower part is covered with a membrane. The head (*ra's*) is at right angles to the body, and it is generally furnished with two strings. It seems to have been used by the Arabs and Moors of Spain since their invasion of the peninsula. It is praised by their xth and xith century writers Abū Bakr Yahyā ibn Hudhail (see al-Shalāḥī, fol. 15), and Ibn Ḥazm (see Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, p. 473), and doubtless they refer to either this instrument or the Pear Shape Viol (see *infra* 4) since the *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (xixth century) equates *rabāb* with *lira dicta a varietate*. If we have no iconographic evidence of this viol from Arabian or Moorish sources, it certainly exists among the Spaniards, since the instruments in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (xiiith century) show definite oriental features; see Riaño (p. 129) and Ribera (pl. xi.). Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) is the first to describe this viol, although not very clearly (*Prol.*, xvii. 354). It is not until the time of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Fāsi (ca. 1650) that we get any musical details of the instrument (*J. R. A. S.*, 1931, p. 366). European travellers (Addison, Windhus, Höst, Shaw) mention the instrument as popular in the Maghrib, and to-day it is one of the principal instruments in concert music. Höst gives us one of the earliest delineations of the instrument from Eastern sources (Tab. xxxi. 2). For a xixth century description see F. Salvador-Daniel (p. 80) and for a design see Christianowitch (pl. 1). Several delineations of both instruments and players may be seen in al-Hafnī (pl. 34, 39—52). Mahillon (i. 416—417), Fétis (*Hist.*, ii. 146), Engel (*Cat.*, p. 143), Chouquet (p. 205), Sachs (*Reallex.*, p. 317), etc. For the instrument of Northern India called the *sārangi* see Lavignac (p. 350) and Fétis (ii. 298).

4. The Pear Shape Viol. Probably, the earliest Arabic reference to this instrument is that made by Ibn Khurdādhbih (d. ca. 912) who, in an oration before Caliph al-Mu'tamid (d. 893), says that the Byzantines had a wooden instrument of five strings called the *lira* which was identical with the *rabāb* of the Arabs (al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, viii. 91). We can probably identify the instrument in the famous Carrand Casket at Florence which dates from the ixth century (*L'Arte*, 1896, p. 24). From the Siculo-Moorish woodwork of the Palatine

Chapel at Palermo (xiith century) we see to better advantage what the Arabian instrument was like (*B. Z.*, 1893, ii. 383). It was this form of the *rabāb* probably, with which al-Fārābī (d. 950) deals (see Land, *Researches*, p. 130, 166). He gives full details of both the *accordatura* and scales. We know little about this instrument in Arabic speaking lands after the xiiith—xivth century, until it is described by Niebuhr (i. 143; Tab. xxvi., D) in the xviiith century, and even then it appears to have been favoured only by the Greek population. It had three strings. It may have been used in the Maghrib (Jackson, p. 159—160), but neither Villoteau nor Lane know of it in Egypt. In Turkey, it appears to have been adopted from the Greeks, possibly in the xviiith century, and with the '*ūd* and *lawta* plays a prominent part in concert music to-day (Lavignac, p. 3015). Recently an attempt has been made to introduce this *rabāb turki* or *arnaba*, as it is now called, into Egypt (al-Hafnī, p. 661, pl. 35). Designs of the instrument may be found in Engel (*Cat.*, p. 210) and Crosby Brown (iii/i. 22), where they represent specimens in collections at South Kensington (London) and New York.

5. The Hemispherical Viol. This is, perhaps, the best known form of the viol in the Islāmic east. The body consists of a hemisphere of wood, coco-nut, or a gourd, over the aperture of which a membrane is stretched. The neck is of wood, generally cylindrical, and there is a foot of iron, although sometimes there is no foot. It is often known in Arabic as the *kamāndja* or more rarely as the *shishāk*. The former is derived from the Persian *kamānta* (dim. of *kāman*, "bow") whilst the latter is derived from the Persian and Turki *shishak*, *shushak*, *ghishak*, *ghizak*, *ghizak*, etc., which may have had their origin in the Sanscrit *ghoshaka*, an instrument mentioned in the pre-Christian *Nāṭya-shāstra* (cap. xxxiii.). I believe that the words *shishak* and *shisān* mentioned in the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafa'* (Bombay ed., i. 97) and al-Shalāḥī (fol. 12) respectively, are copyist's errors for *shishak* and *shisāk*. The work *kamāndja* is first mentioned in Arabic by Ibn al-Faḥīh (ca. 903) who says that it was used by both the Copts and the people of Sind (*B. G. A.*). Of course this need not mean that the instrument mentioned was a hemispherical viol, because, being a Persian by origin, the author may have used the word *kamāndja* in its Persian generic sense meaning a viol. That Egypt had an early liking for the *kamāndja* is borne out from various sources. Although in Egypt the hemispherical viol is nowadays called the *rabāb miṣri* (Egyptian viol), in earlier days it was acknowledged that Egypt borrowed the instrument from Persia (*Kashf al-Humūm*, fol. 106). The *kamāndja* was certainly popular at the courts of the Aiyūbid al-Kāmil (d. 1238) and the Mamlūk Baibars (d. 1277); see al-Makrizī, i/i. 136; Lane-Poole, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 249. In the Persian *Kanz al-Tuhaf* (xivth century) the hemispherical viol is described and figured as the *ghizak*, but in Ibn Ghāibī (d. 1435) where both the *ghizak* and the *kamāndja* are described, the former is a larger type of the latter, having, in addition to its two ordinary strings, eight sympathetic strings (*Kanz al-Tuhaf*, fol. 261v; Ibn Ghāibī, fol. 78). In the xviiith century the *kamāndja* is delineated by Russell (i. 152—153, pl. iv.), and Niebuhr (i. 144, Tab. xxvi., E). Both Villoteau (p. 900, pl. BB) and Lane (*Mod. Egypt.*, chap. 18) give minute details

of the construction and *accordatura*. *Mushāka* also describes the Syrian *kamāndja* (*kamandja*) of his day (*M. F. O. B.*, vi. 25, 81). For the modern Persian instrument see *Advielle* (14 and pl.) and *Lavignac* (p. 3074). Turkomanian instruments are given by *Fitrat* (p. 45) and *Belaiev* (p. 54). For Malaysia see *Kaudern* (p. 178); for India *Lavignac* (p. 349) and *Fétis* (ii. 295). For other designs see *Farmer* (*Stud.*, i. 76), *Fétis* (*Hist.*, ii. 136–137), *Chouquet* (p. 203), *Sachs* (*Reallex.*, p. 207).

6. The Pandore viol. This form is practically a *ṭunbūr*, *sitar*, or the like, which is bowed instead of being plucked by the fingers or a plectrum. The two best known examples from India are the *esrār* and *ṭāūs*. The former has a membrane on its face and has five strings played on with the bow together with a number of sympathetic strings. The latter is practically identical with the former but is adorned with the figure of a peacock (hence its name) at the bottom of the body of the instrument. See *Lavignac* (p. 351) and *Mahillon* (i. 131) for designs and details. With the Persians and Turkomans we see various kinds of pandores used with the bow. See *Advielle* (p. 14), *Lavignac* (p. 3074), *Mironov* (p. 27), *Kinsky* (p. 26).

7. The Open Chest Viol. This is unknown to the peoples of North Africa and the Near East, although it is popular in the Middle East. Unlike the preceding forms of the viol, the upper part of the face of the body or sound-chest is left open. The best known example of this is the *sarindā* of India which has three strings. See *Fétis* (ii. 296), *Lavignac* (p. 351), *Mahillon* (i. 137) and *Kinsky* (p. 27), for both designs and details. In Turkomania a similar instrument known as the *kūpūz* is very popular. It has two strings. See *Belaiev* (p. 52), *Mironov* (p. 25), *Fitrat* (p. 43).

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(H. G. FARMER)

RABAD (A., pl. *arbād*), district of a town, quarter, situated outside the central part or *madīna* [q. v.]. The term, which is very frequently found in the Arab historians of the middle ages in east as well as west, is the original of the Spanish word *arrabal* which means the same. *Rabaḍ* also means the immediate vicinity of a town. The *rabaḍ* usually had a name of its own. This is how there have been preserved for the Cordova of the caliphate of the xth century the names of twenty-one of the suburban districts. *Rabaḍ* *Shakunda* [q. v.] or al-Rabaḍ (for short) was the southern quarter of Cordova, on the other side of the Guadalquivir where in 198 (914) the famous "rebellion of the suburb" broke out which was stifled in blood by the emir al-Ḥakam I [q. v.] and earned him the epithet of al-Rabaḍi. The name *rabaḍi* was also given to the exiles who migrated at this time to the rest of al-Andalus, Morocco and to the east. In the castles (*ḥiṣn* or *ṣakhra*) of Muslim Spain the name *rabaḍ* was given to the civilian quarter below the strictly military quarters. *Rabaḍ* was also the name given in the towns of the west to the lepers' quarter and to that of the prostitutes'.

Bibliography: For the Muslim West, cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane du Xème siècle: institutions et vie sociale*, Paris 1932, p. 151, 203, 207; R. Dozy, *Suppl. aux Dict. Arabes*, s. v°.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

RABAĤ. Zubair-Pasha, Egyptian governor of Baḥr al-Ghazāl in 1875, being recalled to Cairo left his son Sulaimān in charge. The latter thinking he was threatened by the hostility of Gordon, then Governor-General of the Sūdān, joined Ḥārūn, the dethroned sultān of Dār-Fūr, in order to rebel against Egypt. His chief lieutenant was a certain Rabaḥ, son of a negress who had been his father's nurse and was therefore his foster-brother. Gessi-Pasha sent by Gordon inflicted a severe defeat on Sulaimān and Rabaḥ took to flight with the remnants of his master's army and to revictual his forces began a series of raids on the tribes of the northwest of Baḥr al-Ghazāl (1878). Then pushing westwards he entered the land of the Banda in 1879 and in 1883 fell back on the Dār-Kūti, installed a native chief named Sanūsī there as sultān, attacked Bagirmi in 1892 and in 1893 seized its capital which then was Bugoman. In the same year he attacked Ḥāshim, sultān of Bornū [q. v.], defeated and slew him (Dec. 1893). He then attacked Gober or Tessāwa where Abū Bakr, nephew and successor of Ḥāshim, had taken refuge; checked by the army of the sultān of Sokoto he turned against the little states of the south of Lake Chad, took Gulfey from the Buso, Kusri from the Mandara, Logone from the Kotoko, again invaded Bagirmi in 1898, burned Maseña, the old capital, pursued the king

or *mbang* as far as Kuno, was there held up with his 8,000 men by some thirty Senegalese soldiers under the district commissioner Bretonnet and only overcame the resistance of this handful of heroes after eight hours fighting (July 18, 1899). On April 22, 1900, he was defeated at Kusri on the lower Chari by Commandant Lamy: Rabah and Lamy both fell in the battle. His extraordinary career had lasted 22 years and ruined a whole region of the Central Sūdān.

(MAURICE DELAFOSSE)

RABAT, Ar. *RIBĀṬ* AL-FATH, vulg. *er-Rbāt* (ethnic *Ribāṭī*, vulg. *Rbāṭī*), a town in Morocco, situated on the south bank at the mouth of the Wādī Abū Raḡrah (Wed Bu Regreg) opposite the town of Sale [cf. *SALĀ*]. Since the establishment of the French protectorate it has been the administrative capital of the Sharīfian empire, the usual residence of the sultān of Morocco, and the headquarters of the *makhzen* [q. v.] and of the French authorities. The choice of Rabat as the administrative centre of Morocco has brought this town considerable development in place of the somnolence in which it was sunk a quarter of a century ago.

The foundation of Ribāṭ al-Fath was the work of the Almohads [q. v.]. The site of the "Two Banks" (*al-Idwatān*) of the estuary of the Bu Regreg had previously been the scene of Roman and pre-Roman settlements: the Punic, later Roman *Sala* was built on the left bank of the river higher up at the site of the royal Merinid necropolis of Chella (*Shālla*; q. v.). The Muslim town of Salā on the right bank had, from the beginning of the tenth century to protect it against the inroads of the Berghawāṭa [q. v.] heretics at the time when it was the capital of a little Ifrānīd kingdom, fortified on the other side of the Bu Regreg a *ribāṭ* [q. v.], which was permanently occupied by devout volunteers who in this way desired to carry out their vow of *djihād* [q. v.]: the geographer Ibn Ḥawḳal is authority for its existence at this date (cf. *B. G. A.*, i. 56). But we know very little of the part played by this *ribāṭ* in the course of the sanguinary wars later fought between the Berghawāṭa and the Almoravids. It is not even possible to point out its exact situation. It was perhaps the same fortified spot that is mentioned in the middle of the xiith century under the name of Ḳaṣr Banī Targā by the geographer al-Fazārī.

The final and complete subjugation of the Berghawāṭa meant that a different part was to be played by the *ribāṭ* on the estuary of Bu Regreg. In 545 (1150), the founder of the dynasty of the Mu'minid Almohads, 'Abd al-Mu'min, chose the fort and its vicinity as the place of mobilisation for the troops intended to carry the holy war into Spain. A permanent camp was established there and he provided for a supply of fresh water by bringing a conduit from a neighbouring source, 'Ain Ḡhabūla. The permanent establishments, — mosque, royal residence — formed a little town which received the name of al-Mahdiyya. On several occasions very large bodies of men were concentrated around the *ribāṭ*, and it was there that 'Abd al-Mu'min died on the eve of his departure for Spain in 558 (1163).

The development of the camp went on under 'Abd al-Mu'min's successor, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf (558—580 = 1163—1184), but it was the following

prince of the Mu'minid dynasty, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr, who at the beginning of his reign gave the orders and opened the credits necessary for its completion. In memory of the victory gained in 1195 by the Almohads over Alfonso VIII of Castile at Alarcos [q. v.] it was given the name of Ribāṭ al-Fath. The camp was surrounded by a wall of earth flanked with square towers enclosing with the sea and the river an area of 450 hectares. The wall is still standing for the most part and is nearly four miles in length; two monumental gates, one now known as Bāb al-Ruwāḥ (Bāb er-Ruāḥ), the other which gives access to the *ḡaṣaba* (Kasba of the Oudaya), date from this period. It was also Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr who ordered the building inside Ribāṭ al-Fath of a colossal mosque which was never finished; rectangular in plan it measured 610 feet long by 470 feet broad; the only mosque in the Muslim world of greater area was that of Sāmarrā [q. v.]. It was entered by 16 doors and in addition to three courts had a hall of prayer, supported by over 200 columns. In spite of recent excavations more or less successfully conducted this mosque still remains very much a puzzle from the architectural point of view. But the minaret, which also remained unfinished and was never given its upper lantern still surprises the traveller by its unusual dimensions. It is now called the Tower of Ḥassān (*burj Ḥassān*). Built entirely of stones of uniform shape it is 160 feet high on a square base 55 feet square. Its walls are eight feet thick. The upper platform is reached by a ramp two yards broad with a gentle slope. This tower in its proportions, its arrangement and decoration is closely related to two Almohad minarets of the same period: that of the mosque of the Kutubīya at Marrākeṣh [q. v.] and that of the great mosque of Seville [q. v.], the Giralda.

Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr's great foundation never received the population which its area might have held and the town opposite, Sale, retained under the last Almohads and in the xiiith and xivth centuries all its political and commercial importance. Rabat and Sale in 1248 passed under the rule of the Marīnids and it seems that Rabat in those days was simply a military station of no great importance, sharing the fortunes of its neighbour which had gradually become a considerable port having busy commercial relations with the principal trading centres of the Mediterranean. But a chance circumstance was suddenly to give the town of the "Two Banks" a new aspect. The expulsion of the last Moriscos [q. v.] decided upon in 1610 by Philip III brought to Rabat and Sale an important colony of Andalusian fugitives who increased to a marked degree the number of their compatriots in these towns who had previously left Spain of their own free-will after the reconquest. While the population of the other Moroccan cities, Fāz and Tetwān principally, in which the exiles took refuge, very quickly absorbed the new arrivals whom they had welcomed without distrust, the people of Rabat and Sale could not see without misgivings this colony from Spain settle beside them, for they lived apart, never mingled with the older inhabitants and devoted themselves to piracy and soon completely dominated the two towns and their hinterland. Rabat, known in Europe as "New Sale" in contrast to Sale ("Old Sale"), soon became the centre of a regular little maritime republic

in the hands of the Spanish Moors who had either left of their own accord before 1610, the so-called "Hornachuelas", or had been expelled in 1610, the so-called "Moriscos", the former however being clearly in the majority. This republic, on the origin and life of which the documents from European archives published by H. de Castries and P. de Cenival have in recent years thrown new light, hardly recognised the suzerainty of the *sharīf* who ruled over the rest of Morocco. While boasting of their *djihad* against the Christians, the Andalusians of the "Two Banks" really found their activity at sea a considerable source of revenue. They had retained the use of the Spanish language and the mode of life they had been used to in Spain. They thus raised Rabat from its decadence. Their descendants still form the essential part of the Muslim population of the town and they have Spanish patronymics like Bargāsh (Vargas?), Palāmino, Morēno, Lōpēz, Pērēz, Chiquito, Dinya (Span. Dénia), Runda (Span. Ronda), Mūlin (Molino) etc.

The spirit of independence and the wealth of the Spanish Moors in Rabat soon made the town a most desirable object in the eyes of the sultāns of Morocco. Nevertheless the little republic with periods of more or less unreal independence, was able to survive until the accession of the 'Alid sultān Saiyidī Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh in 1171 (1157). This prince now endeavoured to organise for his own behalf the piracy hitherto practised by the sailors of the republic of the "Two Banks". He even ordered several ships of the line to be built. But the official character thus given to the pirates of Sale very soon resulted in the bombardment of Sale and Larache [q. v.] by a French fleet in 1765. The successors of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh had very soon to renounce any further attempt to wage the "holy war" by sea. The result was a long period of decline for Sale which found expression not only in the gradual diminution of its trade but also in a very marked hatred of each town for the other. At the beginning of the 20th century, Rabat like Sale had completely lost its old importance. They were both occupied by French troops on July 19, 1911.

Rabat is one of the towns of Morocco, the population of which is both *ḥaḍarīya*, i. e. essentially town-dwelling, and *makhzanīya*, i. e. used as residence by the sultān of the *Sharīf* empire. The non-European population has increased in a marked degree since the establishment of the protectorate and its choice as permanent capital of the sultān. The number of inhabitants at the census of 1931 was 27,986 Muslims and 4,218 Jews (20,452 and 3,676 in 1926; Sale wich is a separate municipality had in 1931 22,145 Muslims and 2,387 Jews). They live almost entirely in the *madīna*, which is in the shape of a trapezoid, and its annexes formed by the Jewish *mellāḥ* [q. v.] and the *ḥaṣaba* of the Ūḍāya, a separate walled area with its own mosque, originally inhabited by contingents of the *gish* tribe (q. v.; Ar. *djaish*) of this name (Ḥaṣba of the Oudaya). The chief mosques of Rabat are the foundations of 'Alid sultāns, Mawlāi al-Rashīd [q. v.] and Mawlāi Sulaimān (Moulāi Slimān), the mosque near the imperial palace, the *Djāmi'* al-Sunna, was built in the second half of the 18th century. Besides the monumental gates there are several other entrances in the Almohad enceinte: the Bāb al-'Ulū (Bāb el-Alou) admits from the *madīna* to the cemetery and the cliffs

which rise up from the ocean; the gate called Za'ir (Bāb Za'ir) is in the immediate vicinity of the Marinid royal cemetery of Chella (Shālla).

The French town of Rabat built outside the *madīna* is developing rapidly: the palace of the Resident-General, the public offices, fine esplanades, villas surrounded by gardens give the new town a particularly attractive appearance. French Rabat at the present day is a masterpiece, famed throughout the world, of successful town planning and architecture. It is connected by railway to Casablanca and Marrākeṣh in the south, Tangier in the north, Fās and Algiers in the east. Since October 1935 it has been the final resting-place of Marshal Lyautey to whom it owes its position as capital and its reconstruction.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

RABB (A.), lord, God, master of a slave. Pre-Islamic Arabia probably applied this term to its gods or to some of them. In this sense the word corresponds to the terms like Ba'al, Adon in the Semitic languages of the north where rabb means "much, great". — In one of the oldest sūras (cvi. 3) Allāh is called the "lord of the temple". Similarly al-Lāt bore the epithet al-Rabba, especially at Tā'if where she was worshipped in the image of a stone or of a rock. — In the *Qur'ān* rabb (especially with the possessive suffix) is one of the usual names of God. This explains why in *Ḥadīth* the slave is forbidden to address his master as *rabbī*, which he must replace by *sayyidī* (Muslim, *al-Alfāḥ min al-Adab*, trad. 14, 15, etc.). — The abstract *rubūbiya* is not found in either *Qur'ān* or *Ḥadīth*; it is in common use in mystic theology.

Bibliography: The Arabic dictionaries; Flügel, *Concordantiae Corani*.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

RABGHŪZĪ. [See RUBGHŪZĪ.]

RABĪʿ (A.), the name of the third and fourth months of the Muslim calendar. The name is an Aramaic loanword and in the Syriac translation of the Bible corresponds to the Hebrew *mal'kōsh* (late rain). This and the fact that the two months following Rabiʿ II are called Djumādā (month of frost) suggested to Wellhausen that these four months originally fell in winter and that the old Arab year began with the winter half-year [see AL-MUHARRAM]. Rabiʿ means originally the season in which, as a result of the rains, the earth is covered with green; this later led to the name Rabiʿ being given to spring. Al-Birūnī expressly describes autumn (*khariḥ*) as the season indicated by Rabiʿ. As a result of the Qurʾānic prohibition of intercalation [see NAFIʿ], since the beginning of the Muslim era the two months no longer fall at a regular season.

Bibliography: Wellhausen, *Reste*², p. 97; Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*², s. v.; al-Birūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, p. 60, 325.

(M. PLESSNER)

AL-RABĪʿ B. YŪNUS B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ABĪ FARWA (so-called from his entering Medina with a fleece on his back), emancipated slave of al-Ḥārith al-Ḥaffār (grave-digger), emancipated slave of ʿOthmān b. ʿAffān. He was really a bastard of obscure origin, a fact which was often brought up against him by his enemies later in his career. Born in slavery at Medina about 112 (730), he was bought by Ziyād b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥārithī who presented him to his master Abu ʿl-ʿAbbās al-Saffāh, the first ʿAbbāsīd Caliph. All his life, he served, with varying fortune, three more ʿAbbāsīd Caliphs: al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī and al-Ḥādī.

He reached the zenith of his power under al-Manṣūr (136—158) who, finding him a capable and useful courtier, appointed him *ḥadīb* and afterwards made him his *wazīr* in succession to Abū Aiyūb al-Mawriyānī. His son al-Faḍl b. al-Rabiʿ, who was destined to play a prominent part in the forthcoming intrigues against the house of Barmak, took his father's duties as *ḥadīb*. After the foundation of Baghdād, the new town was divided into four quarters, one of which was given in fief by al-Manṣūr to al-Rabiʿ and was thus named after him (*kaṣīʿat al-Rabiʿ*).

During the reign of al-Mahdī (158—169), his influence seems to have dwindled for some time. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī ʿObaid Allāh (known as Abū ʿObaida) became *wazīr*. Hence al-Rabiʿ participated in an intrigue which led to the downfall of his rival by exposing his son as a heretic (*zindīq*) in 163 (779—780). Even then al-Rabiʿ only retained his old office as *ḥadīb* and never became Mahdī's *wazīr*. It was ʿAbd Allāh Abū Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd who succeeded the disgraced minister. On al-Ḥādī's accession (169 = 785), however, al-Rabiʿ was once more promoted to that dignity, but only for a period, after which he was entrusted with a secretaryship for the Caliph's *dīwān* (*dīwān al-ʿazīmma*). He remained in this capacity until his death after a short illness lasting eight days. His sudden end gave rise to the suggestion that he was poisoned by al-Ḥādī, but this is discredited by the most authentic sources. The exact date of his death is uncertain. While al-Djahshiyārī and al-Ṭabarī place it in 169, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and Ibn Khallikān assert that he died at the beginning of 170 (786).

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Details about his administration are scanty, but it is certain that he was an able, industrious, temperate and tactful man of affairs. Even al-Mahdī, who was never lavish in showering favours on al-Rabiʿ, once described him as the model of a good administrator (Yaʿqūbī, ii. 486). The literary sources, however, do not single him out as a patron of letters, a quality which both his ʿAbbāsīd masters and his Barmak successors possessed with distinction.

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RĀBĪʿA AL-ʿADAWĪYA, a famous mystic and saint of Baṣra, a freedwoman of the Āl ʿAtik, a tribe of Kaīs b. ʿAdī, known also as al-Kaisiyya, born 95 (713—714) or 99, died and was buried at Baṣra in 185 (801). A few verses of hers are recorded: she is mentioned, and her teaching quoted, by most of the Ṣūfī writers and the biographers of the saints.

Born into a poor home, she was stolen as a child and sold into slavery, but her sanctity secured her freedom, and she retired to a life of seclusion and celibacy, at first in the desert and then in Baṣra, where she gathered round her many disciples and associates, who came to seek her counsel or prayers or to listen to her teaching. These included Mālik b. Dīnār, the ascetic Rabāḥ al-Kais, the traditionist Sufyān al-Thawrī and the Ṣūfī Shaḥṭk al-Balkhī. Her life was one of extreme asceticism and otherworldliness. Asked why she did not ask help from her friends, she said, "I should be ashamed to ask for this world's goods from Him to Whom it belongs, and how should I seek them from those to whom it does not belong"? To another friend she said, "Will God forget the poor because of their poverty or remember the rich because of their riches? Since He knows my state, what have I to remind Him of? What He wills, we should also will". Miracles were attributed to her as to other Muslim saints. Food was supplied by miraculous means for her guests, and to save her from starvation. A camel which died when she was on pilgrimage, was restored to life for her use; the lack of a lamp was made good by the light which shone round about the saint. It was related that when she was dying, she bade her friends depart and leave the way free for the messengers of God Most

High. As they went out, they heard her making her confession of faith, and a voice which responded, "O soul at rest, return to thy Lord, satisfied with Him, giving satisfaction to Him. So enter among My servants into My Paradise" (Sūra lxxxix. 27-30). After her death Rābī'ā was seen in a dream and asked how she had escaped from Munkar and Nakir, the angels of death, when they asked her, "Who is your Lord?", and she replied, "I said, return and tell your Lord, 'Notwithstanding the thousands and thousands of Thy creatures, Thou hast not forgotten a weak old woman. I, who had only Thee in all the world, have never forgotten Thee, that Thou shouldst ask, Who is thy Lord?'"

Among the prayers recorded of Rābī'ā is one she was accustomed to pray at night upon her roof: "O Lord, the stars are shining and the eyes of men are closed and kings have shut their doors and every lover is alone with his beloved, and here am I alone with Thee". Again she prayed, "O my Lord, if I worship Thee from fear of Hell, burn me therein, and if I worship Thee in hope of Paradise, exclude me thence, but if I worship Thee for Thine own sake, then withhold not from me Thine Eternal Beauty". Of Repentance, the beginning of the Ṣūfī Path, she said, "How can anyone repent unless his Lord gives him repentance and accepts him? If He turns towards you, you will turn towards Him". She held that Gratitude was the vision of the Giver, not the gift, and one spring day, when urged to come out to behold the works of God, she rejoined, "Come rather inside to behold their Maker. Contemplation of the Maker has turned me aside from contemplating what He has made". Asked what she thought of Paradise, Rābī'ā replied, "First the Neighbour, then the house" (*al-djār thumma 'l-dār*) and Ghazālī, commenting on this, says she implied that no one who does not know God in this world will see him in the next, and he who does not find the joy of gnosis here will not find the joy of the Vision there, nor can anyone appeal to God in that world if he has not sought His friendship in this. None may reap who has not sown (*Ihyā*², iv. 269). The otherworldliness of her teaching is shewn in her declaration that she had come from that world and to that world she was going, and she ate the bread of this world in sorrow, while doing the work of that world. One who heard her said derisively, "One so persuasive in speech is worthy to keep a rest-house" and Rābī'ā responded, "I myself am keeping a rest-house; whatsoever is within, I do not allow it to go out and whatever is without, I do not allow to come in. I do not concern myself with those who pass in and out, for I am contemplating my own heart, not mere clay". Asked how she had attained to the rank of the saints, Rābī'ā replied, "By abandoning what did not concern me and seeking fellowship with Him Who is eternal".

She was famed for her teaching on mystic love (*maḥabbā*) and the fellowship with God (*uns*) which is the pre-occupation of His lover. Every true lover, she said, seeks intimacy with the beloved, and she recited the lines:

"I have made Thee the Companion of my heart,
But my body is present for those who seek
its company,

And my body is friendly towards its guests.
But the Beloved of my heart is the guest of
my soul".

(*Ihyā*², iv. 358, margin)

She demonstrated the need for disinterested love and service by taking fire in one hand and water in the other and saying, when asked the meaning of her action, "I am going to light fire in Paradise and to pour water on to Hell, so that both veils may be taken away from those who journey towards God, and their purpose may be sure and they may look towards their Lord without any object of hope or motive of fear. What if the hope of Paradise and the fear of Hell did not exist? Not one would worship his Lord or obey Him" (Aḥāki, *Ma-nāqib al-Ārifin*, India Office, N^o. 1670, fol. 114^a). Questioned about her love for the Prophet she said, "I love him, but love of the Creator has turned me aside from love of His creatures", and again, "My love to God has so possessed me that no place remains for loving any save Him". Of her own service to God and its motive-force she said, "I have not served God from fear of Hell, for I should be but a wretched hireling if I did it from fear; nor from love of Paradise, for I should be a bad servant, if I served for the sake of what was given me, but I have served Him only for the love of Him and desire of Him". Her verses on the two types of love, that which seeks its own ends and that which seeks only God and His glory, are famous and much quoted:

"In two ways have I loved Thee, selfishly,
And with a love that worthy is of Thee.
In selfish love my joy in Thee I find,
While to all else, and others, I am blind.
But in that love which seeks Thee worthily,
The veil is raised that I may look on Thee.
Yet is the praise in that or this not mine,
In this and that the praise is wholly Thine".

Ghazālī again comments, "She meant, by the selfish love, the love of God for His favour and grace bestowed and for temporary happiness, and by the love worthy of Him, the love of His Beauty which was revealed to her, and this is the higher of the two loves and the finer of them" (*Ihyā*², iv. 267). Like all mystics, Rābī'ā looked for union with the Divine (*waṣl*). In certain of her verses she says, "My hope is for union with Thee, for that is the goal of my desire", and again she said, "I have ceased to exist and have passed out of self. I have become one with God and am altogether His".

Rābī'ā, therefore, differs from those of the early Ṣūfis who were simply ascetics and quietists, in that she was a true mystic, inspired by an ardent love, and conscious of having entered into the unitive life with God. She was one of the first of the Ṣūfis to teach the doctrine of Pure Love, the disinterested love of God for His own sake alone, and one of the first also to combine with her teaching on love the doctrine of *Kashf*, the unveiling, to the lover, of the Beatific Vision.

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(MARGARET SMITH)

RABĪB AL-DAWLA ABŪ MANṢŪR B. ABĪ SHUDJĀʿ MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤUSAIN, a vizier. When the vizier Abū Shudjāʿ Muḥammad al-Rūdhrawārī [q. v.] made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 481 (1089) he appointed his son Rabīb al-Dawla and the *naḳīb al-nuḳabāʾ* Tīrād b. Muḥammad al-Zainabī his deputies and in 507 (1113—1114) on the death of Abū ʿl-Kāsim ʿAlī b. Fakhr al-Dawla Muḥammad b. Djahīr [see the article IBN DJAHĪR, 3] Rabīb al-Dawla was appointed vizier of the caliph al-Mustazhir [q. v.]. In Dhū ʿl-Ḥijda 511 (April 1118) the fourteen year old Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad succeeded his father as Saldjuḳ sultān and, when he was looking around for an able vizier, he was recommended to choose some one who had had the necessary training in the service of the caliph (*min tarbiyat dār al-khilāfa*), because there was no suitable man in the train of the young sultān. The choice therefore fell upon Rabīb al-Dawla who was at once summoned from Baghdad to Iṣfahān and, as we know from al-Bundarī also, proved himself in every way fit for his difficult task. But his tenure of office was of short duration: he died in Rabiʿ I 513 (June—July 1119); according to another statement he died as early as 512 (1118—1119).

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RĀBĪṬA. [See RĪBĀṬ.]

RAḌĀʿ or RĪPĀʿ, also RAḌĀʿA (A.), suckling; as a technical term, the suckling which produces the impediment to marriage of foster-kinship. It is to be supposed that the idea of foster-kinship was already prevalent among the ancient Arabs (cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*², p. 176, 196, note 1); this is evident from, among other things, the way in which the prescription of the Qurʾān regarding this is interpreted in Tradition. In Sūra iv. 23, among the female relatives with whom marriage is forbidden are the foster-mother and the foster-sister. This must correspond exactly to the old Arab usage, which regarded blood-relationship also only in these two degrees as an impediment to marriage (cf. Robertson Smith, *loc. cit.*). But as the Qurʾān in the passage quoted extends the circle of prohibited relationships beyond that of blood-relationship, foster-kinship was treated accordingly contrary to the unambiguous language of the passage. To justify this, it is frequently laid down in traditions, in keeping with the principle of the old Arab attitude, that foster-kinship is an impediment in the same degrees as blood-relationship. The isolated case, which is decisive for the principle, that of the prohibition of marriage with the daughter of a foster-brother, is brought into

close personal relationship with the Prophet. Through the prohibition of marriage laid down in Tradition between the foster-children of two wives of the same man, relationship by marriage becomes included in foster-relationship, and in the tradition which expounds the verse of the Qurʾān quoted, foster-kinship is given among the impediments to marriage on the ground of relationships in law. As a justification for this prohibition it is stated that the *semen genitale* (which the milk has produced) is the same; against the view that blood-relationship is not to be combined with foster-kinship, so that the brother of the husband of the foster-mother is not to be regarded as a foster-relation, there is a polemic in a tradition (*Kanz al-Ummāl*, iii., No. 3911). The question of the amount of suckling necessary to produce foster-relationship is a very old point of dispute; some traditions do not consider isolated sucks by the suckling or one or two acts of suckling as sufficient, others demand not less than seven acts of suckling, others again say that the child must be fed entirely; on the other side, one group of traditions says the prohibition of marriage is the same whatever the amount of suckling that has been given. There is even said to have been a passage in the Qurʾān which in the older, later abrogated, version demanded ten feedings and in the later version five. This story which was obviously only intended to support this view is not trustworthy (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurʾāns*, i. 253 *sq.*; *Kanz al-Ummāl*, No. 3,923 *sqq.*). That the practice of suckling adults in order to establish an artificial foster-kinship existed is certain; it is recognised by several traditions and by others directly or indirectly denied (by the legal maxim: *al-raḍāʿa min al-maḍjāʿa*, "suckling demands hunger"). The chief case for the validity of such an act of suckling is described as a privilege granted by the Prophet personally (*Kanz al-Ummāl*, No. 3,919) and even the suckling of children to establish an impediment to marriage is in an isolated case described as illegal (*ibid.*, No. 3,885). To prove foster-kinship many traditions are content with the testimony of the foster-mother with or even without oath or with the testimony of a woman simply or with that of a man and of one woman; in refutation of this anomaly, obviously at one time permitted, another group of traditions demands the normal testimony of two men or of one man and two women. These points of difference found in tradition are continued in the differences of opinion among the older jurists. The views of the principal authorities are given in al-Shawkānī, *Nail al-Awṭār*, Cairo 1345, vii. 113 *sqq.* The most important new point in dispute, discussed in this later period but scarcely touched upon in the traditions, is the period within which foster-kinship can be established by a child; sometimes it is said to be the period till weaning, sometimes the whole of childhood without an exact limitation, sometimes the fixed period of two years, or 2½ or 3 or 7 years; for the period of two years the authority of the Qurʾān is quoted, Sūra ii. 233 ("Mothers shall suckle their children two full years if they wish to carry through the suckling to its end") (on the details cf. al-Shawkānī, *op. cit.*, p. 120). The four regular Sunnī law-schools are agreed that foster-relationship exists between a man and all his descendants on the one side and his nurse, all her foster- and blood-relatives, her husband and all his foster- and blood-relations on

the other; on the other hand, no foster-relationship is assumed between a man and the ascendants or lateral relatives of his foster-brothers and sisters and between the nurse and the ascendants or lateral relatives of her foster-child. The Ḥanafis and the Mālikis demand no definite minimum period, the Shāfi'is however five acts of suckling. The period for feeding is with the Mālikis (unless previously weaned), the Shāfi'is and Ḥanbalis two years, with the Ḥanafis 2½ years; the Zāhiris also recognised the suckling of an adult. To establish the foster-relationship the Shāfi'is are content with the testimony of four women, the Mālikis with the evidence of two, if the fact is well known, and the Ḥanafis with the evidence of one woman.

Prominent Meccans have retained since before Islām to the present day the custom of having Beduin nurses for their children (cf. Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'hégire*, p. 101). The custom very common in the early period of Islām of hiring nurses in return for food and clothing has resulted in this arrangement, which is not in itself in accordance with the demands of the law, becoming recognised. In one tradition it is recommended that gratitude should be shown to a nurse by giving her a slave, male or female. The suckling of children by the mother or a hired nurse in a case where the marriage is dissolved is fully regulated on the basis of the Qur'ānic passage, Sūra ii. 233.

Bibliography: Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s.v. Nursing; Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, p. 219; do., *Handleiding*³, p. 185; Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, i. 161; for the Imāmis: Querry, *Droit musulman*, i. 657 sqq. (JOSEPH SCHACHT)

RĀḌHANPŪR, a Muslim state in India now included in the Western India States Agency and situated to the south-west of Pālanpūr.

The rulers of Rāḍhanpūr trace their descent from a Muslim adventurer who came to India from Ispahān about the middle of the xviith century. His descendants became *fawjdār*s and farmers of revenue in the Mughal province of Guḍjarāt [q.v.]. Early in the xviiith century Djawān Mard Khān Bābi, the head of the family at that time, received a grant of Rāḍhanpūr and other districts (*Mir'āt-i Aḥmadi*, Ethé, No. 3599, fol. 742). With the decline of the Mughal empire these districts passed into the hands of the Marāṭhās, but the Bābi family were confirmed in the possession of Rāḍhanpūr by Damādji Rāo Gaekwār.

British relations with Rāḍhanpūr date back to the year 1813 (Aitchison, vi., c.). Some years later the British were called upon to rid Rāḍhanpūr of plundering tribes from Sind who were committing serious depredations in the nawāb's territories. In return for this the nawāb agreed to become a tributary of the British government, but a few years later this tribute was remitted because it was felt that the state was unable to bear the expense. After the Mutiny, in 1862, the ruler of Rāḍhanpūr received an adoption *sanad* from the governor-general (*op. cit.*, cii.). It was not until 1900 that the Djorawarsai currency previously in use was discontinued and replaced by British currency.

To-day Rāḍhanpūr covers an area of 1,150 square miles and supports a population of 70,530, of whom only 8,435 are Muḥammadans. The town

of Rāḍhanpūr, the capital of the state, has a total population of 11,225, of whom 3,694 are Muḥammadans (1931 Census Report).

Bibliography: see PĀLANPŪR.
(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

AL-RĀḌĪ BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD (MUḤAMMAD) B. AL-MUKṬADIR, the twentieth ʿAbbāsīd caliph. He was born in Rabi' II 297 (Dec. 909); his mother was a slave named Zālūm. He was proposed for the caliphate immediately after the assassination of his father al-Mukṭadir [q.v.] but the choice fell upon al-Kāhir [q.v.]. The latter had him thrown into prison; after the fall of al-Kāhir, he was released and put upon the throne (Djumādā I 322 = April 934). As his adviser in this difficult period al-Rāḍī chose al-Mukṭadir's vizier ʿAlī b. ʿIsā [see the art. IBN AL-DJARRĀḤ, 2] who however asked to be excused on account of his great age, whereupon Ibn Muḥla [q.v.] was given the office. The most influential official however continued to be Muḥammad b. Yāḳūt [q.v.] and only after his fall in Djumādā I 323 (April 935) did Ibn Muḥla gain control of the administration while the caliph himself fell completely into the background. But Ibn Muḥla's rule did not last long; in Djumādā I 324 (April 936) he was seized by al-Muzaḥḥar b. Yāḳūt, brother of the above-mentioned Muḥammad, and the impotent caliph had to dismiss him and in the same year summon the governor of Wāsiṭ and Baṣra, Muḥammad b. Rāʾīḳ [q.v.], to Baghdād and entrust him with complete authority as *amir al-umarāʾ*. This meant a complete breach with the past; the caliph was only allowed to retain the capital and its immediate vicinity and to abandon all influence on the business of government, while Ibn Rāʾīḳ in combination with his secretary decided all the more important questions. Ibn Rāʾīḳ held power for nearly two years; his name was actually mentioned in the *khutba* for the reigning dynasty along with that of the caliph; in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 326 (Sept. 938) however, he was replaced by Bedjken [q.v.].

To the financial difficulties and the constant quarrels of the viziers and emirs there was now added war with foreign foes. In 323 (935) al-Rāḍī endeavoured to remove from office the governor of al-Mawṣil Nāṣir al-Dawla [q.v.], but failed, and a few years later Bedjken, accompanied by the caliph, attacked the Ḥamdānids in order to force them to pay tribute levied upon them but had to make peace because the fugitive Ibn Rāʾīḳ suddenly appeared in Baghdād. The war with the Byzantines was also continued; the Ḥamdānids however in this war came forward as defenders of Islām. In Egypt Muḥammad b. Tuḡhdj founded the dynasty of the Ikhshidids [q.v.] and at the same time Bedjken had to fight with the Būyids who were advancing on several sides and a few years later victoriously entered Baghdād.

In the capital itself al-Rāḍī had to take measures against the fanatical Ḥanbalis (323 = 935), who had many followers among the common people and committed all kinds of excesses. They entered private houses, destroyed musical instruments, ill-treated women singers, poured away wine that they found, interfered in business, annoyed passers-by in the streets, beat Shāfi'is and generally behaved as arbitrarily as if they represented a kind of tribunal of the Inquisition.

Al-Rāḍī died in the middle of Rabi' I 329 (Dec. 940) of dropsy. The Arab historians praise his

piety, justice, clemency and generosity as well as his interest in literature and it is said of him, for example (Ibn al-Tiṭṭakā, *al-Fakhri*, p. 380): "He was the last caliph, by whom a collection of poems exists, the last who retained his independence as a ruler, the last to preach a sermon from the pulpit on Fridays, the last to mix freely with his friends and to welcome men of learning, and the last who followed the principles of the earlier caliphs as regards rank, tokens of favour, servants and chamberlains". This characterisation may well be correct in its main lines but al-Radī was not independent; he was on the contrary a ready tool in the hands of his viziers and emirs.

Bibliography: 'Arib (ed. de Goeje), p. 33, 43–45, 57, 79, 92, 116, 139, 155, 168, 180, 183, 185; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (ed. Paris), i. 166; viii. 308–344; ix. 31, 48, 52; do., *al-Tanbih wa 'l-Ishraf* (ed. de Goeje), p. 105, 122, 154, 174, 193, 388–397; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), viii., see index; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales* (ed. Reiske), ii. 383 sqq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, iii. 396 sqq.; Abu 'l-Mahāsin b. Taghribardī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira* (ed. Juynboll and Matthes), ii., see index; Ibn al-Tiṭṭakā, *al-Fakhri* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 370 sq., 374, 379–385; Amedroz and Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, see index; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī-i Kāzwinī, *Tārīkh-i guzāda* (ed. Browne), i. 339, 344–346, 778, 788; al-Sūlī, *Akhbār ar-Rādī wal-Muttakī* (ed. J. H. Dunne); Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii. 650, 655–678; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall* (new ed. by Weir), p. 569–572; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 155, 194 sq. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

RADIF. [See REDIF.]

RADJA. [See RUDJU.]

RADJAB (A.), the name of the seventh month in the Muslim calendar. In the Dīhālīya it introduced the summer half year until, as a result of the abolition of the intercalated months, the months ceased to fall regularly at the same season of the year [see AL-MUHARRAM and NASĪ']. The month was a sacred one; in it the 'umra [q. v.], the essentially Meccan part of the pre-Muhammadan ceremonies of pilgrimage, took place. The peace of Allāh therefore prevailed in it; the forbidden war which was fought in Radjab between Kuraish and Hawāzin and in which the young Muhammad took part is called *Fidjār* (perfidy) [q. v.].

In the Qur'ān, as recorded in the article AL-MUHARRAM, only "the" holy month is mentioned and not the four which have become traditional from the sole reference ix. 36. If the reference in Sūra v. 2, is to the 'umra we can therefore understand why the commentators in part identify the holy month mentioned in this verse with Radjab.

In Islām the month attained great importance through the memory of the Prophet's night journey to heaven which in later times was put on the 27th of the month (on the original dates see MĪ'RADJ). This night is therefore called *Lailat al-Mi'rādj* and is celebrated with readings of the legends of the ascension.

Bibliography: Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*², p. 97 sq.; al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, p. 60 sqq.; Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, 1910, p. 131 sq.; the works mentioned in the books and articles quoted.

(M. PLESSNER)

RADJM (A.), the casting of stones. *R-dj-m* is a Semitic root, derivatives from which are found in the Old Testament with the meaning of "to stone, to drive away or kill by throwing stones" an abominable creature; *radjma* is "a heap of stones, an assembly of men, cries, tumult". — In Arabic, the root means "to stone, to curse"; *radjamun*, "heap of stones", also means simply the stones placed upon tombs either as flagstones or in a heap, a custom which ḥadīth condemns and recommends that a grave should be level with the surface of the ground. On the ḥadīth of 'Abd Allāh b. Mughfal, it is discussed whether *lā turadji-djimū ḥabrī* means "do not build my grave in a mound" or "do not utter imprecations there". — The lapidation and heaps of stones at Minā are called *djamra*, and *djamarāt al-'arab* means the groups of Beduin tribes; we find there the two old meanings of the root which can be taken back to *dj-m*, in Arabic *djamma* and *djama'a* "to reunite". The Arab grammarians derive *djamra* "lapidation" from *djamarāt al-'arab*; and we have to remember the double meaning of *radjm* and a metathesis from *djamr(a)* = *radjm*.

In addition to the meaning of "ritual stoning as a punishment for fornication", *radjm* means the casting of stones at Minā, which is one of the pre-Muhammadan rites preserved by Muḥammad and inserted among the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. We may here refer the reader to the articles DJAMRA, ḤADJDI and MINĀ with their bibliographies.

The Qur'ān does not mention this rite; but it knows *radjama* in its Biblical sense of "stoning of prophets by unbelievers", and also *radjm* (= *marđūm*) as an epithet of Satan, "driven away and struck with projectiles of fire by the angels", and lastly (xviii. 21) in an abstract sense which indicates a long semantic evolution.

The rite of casting stones at Minā was regulated by ḥadīths in the classical collections. There is a model *ḥadjdj*, that of the Prophet which we find in the manuals of *manāsik al-ḥadjdj*, e.g. in the *Risāla* of Ibn Taimiyya (cf. Rif'at, i. 89 sqq.). Some ḥadīths of archaic form (e.g. Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, b. 2; *Salam*, b. 1 and 2; *Umda*, viii. 489) show that Muḥammad had to lay down rules for the essential question of the *wukūf*, the culmination of the *ḥadjdj*. The *Hums*, i.e. the Kuraish and their allies, observed it at Djam' (Muzdalifa), in the *ḥaram*; the others, the 'Arab, at 'Arafa, outside of the *ḥaram* of Mecca. Having to choose between his companions of two different origins, the *Muhādžirūn* and the *Anṣār*, Muḥammad decided with the latter for 'Arafa; but he retained a secondary *wukūf* at Muzdalifa, and the two *ifāda*, the new combination of rites culminating in the throwing of stones at 'Aḳaba.

Situated at the bottom of the valley of Minā, on the slope of the defile towards Mecca, al-'Aḳaba is "not in Minā but it is its boundary on the side of Mecca" ('*Umda*, iv. 770). On the morning of the 10th *Dhu 'l-Hidjdja* the pilgrim goes down into the valley, passes without saluting them in front of the great *djamra*, 500 yards farther on to the middle one, and 400 yards beyond he comes to *djamrat al-'Aḳaba* (Rif'at, i. 328). There he throws 7 stones and this is one of the four ceremonies which on the tenth day are intended to remove his state of sanctity. He must also have his hair shaved (*ḥalq*), sacrifice a victim (*naḥr*)

and return in procession to Mecca (*ifāda*). This last rite prepares the sexual deconsecration; the three others together abolish the prohibitions of the *ḥadjj* but the legists are not agreed on the order in which they have to be accomplished. The *ḥadīth*s say that the Prophet replied to the pilgrims who were worried, not having followed the order in which he had himself followed them: *tā ḥaradja*: "no harm (in that)" (Bukhārī, *Ḥadjj*, b. 125, 130 etc.). It is explained that the Prophet on this day of rejoicing did not wish to hurt the feelings of the ignorant Beduins. We may imagine that these 'Arab did not follow the customs of the Quraysh and that Muḥammad had neither the time nor the inclination to impose his own choice between the varying customs.

Muḥammad began with the lapidation at al-Aḥaba. After the *ḥalk*, the sacrifice and the *ifāda*, he returned to spend the night in Minā. Then on the 11th, 12th and 13th, he cast 7 stones at the three *ḍjamarāt* ending with that of al-Aḥaba. The pilgrims imitating him ought therefore to throw $7 + (7 \times 3) 3 = 70$ stones. But in general they take advantage of the liberty (*rukḥṣa*) given them by the *ḥadīth* to leave Minā finally on the 12th and therefore only to throw $7 + (7 \times 2) 3 = 49$ stones. It is probable that there was no ancient usage; the presence of the bodies of the sacrificial victims made Minā a horrible place. It is difficult to see how Wavell (*Pilgrim*, p. 202) threw 63 stones, i. e. $(7 \times 3) 3$; this is however the number of victims which, according to tradition, Muḥammad sacrificed with his own hand, one for each year of his life.

The stoning of al-Aḥaba is done on the 10th by the pilgrims in *ihṛām*; those of the three days following by the deconsecrated pilgrims. The whole business is not a fundamental element of the pilgrimage (*rukṇ*).

Little stones are thrown, larger than a lentil, but less than a nut, what the old Arabs called *ḥaṣa 'l-khadhf* which were thrown either with the fingers or with a little lever of wood forming a kind of sling (*mikḥdhafa*: Tirmidhī, iv. 123). A *ḥadīth* forbids this dangerous game, which might knock out an eye but is not strong enough to kill an enemy: it must therefore have had something magical or pagan in its character. The stones have to be collected of the proper size and not broken from a rock. Gold, silver, precious stones etc. are condemned; but some texts allow, in addition to date-stones, a piece of camel-dung or a dead sparrow which we find are the means used by the women of the Djāhiliya at the end of their period of isolation to remove the impurity of their widowhood and prepare a new personality. — It is recommended that the 7 stones for the lapidation of al-Aḥaba should be gathered at the *maṣḥ'ar al-ḥaram* at Muzdalifa, outside of Minā. As a rule the 63 others are gathered in the valley of Minā, but outside of the mosque and far from the *ḍjamarāt* to avoid their having already been used (Ibn Taimiyya, p. 383). Besides it is thought that stones accepted by Allāh are carried away by angels. — Stones collected but not used should be buried; they have assumed a sacred character which makes them dangerous.

The model pilgrimage of the Prophet fixed the time of the *ḍjamarat al-Aḥaba* for the day of the 10th. It shows him beginning the *ifāda* of Muzdalifa after the prayer at dawn (*ṣaḍṣir*) and casting the

stones after sunrise. But by survival of an ancient custom more than for reasons of convenience other times are allowed by law. Al-Shāfi', against the three other imāms, permits the 'Aḥaba ceremony before sunrise (Rif'at, i. 113); in general, the time is extended to the whole morning (*duḥan*), till afternoon (*zawāl*), till sunset, till night, till the morning of the day following: these infractions of the normal routine are atoned for by a sacrifice or alms, varying with the different schools. — The *ḍjamarāt* of the three days of the *tashriḥ* take place in the *zawāl*: here again there are various opinions (Bukhārī, *Ḥadjj*, b. 134). — In fixing the time of the lapidations the law has always endeavoured to avoid any Muslim rite, e. g. prayer, coinciding with one of the three positions of the sun by day, rising, noon, setting. A. J. Wensinck has shown (*E. I.*, ii. 200) the probability of the solar character of the pagan *ḥadjj*.

Muḥammad made his lapidation at al-Aḥaba from the bottom of the valley, mounted on his camel, turned towards the *ḍjamma*, with the Ka'ba on his left and Minā on his right, standing at a distance of five cubits (eight feet). But there are other possible positions. — Rif'at (i. 328) gives the *ḍjamma* the following dimensions: 10 feet high and 6 feet broad on a rock 5 feet high (see the photographs, *ibid.*). It is said to have been removed at the beginning of Islām and replaced in 240 (854—855) (Azraqī, p. 212). — Muḥammad made the lapidations of the other two *ḍjamarāt* on foot turning towards the *ḥibla*. In brief, the stones are cast in the attitude one happens to be in. The position facing the Great Devil is explained by the nature of the ground, but it would also be in keeping with the idea of a curse cast in the face of a fallen deity. The position which makes the pilgrim turn towards the Ka'ba is due to the Muslim legend of the tempter Satan and to the rule of the *takbīr* which will be explained below.

According to the *sunna*, the stones are placed on the thumb and bent forefinger and thrown, one by one, as in the game of marbles. However the possibility of the stones having been thrown together in a handful has been foreseen, and it was decided that this should only count as one stone and that the omission could be made good. — The stone should not be thrown violently nor should one call "look out! look out!" (Tirmidhī, iv. 136), a pagan custom which the modern Beduins still retained quite recently (Rif'at, i. 89). It seems that Muḥammad put some strength into it for he raised his hand "to the level of his right eyebrow" (Tirmidhī, iv. 135) and showed his armpit (Bukhārī, *Ḥadjj*, b. 141).

In Islām the casting of each stone is accompanied by pious formulae. It is generally agreed that the *talbiya* is no longer pronounced at 'Arafa or at least before the lapidation of al-Aḥaba (Bukhārī, *Ḥadjj*, b. 101); some writers however approve of it after al-Aḥaba. The *tahlīl* and *tasbīḥ* are permitted, but it is the *takbīr* which is recommended (Ibn Taimiyya, p. 382; Bukhārī, *Ḥadjj*, b. 138 and 143). The spiritual evolution of the rites even sees in this the essential feature of the rite, the throwing of the stone and the figure formed in throwing it by the thumb and forefinger forming an 'uḍ which represents 70, being no more than symbolical and mnemonical gestures. "The throwing of the stones was only instituted to cause the name of God to be repeated" (Tirmidhī, iv. 139)

To Ghazālī (*Iḥyā*, i. 192) it is an act of submission to God and of resistance to Satan who seeks to turn man away from the fatigues of the *ḥadjj* but the rite is without rational explanation *min ḡhairi ḥaḡḡin li 'l-aḡli wa 'l-naḡsi fihi* (cf. Goldzihér, *Richtungen*, p. 252). — The devout man adds a prayer (*du'ā*) which is as a rule quasi-ritual. The usual one is: *Allāhumma 'djalhu ḥadjḡjan mabrūran wa-dhanban maḡḡfūran wa-sa'yan maḡḡkūran* "Lord, make this pilgrimage a pious one, pardon our sins and recompense our efforts!". There is, as matter of fact, after the stoning a halt, a *wuḡūf*, before the two higher *djamarāt*, that at the second being especially long: the duration is calculated by the recitation of the *sūra* of the Cow (II), or of Joseph (XII), or of the family of 'Imrān (III) by altering the indication in the *ḥadjj* (Bukhārī, *Ḥadjḡj*, b. 135, 136 and 137). This would take the place of an ancient ceremony of imprecation.

Breaches of the rules for the performance of these diverse ceremonies, especially as regards the number of stones thrown and the time when they are thrown (*Umda*, iv. 767 *sqq.*; Rif'at, i. 113), are punished by atonements the exact nature of which the legists delight to vary from the sacrifice of a victim to the giving of a *mudd* of food in alms.

The Muslim teachers have sought to explain the lapidations of Minā. Some exegists (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxv. 167) have seen quite clearly that they represent ancient rites and have compared the *ramy* of the tomb of Abū Ridjāl. Others are known, for example at the well of Dhū 'l-Hulaifa (Lammens, *Bétyles*, p. 94). The works quoted (*E. I.*) show the spread of this rite and the cases in which we are certain that it is a question of the driving away or the expulsion of evil; they might be further added to. Stones used to be thrown behind an individual whom one wished never to return (Hamadhānī, *Maḡāmāt*, ed. Bairūt, p. 23). At Alexandria, tired people used to go and lie down on a fallen pillar, throw 7 stones behind them on a pile "like that of Minā", then go away quite recuperated (Ḳalkashandī, *Ṣubḡ al-A'shā*, iii. 322). But comparisons would take us out of Arabia (Lods, *Prophètes d'Israël*, p. 354).

Popular legend has connected the lapidation like many other rites with Abraham. It was Abraham or Hagar or Ishmael or even Muḡammad that Satan wished to deter from accomplishing the rites of the *ḥadjḡj* and who chased him away with stones. If we conclude that he is *raḡḡim*, we are some way to the explanation of *Sūra* lxvii. 5 (cf. above).

One would like to be able to locate the lapidations among the rites of the pre-Islāmic pilgrimage. One would first have to have a clear idea of the meaning and details of the ceremonies and of the part played by lapidations and sacred piles of stones in Semitic and Mediterranean antiquity. — Stoning seems to have been a rite of expulsion of evil which coincided with the de consecration of the pilgrim and seems to protect his return to everyday life. It is possible that lapidations at one time followed the sacrifices which perhaps took place at 'Arafa and Muzdalifa.

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RĀDJPŪTS, inhabitants of India, who claim to be the modern representatives of the Kshatriyas of ancient tradition. (From the Sanskrit *rādjaputra* "a king's son". For the connection between Rādjanya and Kshatriya see Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, i., s. v. Kshatriya). The term Rādjput has no racial significance. It simply denotes a tribe, clan, or warlike class, the members of which claim aristocratic rank, a claim generally reinforced by Brahman recognition.

The origin of the Rādjput is a problem which bristles with difficulties. The theory which at present holds the field is that propounded by Bhandarkar, Smith and Crooke. According to this theory the Rādjput can be divided into two main classes, the foreign and the indigenous. The foreign clans, such as the Čauhāns, Čalukyās, and Gurdjārās, are the descendants of invaders of the vth and vith centuries of the Christian era. The indigenous Rādjput include the Rāshtrakūtas of the Deccan, the Rāthors of Rādjputāna proper, and the Čandēls and Bundēlas of Bundēlkhand.

The theory that certain Rādjput clans are of foreign extraction is chiefly based on Rādjput legends and folklore according to which there are three branches of Rādjput: the Sūradjbansi, or Solar race; the Čandrabansi, or Lunar race; and the Agni Kula, or Fire-group. The legend relates how the Agni Kula Rādjput, that is, the Čauhāns, Čalukyās, Parihārs (Pratihāras), and the Pramāra, originated in a fire-pit around Mount Abu in southern Rādjputāna. From this it has been concluded that the four clans in this group are related and that the fire-pit represents a rite of purification by which the taint of foreign extraction was removed. Since these writers believed the Parihārs to be invaders of Gūdjār stock, it was concluded that the other three Agni Kula clans were also invaders.

According to Smith the Gurdjārās were invaders who founded a kingdom around Mount Abu. In time the rulers of this kingdom who were known as Gurdjārā-Pratihāras conquered Kanawḡj and became the paramount power in northern India about 800 A.D. Smith contends that the Pratihāras were a clan of the Gurdjārā tribe. This seems to be the chief evidence produced by these writers for the foreign extraction of certain Rādjput clans.

It seems wrong to base this theory of foreign descent principally upon the Agni Kula legend, for Waidya and other writers have proved this to be a myth first heard of in the *Prithwīrāḡj-rāisā* of the poet Čand who could not have composed this work before the xiiith century A.D. Recent research has brought to light the fact that the inscriptions of the Pratihāras and Čauhāns before the xiiith century represent them as Solar Rādjput, while the Čalukyās are represented as of the Lunar race. The Agni Kula legend does not therefore deserve the prominence given to it by Smith and other writers. Even the contention that the Pratihāras were a branch of the Gurdjārā tribe has met with much hostile criticism.

According to the orthodox Hindu view the Rādjput are the direct descendants of the Kshatriyas of the Vedic polity, but this claim is based on fictitious genealogies. The Kshatriyas of ancient India disappear from history and this can probably be explained by invasions from Central Asia which shattered the ancient Hindu polity. It is accepted that these invading hordes, such as the Yüeh-ti and Hūnas, became rapidly Hinduized, and that

their leaders assumed Kshatriya rank and were recognized as such. Out of this chaos arose a new Hindu polity with new rulers, and the families of invaders which became supreme were recognized as Kshatriyas or Rādjputs. In later times many chiefs of the so-called aboriginal tribes also assumed the title of Rādjput.

It is therefore safe to assert that the Rādjputs are a very heterogeneous body and probably contain some survivors of the older Kshatriyas. A mass of legend arose assigning to the various septs a descent from the sun and the moon, or from the heroes of the epic poems. These are the legendary pedigrees recorded in great detail by Tod. The main argument which can be brought forward in support of the foreign descent of certain Rādjput clans is the incorporation of foreigners into the fold of Hinduism to which the whole history of India bears testimony. Even though the Agni Kula legend be discredited it is still possible to argue that the Rādjputs are not a race. Anthropologically they are definitely of mixed origin. That some Rādjputs were of foreign origin can be proved by the acceptance of the Hūnas in the recognized list of Rādjput tribes.

Whatever may be the origin of the Rādjputs we know that disorder and political disintegration followed the death of Harsha, and that until the Muslim invasions of northern India the chief characteristic of this period was the growth and development of the Rādjput clans. Except for about two hundred years, when the Gurdjara-Pratihāras were the paramount power in Hindustān, there was constant internecine warfare between the various Rādjput kingdoms. This weakness considerably facilitated the Muslim conquest. It was not however until the days of Muḥammad of Gḥḥr that the Rādjput dynasties in the plains were finally overthrown [see above, iii. 742b]. Driven from Dihli and Kanawdj they retreated into modern Rādjputāna where they eventually built up a strong position and were able to resist the Muslim invader, for it cannot be said that the Sultans of Dihli ever really subdued the Rādjputs of Rādjputāna. Nevertheless, throughout this period there was constant warfare, fortresses and strongholds frequently changing hands. The Rādjputs nearest to Dihli were naturally the weakest because the eastern frontier of Rādjputāna was exposed to attack. The Sultans of Dihli appear to have realized the value of communications with the western coast and we find that the route between Dihli and Guḍjarāt via Adjmēr was usually open to imperial armies. The chief menace to the Rādjputs was not from Dihli but from the independent Muslim kingdoms of Guḍjarāt [q. v.] and Mālwa [q. v.].

The outstanding feature of the period from the end of the so-called Saiyid rule to the final invasion of Bābur was the growth of Rādjput power in northern India under Rānā Sanga of Mewār. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Lodis under Ibrāhīm [q. v.] and of the war between Guḍjarāt and Mālwa he had extended his sway over the greater part of modern Rādjputāna. The battle of Khānuā in 1527, when Bābur shattered his power, marks a turning-point in the history of Muslim rule in India, for the Rādjputs never again attempted to regain their lost dominions on the plains and contented themselves with remaining on the defensive. After Khānuā the place of the Sesodias in Rādjput politics was taken by the

Rāthors, the growth of whose power under Maldēō of Mārwar was facilitated by the struggle between Humāyūn [q. v.] and Shēr Shāh. Akbar's Rādjput policy was based on conquest and conciliation. The fall of Čitōr and Ranthambhōr made him master of the greater part of Rādjputāna, with the exception of Mewār which was not completely subdued until the reign of Djahāngīr [q. v.]. The reversal of Akbar's conciliatory policy produced the great Hindu reaction of Awrangzēb's reign, when, faced at the same time with the Rādjputs of the north and the Marāthās of the Deccan, Awrangzēb [q. v.] was unable to concentrate on either campaign. But internal dissensions once more prevented the Rādjputs from taking advantage of the decline of Mughal power, and, in the second half of the eighteenth century, they proved no match for the Marāthās who easily overran their country. It was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century when the British were at war with the Marāthās that they entered into political relations with the Rādjput states. Before the end of the year 1818 the group of states which now comprise Rādjputāna had been taken under British protection.

To-day India contains 10,743,091 Rādjputs distributed throughout the country as follows: United Provinces, 3,756,936; Pandjāb, 2,351,650; Bihār and Orissa, 1,412,440; Rādjputāna, 669,516; Central Provinces and Berār, 506,087; Gwālīōr, 393,076; Central India, 388,942; Bombay, 352,016; Djammū and Kashmir, 256,020; Western India States, 227,153; Bengal, 156,978; Baroda, 94,893; and Haidarābad 88,434 (1931 *Census Report*). It will be noted that in Rādjputāna only 669,516 Rādjputs are to be found out of a total population of 11,225,712. The states of Rādjputāna are ruled by Rādjputs, with the exception of Tonk which is Muslim, and Bharatpur and Dholpur which are Džāt. The chief Rādjput clans in Rādjputāna are the Rāthor, Kaṭhwāha, Čauhān, Djādon, Sesodia, Ponwar, Parihār, Tonwar and Djhāla. Rādjasthānī is the mother tongue of 77 per cent. of the inhabitants of this area. It is interesting to note that in some parts of India Rādjputs have embraced Islām, as for example the Manhās, Kātīls, and Salahria of the Pandjāb.

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(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

RAF^c. [See RAPA.]

RAFĪ' AL-DĪN, MAWLĀNĀ SHĀH MUHAMMAD, b. SHĀH WALĪ ALLĀH b. 'ABD AL-RAḤĪM AL-'OMARĪ (after the Caliph 'Omar b. al-Khaṭṭāb), was born in 1163 (1750) in Dihlī, in a family which enjoyed the highest reputation in Muslim India for learning and piety, from the xviiith century onwards, and produced a number of eminent 'ulamā' up to the "Mutiny" (see Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān, *Ithāf al-Nubalā'*, Cawnpur 1288, p. 296 sq.; *J. A. S. B.*, xiii. 310). He studied *ḥadīth* with his father, who was the most celebrated traditionist in his time, in India.

After the death of his father in 1176, he was brought up by his elder brother Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz (1159—1239 = 1746—1823) with whom he completed his studies in the usual sciences, being specially interested in *ḥadīth*, *kalām* and *uṣūl*. When about twenty, he entered upon his career as *muftī* and *mudarris*, and later succeeded in these capacities his brother and teacher, who, in his old age, had lost his eye-sight, and had in different health. He died on the 6th Shawwāl 1233 (Aug. 9, 1818), at the age of 70 (lunar years), of cholera, and was buried in their family graveyard outside the city of Dihlī.

He wrote about 20 works, mostly in Arabic and Persian, and a few in Urdū. He is praised for the subtlety of his ideas and the conciseness of his style. Among his works are:

In Urdū: 1. a translation of the Qur'ān, interlinear to the Arabic text, which it follows closely and faithfully. He and his brother 'Abd al-Kādir [q. v.] were the pioneers in this field, though their work was considerably facilitated by their father, Shāh Walī Allāh's Persian translation of the Qur'ān (entitled *Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān fī Tarǧumat al-Kur'ān*). The first edition of Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn's translation appeared in Calcutta in 1254 (1838—1839) and another, in 1266 (1849—1850). For some of its numerous editions (from 1866 onwards) see Blumhardt, *Cat. of the Hindustānī Printed Books of the Libr. of the British Museum*, London 1889, p. 290 sq., and the *Supplement* to the same, London 1909, p. 403.

In Arabic: 2. *Takmil al-Ṣinā'a* or *Takmil li-Ṣinā'at al-Adhḥān*, dealing with a. logic, b. *taḥṣīl*, i.e. principles of dialectics, teaching, learning, authorship and self-study, c. *Mabāḥith min al-Umūr al-'amma* (some metaphysical discussions) and, d. *Taṭbīq al-Ārā'* (i.e. an enquiry into the causes and the criteria for judging conflicting opinions in religious matters). A considerable portion of the work has been quoted in the *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, p. 127—135 and 235—270; 3. *Muḥaddimat al-'Ilm*; see *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, p. 124; 4. *Risālat al-Maḥabba*, a discourse on the all-pervading nature of love; see *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, p. 254; 5. *Tafsīr Āyat al-Nūr*, a commentary on Sūra xxiv. 35; 6. *Risālat al-'Arūd wa 'l-Kāfiya*; see *Abjad*, p. 915; 7. *Damgh al-Bāṭil*, dealing with some abstruse problems of the 'ilm al-ḥaqā'iq; 8. a gloss on Mir Zāhid al-Harawī's commentary on Kuṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Risālat al-Taṣawwūrāt wa 'l-Taṣdīqāt* (see Brockelmann, ii. 209); 9. *Ibtā' al-Barāhīn al-ḥikmiya 'alā Uṣūl al-Ḥukamā'*. Nrs. 4—9 are unpublished.

In Persian: 10. *Kiyāmet Nāmeḥ* (Lahore 1339; Haidarābād, undated ed.), on the last judgment, also called *Maḥshar Nāmeḥ* (see Browne's *Supplementary Handlist*, p. 189). For the two poetical

versions, in Urdū, of this popular work, viz., *Āthār-i Maḥshar* (chronogrammatic name, which gives 1250 as the date of composition), and *Āthār-i Kiyāmet*, see Sprenger, *Oudh Catalogue*, p. 624, and Blumhardt, *Catal.*, p. 290, and for an Urdū prose version, *Kiyāmet Nāmeḥ* or *Da'b al-Aḥkīrat*, see Blumhardt, *loc. cit.*; 11. *Fatāwā*, Dihlī 1322; 12. *Maḍmū'a Ti's Rasā'il*, Dihlī 1314, small treatises on religious and mystical topics; 13. *Sharḥ al-Ṣudūr bi-Sharḥ Ḥāl al-Marwā wa 'l-Kubūr*, an eschatological work, covering ff. 2002 of a small size, in a MS. copy in the Dār al-'Ulūm, Deoband, which institution also possesses the MS. of his 14. *Laṭā'if Khamsa*, a mystical work (ff. 32).

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(MUHAMMAD SHAFĪ')

AL-RĀGHIB AL-ISFAHĀNĪ, ABU 'L-KĀSİM AL-ḤUSAIN b. MUHAMMAD b. AL-MUFADDAL (according to others: al-Faḍl, in al-Suyūṭī, *loc. cit.*, wrongly: al-Mufaddal b. Muḥammad), Arab theological writer, of the details of whose life nothing is known beyond that he died at the beginning of the viiith (xiith) century, perhaps in 502 (1108). Some regarded him as a Mu'tazilī but Fakīr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in his *Asās al-Taḥṣīs* established his orthodoxy. His work was concerned with Qur'ānic exegesis and edifying literature. His studies on the Qur'ān from which al-Baidāwī is said to have taken a great deal were opened with a *Risāla munabbīha 'alā Fawā'id al-Kur'ān* now lost, perhaps identical with the *Muḥaddimat al-Tafsīr*, pr. at Cairo 1329 at the end of 'Abd al-Djabbār's *Tanzīh al-Kur'ān 'ani 'l-Mu'tazilīn*. He next compiled an excellent dictionary of the Qur'ān arranged alphabetically according to the initial letters entitled *Kitāb Mufradāt Alfāz al-Kur'ān*, which in addition to the MSS. mentioned in *G. A. L.*, i. 289, survives in many others in Stambul (see e.g. *M. O.*, vii. 106, 127) and in Bankipore (*Cat.*, xviii. 1484) and under the title *al-Mufradāt fī Ḥarīb al-Kur'ān* was printed on the margin of Ibn al-Athīr's *Nihāya*, Cairo 1322 and edited by Muḥammad

al-Zuhri al-Ghumrāwī, Cairo 1324. In the preface he holds out the prospect of a second work which was to deal with the synonyms of the *Kur'ān* (*al-ʿAlfāz al-mutarādifa ʿala ʾl-Maʿna ʾl-wāḥid wa-mā bainahā min al-Furūḡ al-ghāmiḍa*). The *Tafsīr al-Kurʿān*, Aya Sofia 212, perhaps came to be compiled in this way. The reference might however be to the *Durrat al-Taʾwīl*, on the *Kurʿān* verses found in more than one passage although expressed differently, Br. Mus. Or. 5784 (*Descriptive List*, by A. G. Ellis and E. Edwards, p. 3) which is probably identical with the *Hall Mutashābihāt al-Kurʿān*, Stambul, Rāghib 180. As a quotation in the preface shows he had already written his principal work on ethics *Kitāb al-Dharīʿa ilā Makārīm al-Sharīʿa*, before the *Kitāb Mufradāt*; al-Ghazzālī is said to have always had a copy of this by him. In addition to the MSS. mentioned in *G. A. L.* it is also preserved in Br. Mus., Or. 7016 (*Descr. List*, N^o. 62) and in Stambul (see e. g. *M. O.*, vii. 101—102; *M. F. O. B.*, v. 469) and printed Cairo 1299 (? Sarkis 1899), 1324. The *Kitāb Tafṣīl al-Nashʾatāin wa-Taḥṣīl al-Saʿadatāin*, pr. Cairo n. d., ed. by Ṭāhir al-Djazzārī from the Jerusalem MS. *Khālidiya*, N^o. 72, 3, of 963 A. H., Bairūt 1319, 1323 is a companion work; on both works see Asín Palacios, *Abenhasam de Córdoba*, ii. 19. His most popular book was the work on *adab*: *Muḥāḍarāt al-Uḍabāʾ wa-Muḥāwarāt al-Shuʿarāʾ wa ʾl-Bulaghāʾ* or simply *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍarāt*, which is divided into 25 *ḥudūd*, which are again divided into *fuṣūl* and *abwāb*, which deal with the usual *adab* themes beginning with intelligence and stupidity and ending with angels, djinns and animals in quotations in prose and verse; in addition to the MSS. mentioned in *G. A. L.*, it is also preserved in Stambul Selim Āghā, N^o. 987; Damascus, ʿUmūmiya, *Siḡill*, 86, 5, 7; in Cairo, *Fihrist*², iii. 334. A synopsis by al-Suyūṭī, *ibid.*, p. 345; an anonymous Berlin, N^o. 8350 and Damascus, *loc. cit.*, 86, 8. In Europe the work was first made known in the part edited by G. Flügel as "Der vertraute Gefährte des Einsamen in schlagfertigen Gegenreden von Abu Mansur Abdulmelik ben Mohammed ben Ismail Ettsealibi aus Nisabur mit einem Vorwort von Jos. v. Hammer" Vienna 1829 (see Gildemeister, *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxiv. 171). The work (with Ibn Ḥidjdja's *Thamarāt al-Aurāk* on the margin) in 2 vols., is printed in Būlak 1284, 1287, 1305; Cairo (without the edition on the margin) 1310, 1324, 1326. Ibrāhīm Zaidān published in Cairo in 1902 a synopsis, which only contains 12 *ḥudūd*, which lacks 10 and 13 of the Vienna MS., and is abbreviated in other ways. A Persian translation entitled *al-Nawādir* by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad Baḳīr al-Ḳazwīnī is in Teheran (see Y. Ettessami, *Cat. . . de la Bibliothèque du Madjless*, ii. 308). Lastly there is also an *Adab al-Shiṭrandj* in Kāsan (see Menzel, in *Isl.*, xvii. 94). The work on *adab*: *Taḥṣīl al-Bayān* (on language and writing, ethics, dogmatics and philosophy, *ʿulūm al-awāʾil*) cited in the preface of the *Kitāb al-Sharīʿa* is found in Mashhad, 5 (Oktāʾi, *Fihrist-i Kutubkhāna-i mubāraka-i Asitani Kudsī Ridawī*, 1845, i. 24, N^o. 56).

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RAGUSA (*Rausium*), a town in Dalmatia, formerly a free state (now DUBROVNIK), on the south side of a peninsula which runs out into the Adriatic, picturesquely situated (50 feet) at the foot and on the slopes of Mount Sergius with about 14,500 inhabitants, mainly Croats, was founded in the viiith century by Romance fugitives from Epidaurus which had been destroyed by the Slavs, later belonged to Byzantine Dalmatia which had been settled by a Romance population. At the end of the tenth century the town, which had become strong and rich through its prosperous maritime trade, was paying homage to the Venetians under whose suzerainty it remained after various interludes continuously from 1204 to 1358. In this year Ragusa passed to Hungary and soon attained such power through its flourishing trade that it formed a free state with an aristocratic form of government. Authority was in the hands of the nobles (Grand Council) who chose the Senate (45 members). The latter chose the Little Council (10, later 7 members) which chose every month a Rector (*rettore*) as head of the state. Al-Idrisī [q. v.] mentions Ragusa in his *Kitāb al-Rodjier* as رَغُوصَة (other readings: رَغُوص, رَغُوصَة) and is evidently quoting Frankish sources (cf. thereon Wilh. Tomaschek, *Zur Kunde der Hämus-Halbinsel*: II. *Die Handelswege im XII. Jahrh. nach den Erkundungen des Arabers Idrisi*, Vienna 1887 = *S. B. Ak. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl., vol. cxiii., fasc. 1). In the Ottoman period the Slav name Dubrovnik is found exclusively, in place of Ragusa.

Ragusa's relations with Islām, at first completely hostile, go back to a remote date. When the Arabs in the ninth century conquered Sicily and established themselves on the mainland in Bari (Apulia) they besieged Ragusa on one occasion which defended itself bravely and was relieved by the navy of the emperor Basil I (867—886). Under the emperor Romanus III (1028—1034) the Ragusans distinguished themselves in the sea-fights between Byzantines and Arabs. It was not till a later date that relations became more peaceful when Ragusan commerce, which extended to Egypt and Syria, to Tunis and as far as the Black Sea, began to flourish. As early as the xivth century, corn was exported to Ragusa from the harbours of Anatolia and the relations to the petty states (*tewāʾif-i mülūk*) in Anatolia were well established. The first documented relations between Ragusa and the Ottoman empire belong to the period of Bāyazīd I. Yildirim (1389—1402; q. v.) as the relations of the free state to Orkhan [q. v.] and Murād I [q. v.] mentioned in later Ragusan histories will not bear serious investigation. It is however certain that at quite an early date it became necessary for the Ragusans to remain on good terms with the Ottomans, who were advancing westward, for the sake of their trade. They were able to deal with tact and skill with their new neighbours. Ragusan trade in Turkey developed considerably as the many frontiers and customs offices of the numerous petty rulers of the Balkans, who had been dispossessed by the Turks, disappeared and the Turkish duties were uniform and low. Articles manufactured in Ragusa itself, like cloth, metal, soap, glass, wax etc. or goods imported from Italy for the Balkan peninsula were taken into the interior on safe roads. There was a caravan trade which went from Ragusa via Trebinje, Tien-

tište, Foča, Goražde, Plevlje, Prijepolje, Trgovište, Novibazar [q. v.], Niš, Sofia, Philippopolis to Adrianople and later to Stambul (cf. C. J. Jireček, *Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*, Prag 1879, p. 74 sq.: *Von Ragusa nach Niš*). In the interior of the Peninsula there were the factories of the Ragusans like Rudnik, Prizren, Novo Brdo, Priština, Zvornik, Novibazar, Skoplje, Sofia with many other settlements extending as far as the mouths of the Danube. On May 12, 1392 the Little Council of Ragusa gave the nobleman Teodoro Gisla in Novo Brdo orders to travel to the Turkish sultān and to make representations about the capture of some Ragusan merchants. There is a Turkish safe-conduct (*litera securitatis*) of June 20, 1396 prepared for Ragusan merchants. In 1397 Sultān Bayazid I allowed the Ragusans to trade unhindered in the Ottoman empire, and a few years later (1399), the first Ottoman embassy led by Kefalja Feriz (Fīrūz)-Beg arrived in Ragusa from the citadel of Zvečan (in Kossovo) (cf. F. v. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, *op. cit.*, p. 7). The first embassy from Ragusa to the Sublime Porte was however not sent until 1430. It was received by the sultān in his court at Adrianople and received from him the first extant charter of trading privileges, dated Adrianople, Dec. 6, 1430 (cf. Ćiro Truhelka, *Turkoslovenski spomenici dubrovačke arhive*, in *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo, vol. xxiii. [1911], No. 2). To protect her widespread trade on the Balkan Peninsula Ragusa, after the first temporary conquest of Serbia by the Ottomans, found herself forced to offer the Porte an annual present of 1,000 ducats in silver plate (*argenterie*) but when Georg Branković restored the independence of Serbia in 1444 this promise was promptly withdrawn; on the final subjection of Serbia by the Turks in 1459 this tribute (*kharāj*) became a regular institution. From 1459 it was 1,500 ducats and gradually increased to 15,000 ducats. From 1481 it was 12,500 ducats and was annually brought to the imperial court by special *oratores tributii* with very detailed instructions (cf. the text of one of these *commissions* for the Paladins Marino de Gondola and Pietro di Luccari of 1458 and of a later one for the *ambasciatore del tributo* Giov. Mar. di Resti of 1572 in Lujo knez Vojnović, *Dubrovniki i osmansko carstvo. Prva knjiga: Od prvoga ugovora s portom do usvojenja Hercegovine*, Belgrad 1898, p. 118—155 and p. 256—266); cf. C. J. Jireček, *Die Bedeutung von Ragusa* etc., note 49. A number of the earliest documents relating to these missions have been published by F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, in his *Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache aus der zweiten Hälfte des XV. Jahrhunderts* (= *S.B.Ak. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.*, vol. 197, Vienna 1922); they come without exception from the archives of Ragusa, part of the Turkish portion of which is at present in Belgrad.

On their journey the envoys had to give all kinds of presents, for example to the Sandjakbey of the Herzegovina in Sarajevo [q. v.] and the Beglerbeg of Rumelia whose headquarters were in Sofia. The readiness with which the Ragusans adapted themselves to the requirements of dealings with the infidel Turks did not at first find approval at the Holy See. Paul II in 1468 gave the Ragusans express permission to trade with the heathen Ottomans (cf. W. Heyd, *Histoire du*

commerce du Levant, ii., Leipzig 1885, p. 347 sq. with further references to Ragusan trade with the Ottomans). The lands of the free state of Ragusa which stretched from the mouth of the Narepta to the Gulf of Cattaro (Kotor), thanks to the skilful policy of its leaders, thus remained intact till its end in 1808. Only occasionally the Ragusans had to suffer from the covetousness of Ottoman rulers, e.g. about 1667 when Kara Muṣṭafā [q. v.] demanded from the Ragusan envoys 150,000 talers "blood money" for the Dutch ambassador G. Crook who perished in the great earthquake in Ragusa (April 6, 1667) (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vi. 203 sq.), or when ten years later the same grand vizier endeavoured to extort the same sum and threw the ambassadors of the free state into prison (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vi. 346). When Ragusa had fallen several years behind with the tribute, it had in 1695 to pay a considerable sum in compensation (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vi. 616). In 1722 a similar case recurred (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vii. 312 sq.) when the tribute was three years in arrears. It is however a fact that Ragusa cunningly used every opportunity to avoid its oppressive obligations (cf. the significant saying in the Levant quoted by von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vii. 29: *Non siamo Christiani, non siamo Ebrei, ma poveri Ragusei*), until the peace of Carlowitz (1699) made it possible for the Ottomans to collect the tribute again (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vii. 29). From 1703 it was paid every three years and in 1804 delivered for the last time in Stambul by the envoys Paul Gozze and Blasius Menze.

In the Turkish wars of 1683—1699 and 1714—1718 the Venetians occupied the hinterland of Ragusa and Trebinje but at the peaces of Carlowitz and Passarowitz the Ragusans, protected by Austria and the Porte, negotiated so skilfully that Turkey was not only left the land as far as the Ragusan frontier but also two strips of territory on the coast (Klek and Sutorina) so as not to become direct neighbours of Venice. This was the last great coup of Ragusan policy.

With the decline in Ragusan trade, which came about for the same reasons as the general decline of Italian trade in the Levant, the political decline of the republic set in. In 1808, Napoleon sent General Marmont, afterwards Duc de Raguse, to dissolve the Senate and a year later made Ragusa a province of Illyria. In 1815 the town passed to Austria and since 1918 it has belonged to Jugoslavia.

The Ottoman traveller Ewliyā Čelebi [q. v.] in his *Siyāhetnāme* (vi. 443 sqq., esp. p. 445—453) gives a full description of *Dobre Venedik* which he contrasts with *Bunduḳāni Venedik*, i.e. Venice (cf. on these terms F. Babinger, *Aus Südslaviens Türkenzeit*, Berlin 1927, p. 38 note and H. v. Mžik, *Beiträge zur Kartographie Albaniens*, in *Geologica Hungarica*, series geologica, tomus III, Budapest 1929, p. 639 = 19, note 88). In 1074 (1664) he came via Ljubomir, Popovo to Dubrovnik from which he went on to Castelnovo (Hercegnovi). On Hungarian and Serbo-Croat translations of this section cf. Babinger, *Ewliyā Čelebi's Reisewege in Albanien*, Berlin 1930, p. 1 and 2, note 8.

Statistics regarding the population of Ragusa in the older period are not available. The town had 800 houses. The whole district had 50,000 inhabitants. With the prosperity and long period of peace, a literary life began; poetry — Latin

and Slav — was definitely cultivated from the end of the xvth century. Latin was used in the offices for over 1,000 years, in recording the proceedings of the Senate till 1808. Within its walls Ragusa frequently sheltered illustrious fugitives from Turkish persecution (e.g. Skanderbeg).

The archives of Ragusa, kept in the Rector's palace, still await thorough study and contain a large number of unpublished Turkish documents and countless documents of value for the history of Turkish rule in S.E. Europe. Cf. Friedrich Giese, *Die osmanisch-türkischen Urkunden im Archive des Rektorenpalastes in Dubrovnik (Ragusa)*, in *Festschrift für Georg Jacob zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag*, Leipzig 1932, p. 41—56. Cf. also J. Gelcich (Djelčić), *Dubrovački arhiv*, in *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, xxii, Sarajevo 1910, and Milan v. Rešetar, *Dubrovački arhiv*, in *Narodna Enciklopedija*, i. 584 sqq.

Ragusa had busy commercial relations with other Muslim states besides Turkey. In 1510 for example, Ragusa received from Kānsūh al-Ghūrī [q. v.] a charter which gave its trade with Egypt protection and freedom (cf. Giacomo Luccari, *Copioso ristretto degli Annali di Rausa*, Venice 1605, p. 126 and thereon Fr. M. Appendini, *Notizie sulle storico-critiche antichità, storia e letteratura de' Ragusei*, Ragusa 1802, i. 213 with erroneous conclusions). The relations were, it is true, not always of a peaceful nature as the "state of war" in 1104 (1780) between Ragusa and Morocco showed (cf. thereon F. Babinger, *Ein marokkanisches Staatschreiben an den Freistaat Ragusa vom Jahre 1104 (1780)*, in *M. S. O. S.*, xxx., Berlin 1927, part ii., p. 191 sqq. and *ibid.*, xxxi., p. 98 sq.). The archives of Dubrovnik contain further unpublished Moroccan documents of the end of the xviii century, e.g. a government document of the 9th Rabi II, 1195 (April 4, 1781).

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text cf. also the older travellers in so far as they describe the road through the Balkan Peninsula (*Slavonia*), especially Jean Chesneau, *Les Voyages de Monsieur d'Aramon* (1547), Paris 1887, ed. by Ch. Schefer; Sieur D[es Hayes de] C[ourmenin], *Voyage du Levant fait par le commandement du roy en l'année 1621 par le Sieur D. C.*², Paris 1632; *Les Voyages de M. Quiclet à Constantinople par terre*, Paris 1664 and frequently; Sir George Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, London 1682 or French translation *Voyage de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant*, Amsterdam 1689, 2 vols. — A scholarly account, particularly one based on the documents, of the relations of Ragusa with the Ottoman Empire is still lacking as is a full commercial history of the republic. — The principal work on the history of Ragusa is the *Geschichte des Freistaates Ragusa*, Vienna 1807, by Johann Christ. v. Engel (1770—1814). On other relations between Ragusa and the lands of Islām see Vladimir Mažuranić, *Südslaven im Dienste des Islams (vom X. bis ins XVI. Jahrhundert)*, transl. into German and publ. by Camilla Lucerna, Zagreb-Leipzig 1928, 55 p., a work which however does not on every point stand the test of strict examination. — On the coinage of Ragusa see Milan v. Rešetar, *Dubrovačka numizmatika*, 2 parts, 1924—1926. — Of the Ragusan historians of the older period in addition to S. Razzi, *La storia di Raugia*, Lucca 1588 and

Jun. Resti, *Chronica Ragusina* (in the *Monumenta Slav. Merid.*, vol. xxv., Agram 1893), Giacomo di Pietro Luccari [= Jakov Lukarević (1551—1615)] most deserves mention, but a thorough study of the probably unreliable sources of his *Copioso ristretto degli annali di Rausa* (Venice 1605, xxxvi, 176 p., 4° and Ragusa 1790, xxiii, 325 p., 8°) is still a desideratum; cf. for the present Vl. Mažuranić, *Izvori dubrovačkoga historika Jakova Lukarevića, in Narodna Starina*, Zagreb 1924, N^o 8, p. 121—153. — An excellent and exhaustive bibliography on Ragusa is given in the introduction to the work of Ivan Dujčev, *Avvisi di Ragusa. Documenti sull' Impero turco nel secolo XVII e sulla guerra di Candia*, Rome 1935, which is also of great importance for the history of relations between Ragusa and Turkey. — There is no collection or edition of the surviving reports of Ragusan envoys on their journeys to the Porte on the lines of the long available Venetian *relazioni*. The only possible exception is the *Relazione dello stato della religione nelle parti dell' Europa sottoposte al dominio del Turco* of Matthäus Gundulić (Gondola) who was in Turkey for 28 months until July 1674 written in Rome in 1675, ed. by Banduri, *Imperium Orientale*, Paris 1711, vol. ii.: *Animadversiones in Constant. Porphyrogen. de administratione imperii*, p. 99—106 (cf. thereon Drinov in *Periodičesko Spisanie* of Braila, ii. 65, who did not know this edition and published extracts from another manuscript). Nor is there a list of these envoys available (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 318) among whom we find representatives of almost all the noble families of Ragusa, like the Bona, Caboga, Gozze, Gondola, Menze, Pozza, Resti etc. Ragusa being a tributary country the Porte never sent ambassadors to it but only commissioners (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 331), so that we have no Turkish reports at all.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

AL-RAḤBA, RAḤBAT MĀLIK B. ṬAWK or RAḤBAT AL-ŠA'M, a town on the right bank of the Euphrates, the modern al-Miyādīn.

Hardly anything definite is known about the history of the town before the Muslim era. In the middle ages it was usually identified as the Reḥōbōt han-Nāḥār of the Bible (Gen. xxxvi. 37) i.e. Reḥōbōt on the river (Euphrates) especially in the Talmud and by the Syriac authors (e.g. Mich. Syr., cf. index, p. 63*; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 273 and *passim*), who usually call it Reḥābōt, Raḥabat (M. Hartmann, in *Z. D. P. V.*, xxiii., p. 42, note 1). A. Musil (*The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, p. 340) takes it to be the Thapsakos of Ptolemy, which he — certainly wrongly — wants to distinguish from the well-known town of the name at the bend of the Euphrates (*ibid.*, p. 318—320) instead of seeing only an erroneous location by the Alexandrine geographers (cf. the article THAPSAKOS in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, v., A, col. 1272—1280). The name al-Rāḥba is explained by Yāḳūt (*Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 764 following the grammarian Naḍḍar b. Šumail) as the flat part of a wādī, where the water collects (E. Herzfeld, *Archäolog. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, ii. 382; cf. A. Socin, in *Z. D. P. V.*, xxii. 45).

According to Arabic accounts it was at one time called Furḍat Nu'm (al-Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 917) or simply al-Furḍa (Ibn Miskawaih, *Taḍjārīb*,

ed. Cactani, p. 87); in the vicinity was a monastery, Dair Nu'm (Yāqūt, ii. 704; iv. 797).

According to al-Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje, p. 180), there was no evidence that al-Raḥba below Ḳarḳisiya is an old town; on the contrary it was only founded by Mālik b. Ṭawḳ b. 'Attāb al-Taḡhlībī (cf. Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn, ed. Popper, ii. 34) in the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn (813—833) (a legendary embellishment of the story of its foundation by 'Umar al-Biṣṭāmī in Yāqūt, ii. 764). The new foundation was in the form of a long rectangular head cloth (*ṣailasān*). After the death of its founder (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, ed. Tornberg, vii. 188) in 260 (873—874) he was succeeded as ruler of the town by his son Aḥmad who however was driven out of it in 883 by Ibn Abi 'l-Sāḍī, lord of al-Anbar, Ṭarīḳ al-Furāt and Raḥbat Ṭawḳ (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 2039).

The Ḳarmaṭian Abū Ṭāhir took the town on March 3, 928 and killed many of its inhabitants (Ibn Miskawaih, *Taḡḍarib*, ed. Amedroz, i. 182 sq.; al-Mas'ūdī, in *B. G. A.*, viii. 384 sq.; Ibn al-Aṭṭir, viii. 132; 'Arib, ed. de Goeje, p. 134). In the following decades the town suffered much from civil wars until 'Adil, who had been sent from Baghdād by Badjkam, in 330 (941—942) took possession of the town and the whole province of Ṭarīḳ al-Furāt and a part of al-Khābūr (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, xiii. 266 sq., 295). In the reign of the Ḥamdānīd Nāṣir al-Dawla the Taḡhlībī Ḍjamān rebelled in al-Raḥba, and the town suffered very much; he was finally driven out and was drowned in the Euphrates (*op. cit.*, p. 357 sq.). After the death of Nāṣir al-Dawla (358 = 969) his sons Ḥamdān, Abū 'l-Barakāt and Abū Taḡhlīb disputed for the possession of the town which finally fell to the last-named, who had its walls rebuilt (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, viii. 437 sq.). He lost it again in 368 (978—979); it then passed to the Būyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, viii. 511 sq.). Bahā' al-Dawla in 381 (991—992) at the wish of the inhabitants appointed a governor to al-Raḥba (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, ix. 64). Soon afterwards the town passed to Abū 'Alī b. Ṭhimāl al-Khafaḍjī who was killed by the 'Ukailid 'Isā b. Khalaṭ in 399 (1008—1009). The latter in turn was defeated by an army sent by al-Ḥākim from Egypt and slain. The 'Ukailid Badrān b. Muḳallid was, it is true, able to drive back the Egyptian army but Lu'lu' of Damascus soon afterwards brought al-Raḥba and al-Raḥba into Egyptian power.

A citizen of the town, Ibn Muḥkān, next made himself its independent master and also took 'Ana, an enterprise in which the Kilābī Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās of al-Hilla at first supported him but later killed him in order to make himself master of al-Raḥba (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, ix. 148; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, ed. Būlak, iv. 271). Between 447 (1055) and 450 (1058) Arslān al-Basasiri [q. v.] fled to al-Raḥba in order to join up with the Egyptian caliph al-Mustaṣfir from there (Yāqūt, i. 608). Ṣāliḥ's son, Ṭhimāl, later lord of Ḥalab, followed him in possession of the town (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, ix. 163). In the spring of 1060 his brother 'Aṭiya (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, x. 8) captured it. He was driven from Ḥalab in 1065 by his nephew Maḥmūd, but remained lord of al-Raḥba, A'zāz, Manbiḍj and Bālis (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Historia Merdasidarum*, transl. J. J. Müller, p. 59). To the district of al-Raḥba at this time (1063) there also belonged al-Khānuḳa, Ḳarḳisiya and Duwaira (Ibn al-Kalānisi, ed. Amedroz, p. 116). Malikshāh in 479 (1086—

1087) granted al-Raḥba with the country round it, Ḥarrān, Sarūḍj, al-Raḳka and al-Khābūr to Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Dawla (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, x. 105). In 489 (1096) Karbūka of al-Hilla seized and plundered the town (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, x. 177). After his death it passed (1102—1103) to Ḳāyimāz, a former general of Alp Arslān, then to the Turk Ḥasan. It was taken from him by the sultān of Damascus who sent the Shaibānīd Muḥammad b. al-Sabbāḳ to govern it (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, x. 249). On May 19, 1107 Ḍjāwālī, the general of 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī, took the town through treachery (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, x. 297; Ibn al-Kalānisi, ed. Amedroz, p. 156 sq.; Michael Syrus, transl. Chabot, iii. 193; iv. 592; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 273). 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. al-Bursuḳī took it in 1127 shortly before his death (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, x. 360 sq.; Mich. Syr., iii. 228 = iv. 610; Barhebr., *Chron. Syr.*, p. 287). His successors killed one another fighting for the succession and al-Raḥba then passed to 'Izz al-Dīn's young brother for whom Ḍjāwālī governed it as vassal of Zangī (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, x. 453 sq.). Kuṭb al-Dīn, son of Zangī, in 544 (1149—1150) occupied the town (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, xi. 93). On Aug. 12, 1157, al-Raḥba with Ḥamāh, Shaizar, Salamiya and other towns were destroyed by an earthquake (Ibn al-Kalānisi, ed. Amedroz, p. 344; Mich. Syr., iii. 316; Barhebr., *Chron. syr.*, p. 325 sq.). The Khafaḍja tribe who in 1161 had plundered the district of al-Hilla and al-Kūfa returned to Raḥbat al-Sha'm followed by the government troops where they were reinforced by other nomads and scattered the enemy (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, xi. 182 sq.). Nūr al-Dīn granted the Kurd Asād al-Dīn Shirkūh b. Aḥmad b. Shādī of Dwin, Saladin's uncle, in 559 (1164) al-Raḥba and Ḥimṣ (Mich. Syr., iii. 325; Barhebr., *Chron. syr.*, p. 330). The latter entrusted the government of al-Raḥba to an officer named Yūsuf b. Mallāḥ. Shirkūh built al-Raḥbat al-Ḍjadida with a citadel about a farsakh (3 miles) from the Euphrates because the town of Raḥbat Mālik b. Ṭawḳ was now in ruins (Abu 'l-Fida', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud, p. 281; Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, *Djihān-numā*, Stambul, p. 444). The new town of al-Raḥba became an important caravan station between Syria and the 'Irāḳ, as we learn from Ibn Baṭṭūta amongst others (*Tuḥfa*, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iv. 315) who travelled from there via al-Sukhna to Tadmur.

The town remained for a century in Shirkūh's family until in 1264 Baibars installed an Egyptian governor there (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, xi. 341; xii. 189; Abu 'l-Fida', *Annales Muslem.*, ed. Reiske-Adler, iv. 142; v. 16). Sonḳor al-Ashḳar of Damascus who rebelled against Ḳalā'ūn in 678 (1279) fled after a defeat to al-Raḥba to the emir 'Isā and from there appealed to Abaḳa for protection (Barhebr., *Chron. syr.*, p. 543).

The Mongols under Kharbanda besieged al-Raḥba in 712 (1312—1313) on their way to Syria. On his return Kharbanda left his siege-artillery behind; thereupon it was taken by the defenders of the town into the citadel (Abu 'l-Fida', v. 268 sq.; al-Ḥasan b. Ḥabīb b. 'Umar, *Durrat al-Aslāk fī Dawlat al-Aṭrak*, in H. E. Weijers, in *Orientalia*, ed. Juynboll, ii., Amsterdam 1846, p. 319). Its governor at the time, Ibn al-Arkashī, died in 715 (1315—1316) in Damascus (Abu 'l-Fida', v. 300). Muhanna and his family, the 'Isā, were driven from the district of Salamiya in the spring of 1320 and pursued by the Syrian troops as far as

Raḥba and 'Āna (Abu 'l-Fidā', v. 340 sq.); the town was perhaps destroyed on this occasion.

In 1331 the Euphrates inundated the country round al-Raḥba (Ibn al-Aḥir, Vienna MS. in Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 3, note 3).

According to the Muslim geographers, al-Raḥba lay on the Euphrates (Kudāma, in *B. G. A.*, vi. 233; al-Maḳdisī, in *B. G. A.*, iii. 138; al-Idrīsī, transl. Jaubert, ii. 137 sq.; al-Dimishḳī, ed. Mehren, p. 93; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 51) and also on the canal Sa'īd led off from it at Fam Sa'īd on the right bank, which rejoined the Euphrates below the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Dāliya also called Dāliyat Mālik b. Ṭawḳ (Suhṛāb, ed. v. Mzik, in *Bibl. arab. Histor. u. Geogr.*, v., Leipzig 1930, p. 123; Yāḳūt, iv. 840; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, p. 281). The town lay 3 farsakhs from Ḳarḳisiya (al-'Azizī, in Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 281) and, according to al-Maḳdisī (*B. G. A.*, iii. 149), a day's journey each from this town, al-Dāliya and Birā' (the latter statement is quite inaccurate; cf. Musil, *op. cit.*, p. 253 sq.). Musil (*ibid.*, p. 250) wrongly takes al-Dāliya to be al-Šālihiya, which is impossible as 8—10 miles above it the Euphrates flows close to the foot of Djabal Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, so that the Sa'īd canal must have flowed north of it back into the Euphrates (cf. the *Karte von Mesopotamien* of the Prussian Survey, Feb. 1918, 1:400 000, sheet 3c: 'Āna; Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, Paris 1926, Atlas, pl. i.: *Cours de l'Euphrate entre Circesium et Doura-Europos d'après l'Aéronautique de "l'Armée du Levant"* on the same scale and the maps in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*). The town of al-Raḥba was a Jacobite bishopric (a list of the bishops in Mich. Syr., iii. 502); that it — for a time at least — was also a Nestorian bishopric is shown from a life of the Katholikos Eliyā I (on him see Baumstark, *Geschichte der syr. Literatur*, p. 286 sq.) who shortly before his death on May 6, 1049 appointed a bishop to this town (Assemani, in *B. O.*, iii. 263).

In the statements of the Arab geographers, it is clear that the old Raḥbat Mālik b. Ṭawḳ lay on the bank of the Euphrates (al-Iṣṭakhṛī, in *B. G. A.*, i. 13, 72; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 17, 138; al-Maḳdisī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 138; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 860; Ibn Ḳhurdaḏbih, *B. G. A.*, vi. 233) i. e. presumably corresponded to the modern al-Miyādīn (plur. of *maidān*) (G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, p. 165; E. Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, ii. 382, note 1; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 3, 253, 340) while the new al-Raḥba, as we saw, was built a farsakh from it, where in the S. W. of al-Miyādīn there still are the ruins of the citadel al-Raḥaba or Rḥaba. According to Abu 'l-Fidā' (ed. Reinaud, p. 281), towers were still standing among the ruins of the old town. Opposite al-Raḥba on the left bank of the Euphrates stood a fortress, taken by Marwān II (744—750) in the fighting with Hishām (Maḥbūb of Manbidj, *Kitāb al-Unwān*, ed. Vasiliev, in *Patr. Orient.*, viii. 517 sq.). In this fortress Musil (*op. cit.*, p. 338 sq.) has recognised al-Zaitūna (al-Balāḏhūrī, ed. de Goeje, p. 180; Tabarī, ii. 1467 sq.; Ibn Ḳhurdaḏbih, p. 74) and the ancient Zaidā which is still called al-Marwāniya after this caliph, but really is not opposite al-Miyādīn, but fourteen miles farther down.

Ibn Ḥawḳal (*B. G. A.*, ii. 155) praises the fertility of the well-watered region of Raḥba, where the

orchards on the east bank of Euphrates also produced date-palms; their quinces were also famous (al-Maḳdisī, in *B. G. A.*, iii. 145). The *Karte von Mesopotamien* (1:400,000) marks at "Mejādin" "the first (most northerly) palm". Dates really only ripen in specially favourable weather in the region of Albū Kamāl (Musil, *op. cit.*, p. 342). According to al-Iṣṭakhṛī (*B. G. A.*, i. 77), Raḥbat Mālik b. Ṭawḳ was larger than Ḳarḳisiya; al-Maḳdisī (*B. G. A.*, iii. 142) calls it the centre of the Euphrates' district ('amal al-Furāt or nāhiyat al-Furāt) as in the early Muḥammadan period the fertile plain from Dair al-Zawr to Albū Kamāl with the towns of al-Raḥba, Dāliya, 'Āna and al-Ḥadītha was called (Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii. 382). According to him the town was built in a semi-circle on the edge of the desert and defended by a strong fortress.

Yāḳūt visited the town, which according to him was eight days' journey from Damascus, five from Ḥalab, 100 farsakhs from Baghdād and a little over 20 farsakhs from al-Raḳḳa. In al-Dimishḳī (ed. Mehren, p. 202) it is called Raḥbat al-Furāṭiya. In the time of Ḳhalīl al-Ḳāhīrī (Zubda, ed. Ravaisse, p. 50) it belonged to Ḥalab. According to al-'Umārī, Syria, to be more exact, its eastern marches with the capital Ḥims, reached as far as al-Raḥba; he mentions there "a citadel and a governorship and there are Bahri's, cavalry, scouts and mercenaries stationed there" (al-'Umārī, transl. R. Hartmann, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxx., 23, 30). Ibn Baṭṭūta (*op. cit.*) calls the town "the end of al-'Irāk and the beginning of al-Shām". Ḥādjdjī Ḳhalīfa reckons from 'Āna to al-Raḥba three days' journey and from there to al-Dair one day's journey (*Djahān-numā*, Stambul 1145, p. 483; cf. thereon Musil, *op. cit.*, p. 257).

The Venetian jeweller Gasparo Balbi who passed the town on Feb. 6, 1588 on the Euphrates says (*Viaggi dell' Indie orientali*, Venice 1590, without pagination): "vedemmo castello Rahabi appresso il qual castello si vede una città rovinata, ma in alcuni lati di essa habitata da alcune poche persone di nome di Rahabilitica (on the form Raḥabī, cf. M. Hartmann, in *Z.D.P.V.*, xxii. 44, on N^o. 390). Pietro Della Valle (*Viaggi*, Venice 1544, i. 571) saw the town of "Rachba" at some distance from the Euphrates and heard that there were some old buildings there. Tavernier (*Les six voyages*, i., Paris 1676, p. 285) mentions a place called "Mached-raba", i. e. Mashhad al-Raḥba (six miles S. W. of al-Rḥaba).

In modern times al-Miyādīn and the ruins of al-Rḥaba (the usual formation) have been repeatedly visited (see *Bibl.*). The plan of the castle forms a triangle with flattened angles; pictures of the castle will be found in Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 7, fig. 2 or Sarre-Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, iii., pl. lxxix. sq.

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kunde, xi. 268, 693 sq., 706, 1433; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, p. 165; M. Hartmann, in *Z.D.P.V.*, xxiii. 42, 44 sq., 49, 61, 68, 113, 124, 127 sq.; *O.L.Z.*, ii., 1899, col. 311; B. Moritz, *Zur antiken Topographie der Palmyrene*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1889, p. 36, 37, note 4; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, p. 279 sq.; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 105, 124; do., *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, p. 517 sq.; R. Hartmann, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxx., 1916, p. 30, note 9; E. Reitemeyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber* (dissert. Heidelberg), Munich 1912, p. 85; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, p. 252 sq., 259, 454, note 2, 514; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, p. 340—345 and *passim*, cf. index, p. 415 sq., s. v. ar-Rahba, Rahba Towk etc.; A. Poidebard, *La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie*, text, Paris 1934, p. 93, 104; E. Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, ii., Berlin 1920, p. 382—384 and B. Schulz, *ibid.*, p. 384—386, fig. 367—369; iii., Berlin 1911, pl. lxxix. sq.

(E. HONIGMANN)

RAHBĀNĪYA (A.), monasticism. The term is derived from *rāhib* [q. v.]; it occurs in the Qurʾān once only, in a passage (sūra lvii. 27) that has given rise to divergent interpretations: "And we put in the hearts of those who followed Jesus, compassion and mercy, and the monastic state, they instituted the same (we did not prescribe it to them) only out of a desire to please God. Yet they observed not the same as it ought truly to have been observed. And we gave unto such of them as believed, their reward; but many of them were wicked doers".

According to some of the exegists the verb "we put" has two objects only, viz. compassion and mercy, whereas the words "and the monastic state" are the object of "they instituted". Accordingly the monastic state appears here as a purely human institution, which moreover has been degraded by evil doers.

According to others, however, the object of the words "and we put" is: compassion, mercy and the monastic state. According to this exegesis monasticism is called a divine institution. Professor Massignon has pointed out that this exegesis is the older one; the younger one expresses a feeling hostile to monasticism, which coined the tradition "No rahbāniya in Islām".

This tradition does not occur in the canonical collections. Yet, it is being prepared there. When the wife of ʿOthmān b. Mazʿūn [q. v.] complained of being neglected by her husband, Muhammad took her part, saying: Monasticism (rahbāniya) was not prescribed to us (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 226; Dārimī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 3). The following tradition is less exclusive: Do not trouble yourselves and God will not trouble you. Some have troubled themselves and God has troubled them. Their successors are in the hermitages and monasteries, "an institution we have not prescribed to them" (Abū Dāwūd, *Adab*, bāb 44).

Islām, thus rejecting monasticism, has replaced it by the holy war: "Every prophet has some kind of rahbāniya; the rahbāniya of this community is the holy war" (a tradition ascribed to

Muḥammad in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 266; to Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, *ibid.*, iii. 82). Cf. also ṬARĪKA, ZUHD.

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RAḤĪB (A., plur. *ruhbān*, *rahābīn*, *rahābīna*), a monk. The figure of the monk is known to pre-Islāmic poetry and to the Qurʾān and Tradition. The pre-Islāmic poets refer to the monk in his cell the light of which the traveller by night sees in the distance and which gives him the idea of shelter.

In the Qurʾān the monk and the *ḥissīs*, sometimes also the *aḥbār*, are the religious leaders of the Christians. In one place it is said that rabbis and monks live at the expense of other men (Sūra ix., 34) and that the Christians have taken as their masters instead of God their *aḥbār* and their monks as well as al-Masīḥ b. Maryām (Sūra ix. 31). In another passage the Christians are praised for their friendship to their fellow-believers which is explained from the fact that there are priests and monks among them (Sūra v. 87). In Ḥadīth the *rāhib* is frequently encountered in stories of the nature of the *ḥiṣṣa al-anbiyāʾ* (cf. Bukhārī, *Anbiyāʾ*, bāb 54; Muslim, *Zuhd*, Tr. 73; *Tawba*, Tr. 46, 47; Tirmidhi, *Tafsīr*, Sūra 85, Tr. 2; *Manāḥib*, Tr. 3; Nasāʾī, *Masāʾid*, Tr. 11; Ibn Māǧja, *Fitan*, Tr. 20, 23; Dārimī, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*, Tr. 16; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 461; ii. 434; iii. 337, 347; v. 4; vi. 17 bis).

From the fact that in the Muḥammadan literature of the early centuries A. H. the epithet *rāhib* was given to various pious individuals it is evident that there was nothing odious about it then. Cf. however the article RAHBĀNĪYA.

Bibliography: cf. that of RAHBĀNĪYA.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

RAḤĪL, in the Bible Rachel, wife of Jacob, mother of Joseph and Benjamin, is not mentioned in the Qurʾān. There is however a reference to her in Sūra iv. 27: "Ye may not have two sisters to wife at the same time; if it has been done formerly God now exercises pardon and mercy". This is said to allude to Jacob's marriage with Liyā and Rāḥīl; before Moses revealed the Tora, such a marriage was valid. Ṭabarī gives this explanation in the *Annals*, i. 356, 359 sq. Ibn al-Athīr, p. 90, adopts it. But already in *Tafsīr*, iv. 210, Ṭabarī explains the verse correctly: Muḥammad forbids for the future marriage with two sisters but he does not dissolve such marriages concluded before the prohibition. — Islāmic tradition generally adopts the view that Yaʿqūb only married Rāḥīl after Liyā's death. So already in Ṭabarī, i. 355, Zamakhsharī, Baiḍāwī, Ibn al-Athīr etc. Al-Kisāʾī even thinks that Yaʿqūb only married Rāḥīl after the death of Liyā and of his two concubines. Here again Muslim legend differs from the Bible, in making him not marry Rāḥīl until after 14 years of service; in the Bible, Jacob serves seven years, marries Leah and after the wedding week Rachel

and serves another seven years. — Ya'qūb's wooing and Laban's trick by which he substitutes Liyā for Rāḥil as "neither lamp nor candle-light" illuminate the bridal chamber, is embellished in Muslim legend.

Rāḥil is also of importance in the story of Yūsuf. Yūsuf inherits his beauty from Rāḥil; they had half of all the beauty in the world, according to others two-thirds, or even according to the old Haggadic scheme (*Kiddushin*, 49b), nine tenths (*Tha'labī*, p. 69). — When Ya'qūb left Lāban, he had no funds for the journey; at Rachel's suggestion, Yūsuf steals Lāban's idols. — As Yūsuf, sold by his brothers, passes the tomb of Rāḥil he throws himself from his camel on the grave and laments: "O mother, look on thy child, I have been deprived of my coat, thrown into a pit, stoned and sold as a slave". Then he hears a voice: "Trust in God". The old Haggada does not know this touching scene. But it has found its way into the late mediaeval book of stories *Sefer Hayashar* (ed. Goldschmidt, p. 150). The Jewish-Persian poet *Shahin* (xvth century) adapts this motif from Firdawsi's *Yūsuf u-Zulaikha* in his book of Genesis.

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(B. HELLER)

RAḤĪM. [See ALLĀH, i. 303b, 304a.]

AL-RAḤĪM. [See KHUSRAW FRUZ.]

RAḤMA, compassion [see ALLĀH, i. 303b, 306].

RAḤMĀN. [See ALLĀH, i. 303b, 304a.]

RAḤMĀNĪYA, Algerian Order (*ṭarīqa*) called after Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Gushtulī al-Djurdjūrī al-Azharī Abū Ḳabrain, who died 1208 (1793–1794). It is a branch of the *Khalwatiya* and is said to have at one time been called Bakriya after Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī al-Shāmī. At Nefta, in Tunisia, and some other places it is called 'Azzūziya after Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad b. 'Azzūz.

Life of the Founder. His family belonged to the tribe Ait Smā'il, part of the confederation *Gashtula* in the *Ḳabīliya Djurdjura*; having studied at his home, and then in Algiers, he made the pilgrimage in 1152 (1739–1740), and on his return spent some time as a student at al-Azhar in Cairo, where Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Hafnawī (d. 1181: *Silk al-Durar*, iv. 50) initiated him into the *Khalwati* Order, and ordered him to propagate it in India and the Sudan; after an absence of thirty years he returned to Algeria, and commenced preaching in his native village, where he founded a *sāwīya*; he seems to have introduced some modifications into *Khalwati* practice, and in his Seven Visions of the Prophet Muḥammad made some important claims for his person and his system; immunity from hell-fire was to be secured by affiliation to his order, love for himself or it, a visit to himself, stopping before his tomb, hearing his *dhikr* recited. His success in winning adherents provoked the envy of the local *murābiṭs*, in con-

sequence of which he migrated to Ḥamma in the neighbourhood of Algiers. Here too his activities met with opposition from the religious leaders, who summoned him to appear before a *maḍjlis* under the presidency of the Mālikite Muftī 'Alī b. Amin; through the influence of the Turkish authorities, who were impressed by the following which he had acquired, he was acquitted of the charge of unorthodoxy, but he thought it prudent to return to his native village, where shortly afterwards he died, leaving as his successor 'Alī b. 'Isā al-Maghribī. His corpse is said to have been stolen by the Turks and buried with great pomp at Ḥamma with a *ḳubba* and a mosque over it. The Ait Smā'il however maintained that it had not left its original grave, whence it was supposed to have been miraculously duplicated, and the title *Abū Ḳabrain* "owner of two graves" was given him.

History and propagation of the Order. 'Alī b. 'Isā al-Maghribī was undisputed head from 1208 (1793–1794) to 1251 (1836–1837); his successor died shortly after, and from the following year, though the Order continued to win adherents, it divided into independent branches. This was owing to the objections raised by the Ait Smā'il to the succession of al-Ḥādjdj Bashīr, another Maghribī; in spite of the support of 'Abd al-Ḳādir (the famous enemy of the French) he had to quit his post, which was held for a time by the widow of 'Alī b. 'Isā, who, however, owing to the dwindling of the revenues of the *sāwīya* had ultimately to summon Bashīr back. Meanwhile the founders of other *sāwīyas* were assuming independence. After the death of Bashīr in 1259 (1843–1844) her son-in-law al-Ḥādjdj 'Ammār succeeded to the headship. Finding his influence waning owing to his failure to participate in the attack on the French organized by Bū Baghla he in August 1856 called his followers to arms and obtained some initial successes; he was however compelled to surrender in the following year, and his wife (or mother-in-law) at the head of a hundred *khwān* shortly after. Bashīr retired to Tunis, where he endeavoured to continue the exercise of his functions, but he was not generally recognized as head of the order, and his place among the Ait Smā'il was taken by Muḥammad Amziān b. al-Ḥaddād of Ṣaddūk, who at the age of 80 on April 8, 1871 proclaimed *djihad* against the French, who had recently been defeated in the Franco-Prussian War. The insurrection met with little success, though it spread far, and on July 13 Ibn al-Ḥaddād surrendered to General Saussier, who sent him to Bougie. The original *sāwīya* was closed as a precautionary measure.

His son 'Azīz, who had been transported to New Caledonia, succeeded in escaping to Djidda, whence he endeavoured to govern the community; but various *muḳaddams* who had been appointed by his father, as well as other founders of *sāwīyas*, asserted their independence. Lists are given by Depont and Coppolani of these persons and their spheres of influence, which extend into Tunisia and the Sahara. In their work the numbers of the adherents to the Order are reckoned at 156,214 (1897). Rinn notices that the Raḥmāniya of Tolga regularly maintained good relations with the French authorities.

Practices of the Order. The training of the *murīd* consists in teaching him a series of seven

"names", of which the first is the formula *lā ilāha illa 'llāh*, to be repeated from 12,000 to 70,000 times in a day and night, and followed by the others, if the *shāikh* is satisfied with the neophyte's progress; these are 2. *Allāh* three times; 3. *huwa*; 4. *ḥaḥḥ* three times; 5. *ḥayī* three times; 6. *ḥayyūm* three times; 7. *ḥaḥḥār* three times (Rinn states that the *dhikr* of the Order consists in repeating at least 80 times from the afternoon of Thursday to that of Friday the prayer ascribed to *Shādhili*, and on the other weekdays the formula *lā ilāha illa 'llāh*. Favourite lessons are the "Verse of the Throne" followed by *Sūras* i., cxii.—cxiv. (prescribed in the Founder's diploma, translated by A. Delpech, in *R. A.*, 1874) and the Seven Visions mentioned above (translated by Rinn, p. 467).

Literature of the Order. Most of this would seem to be still in MS.; the founder is credited with several books. A. Cherbonneau, in *J. A.*, 1852, p. 517 describes a catechism called *al-Raḥmāniya* by Muḥammad b. Bakhtarzi with a commentary by his son Muṣṭafā, perhaps identical with a work called by French writers *Présents dominicaux*. Another work belonging to the Order which they mention is called *al-Rawḍ al-bāsim fī Manāḥib al-Shāikh Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim*.

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(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

RAHN (A.), pledge, security; *rāhin*, the giver and *murtahin*, the taker of the pledge. The *Ḳur'ān* (ii. 283), obviously in confirmation of pre-Islāmic legal usage, provides for the giving of pledges (*riḥānūn maḥbūda*) in business in which a definite period is concerned, if the preparation of a written document is impossible. The part here played by the security as evidence of the existence of an obligation is in Islāmic law much less important than that of securing the fulfilment of a demand. From the latter point of view the traditions are mainly concerned with two questions: *a.* whether the security in case of non-fulfilment passes without more ado into the ownership of the creditor or not (the two answers are crystallised in the legal maxims *al-rahn bi-mā fīh* or *al-rahn lā yaghlaḥ*); and *b.* who is entitled to use it and is bound to maintain it (the answer often found in earlier authorities that the taker of the pledge may enjoy its use if he sees to its maintenance, later fell out into disuse). According to the doctrine of Muslim law, the giver of the pledge is bound to maintain it, but can enjoy the use of it only according to the *Shāfi'is*; its use by the taker of the pledge is also forbidden (except by the *Ḥanbalis*); the yield (increase) belongs to the giver of the pledge but also becomes part of the security (except with the *Shāfi'is*); the taker of the pledge is responsible for it according to the *Ḥanafis* and (with limitations) the *Mālikis*. Among the *Shāfi'is* and the *Ḥanbalis* the agreement regarding the security is regarded as a bailment-relationship (with much less responsibility). The basis for the condition of a pledge must be a claim (*dāin*); the accessory

character of the security is in general allowed; but exceptional cases are recognised in which the debt is extinguished by the disappearance of the security i. e. the risk passes to the taker of the pledge. While the ownership of the pledge remains with the debtor, he has no power of disposal over it and possession passes to the creditor; the latter has the right to sell it to satisfy his claim if the debt becomes overdue or is not paid. Mortgage is unknown as well as a graded series of rights to the same object of pledge. To be distinguished from the pledge is the detention (*ḥabs*) of a thing to enforce fulfilment of a legal claim, which represents a concrete right afforded by the law in individual cases so that it has contacts with the legal right to pledge.

Bibliography: J. Schacht, *G. Bergsträsser's Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 55 sq.; Guidi-Santillana, *Sommario del diritto malechita*, ii. 285 sqq.; López Ortiz, *Derecho musulmán*, p. 192 sq.; Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, p. 323 sqq.; Querry, *Droit musulman*, i. 443 sqq.; Th. W. Juynboll, *De hoofdregeelen der Sjafi'itische leer van het pandrecht*, Leyden (dissertation) 1893. (JOSEPH SCHACHT)

RA'IS AL-KUTTĀB, RA'IS EFENDI. [See RE'IS.]

RAIY, the ancient Ragha, a town in Media. Its ruins may be seen about 5 miles S. S. E. of Teheran [q. v.] to the south of a spur projecting from Elburz into the plain. The village and sanctuary of *Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm* lie immediately south of the ruins. The geographical importance of the town lies in the fact that it was situated in the fertile zone which lies between the mountains and the desert, by which from time immemorial communication has taken place between the west and east of Irān. Several roads from Māzandarān [q. v.] converge on Raiy on the north side.

In the Avesta, *Widēwdāt*, i. 15, *Raghā* is mentioned as the twelfth sacred place created by Ahura-Mazda. *Yasna*, xix. 18, calls it *zābruratuš Ragha zaraḥustriš* "Zoroastrian Ragha possessing four degrees of hierarchy" because at Ragha the representative of the prerogatives going back to Zoroaster (*Zarabuštrote*) held also the powers of a prince (*ratuš dahyūmō*) while elsewhere these two dignitaries with the three categories of chief subordinates, formed five degrees of hierarchy. The Middle Persian commentary deduces from this that Zoroaster must have belonged to Ragha. The town is also called *tri-santu* (*Widēwdāt*, i. 15), which Bartholomae interprets as possessing "three districts" (drei Gaue besitzend) although the explanation of the Middle Persian commentary is: "possessing three estates (social classes) for the priests, warriors and cultivators there were good" (cf. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, col. 579, 811, 1497; cf. Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 122). The later commentaries put Raiy in Atropatene in conformity with the late tendency to localise events in sacred history in this province.

In the Old Persian inscriptions (Bh. 2, 10-18) Ragā appears as the province of Media in which in the autumn of 521 B. C. the false king of Media Frawartish sought refuge in vain; from Raga also Darius sent reinforcements to his father Wishtāspa when the latter was putting down the rebellion in Parthia (Bh. 3, 1-10).

Rages is also mentioned in the apocrypha. Tobit sent his son Tobias from Nineveh to recover the silver deposited in Rages with Gabael, brother of

Gabrias (Tobit, i. 14). The book of Judith (i. 15) puts near Ragau (if it only were Ragha!) the plain in which Nebuchadnezzar defeated the king of Media, Arphaxad (Phraortes?).

In the summer of 330 B.C., Alexander the Great following Darius III took 11 days to go from Ecbatane to Rhagae (Arrian, 3, 20, 2). Diodorus relates that Antigonos passed near Rhagae after his victory over his rival Eumenes (316 B.C.). According to Strabo, xi. 9, 1 and xi. 13, 6, Seleucus Nicator (312—280) rebuilt Rhagae under the name of Eurōpos (in memory of his native town in Macedonia) and that near Eurōpos the towns of Laodicea, Apamea and Heraclea were peopled with Macedonians. After the coming of the Parthians the town was renamed Arsakia. It is however possible that all these towns although situated in the same locality occupied slightly different sites for they are mentioned side by side in the authorities. Rawlinson (*J. G. S.*, x. 119) would put Eurōpos at Warāmīn [q. v.]. Athenaeus in *Deipnosophistae*, says that the Parthian kings spent the spring at Rhagae (*ἐν Πάργαις*) and the winter at Babylon (see the details in A. V. W. Jackson, and Weissbach). The Greek popular etymologies which explain the name Rhaga as alluding to earthquakes seem to reflect the frequency of this phenomenon in this region so close to Damāwand.

In the Sāsānian period Yazdagird III in 641 issued from Raiy his last appeal to the nation before fleeing to Khurāsān. The sanctuary of Bibi Shahr-Bānū situated on the south face of the already mentioned spur and accessible only to women is associated with the memory of the daughter of Yazdagird who, according to tradition, became the wife of Husain b. 'Alī. In the years 486, 499, 553 A.D. Raiy is mentioned as the see of bishops of the Eastern Syrian church.

Arab conquest. The year of the conquest is variously given (18—24 = 639—644) and it is possible that the Arab power was consolidated gradually. As late as 25 (646) a rebellion was suppressed in Raiy by Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās. The Arabs seem to have profited by the dissensions among the noble Persian families. Raiy was the fief of the Mīhrān family and, in consequence of the resistance of Siyāwakhsh b. Mīhrān b. Bahrām Čubin, Nu'aim b. Muḥarrin had the old town destroyed and ordered Farrukhān b. Zainabi (Zainadi?) b. Kūla [cf. MAŠMUGHĀN] to build a new town (Tabarī, i. 2655). In 71 (690) again a king of the family of Farrukhān is mentioned alongside of the Arab governor.

The passing of power from the Omayyads to the 'Abbāsids took place at Raiy without incident but in 136 (753) the "Khurrami" Sunbadh, one of Abū Muslim's stalwarts, seized the town for a short time. The new era for Raiy began with the appointment of the heir to the throne Muḥammad Mahdī to the governorship of the east (141—152 = 758—768). He rebuilt Raiy under the name of Muḥammadiya and surrounded it by a ditch. The suburb of Mahdī-ābād was built for those of the inhabitants who had to give up their property in the old town. Hārūn al-Rashīd, son of Mahdī, was born in Raiy and used often to recall with pleasure his native town and its principal street. In 195 (810) Ma'mūn's general Ṭāhir b. Ḥusain won a victory over Amīn's troops near Raiy. In 250 (865) the struggle began in Raiy between the Zaidī 'Alids of Ṭabaristān and first the Ṭāhirids and later the caliph's Turkish generals. It was

not till 272 (885) that Ādhgū-tegin of Kāzwin took the town from the 'Alids. In 261 (894) the caliph Mu'tamid wishing to consolidate his position appointed to Raiy his son, the future caliph Muktafi. Soon afterwards the Sāmānids began to interfere in Raiy. Ismā'il b. Aḥmad seized Raiy in 289 (912) and the fact accomplished was confirmed by the caliph Muktafi. In 296 Aḥmad b. Ismā'il received investiture from Mukṭadir in Raiy (Gardīzī, p. 21—22).

In the tenth century Raiy is described in detail in the works of the contemporary Arab geographers. In spite of the interest which Baghdād displayed in Raiy the number of Arabs there was insignificant and the population consisted of Persians of all classes (*akhlāf*; Ya'kūbī, in *B. G. A.*, vii. 276). Among the products of Raiy Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 253, mentions silks and other stuffs, articles of wood and "lustre dishes", an interesting detail in view of the celebrity enjoyed by the ceramics "of Rhages". All writers emphasise the very great importance of Raiy as a commercial centre. According to Iṣṭakhri, p. 207, the town covered an area of 1½ by 1½ farsakhs, the buildings were of clay (*ṭin*) but the use of bricks and plaster (*djīss* = *gač*) was also known. The town had five great gates and eight large bazaars. Muḥaddasī, p. 391, calls Raiy one of the glories of the lands of Islām and among other things mentions its library in the Rūḍha quarter which was watered by the Sūrḳānī canal.

Dailamī period. In 304 (916) the lord of Ādharbājdjān Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj occupied Raiy out of which he drove the Dailamī Muḥammad b. 'Alī Šu'lūk who represented the Sāmānid Naṣr (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, viii. 74). This occupation, commemorated in coins struck by Yūsuf at Muḥammadiya, was the beginning of a troubled period. Raiy passed successively into the hands of the Dailamī 'Alī b. Wahsūdān, Waṣīf Bektimūrī, the Dailamī Aḥmad b. 'Alī and of Muṣṭafī, slave of Yūsuf (in 313 = 925; cf. R. Vasmer, *O monetakh Sadjidoi*, Baku 1927). Lastly the Sāmānids encouraged by the caliph succeeded in bringing Raiy again within their sphere of influence but soon their general Asfār (a Dailamī) became independent in Raiy. In 318 (930), Asfār was killed by his lieutenant Mardāwīdj [q. v.] (a native of Gilān and one of the founders of the Ziyārid dynasty) who took over his master's lands (C. Huart, *Les Ziyārides*, 1922, p. 363 [= 11]).

After the assassination of Mardāwīdj (323 = 925) the Būyids established themselves in Raiy, which became the fief of the branch of Rukn al-Dawla which held out there for about 100 years. In 390 (1000) the last Sāmānid al-Muntaṣir made an attempt to seize Raiy but failed. In 420 (1027) the Būyid Maḍjīd al-Dawla was ill-advised enough to invoke against the Dailamis the help of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, who seized his lands (cf. Muḥammad Nazim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, 1931, p. 80—85). The brief rule of the Ghaznawids was marked by acts of obscurantism, like the destruction of books on philosophy and astrology and the atrocious persecutions of the Karmāṭians and Mu'tazilis (Gardīzī, p. 91; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ix. 262).

The Saldjūks. The Ghuzz laid Raiy waste in 427 (1035) and in 434 (1042) the town, where Maḍjīd al-Dawla still held out in the fort of Ṭabarak (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ix. 347), fell into the power of the Saldjūks and became one of their principal cities. The last Būyid al-Malik al-Raḥīm died a prisoner

in Ṭabarak in 450 (1058) (or in 455; cf. H. Bowen, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1929, p. 238) and the new lord Ṭughril [q. v.] also died at Raiy in 455 (1063). Henceforth Raiy is constantly mentioned in connection with events relating to the Great Salḍjūks and their branch in Persian 'Irāk.

From the reign of Ghīyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd (529—547 = 1133—1152) Raiy was ruled by the amīr Inandj whose daughter Inandj-Khātūn became the wife of Pahlawān, son of the famous atābeg of Ādharbāidjān, Ildegiz. When the latter put on the throne Sultān Arslān-Shāh (whose mother he had married) Inandj opposed this nomination but was defeated in 555 (1160). Inandj withdrew to Bistām but with the help of the Khwārizmshāh Il-Arslān reoccupied Raiy. He was finally murdered at the instigation of Ildegiz who gave Raiy as a fief to Pahlawān. Later the town passed to Ḳutluḡ Inandj b. Pahlawān who, like his maternal grandfather, brought about the intervention of the Khwārizmshāh Takish in the affairs of Persia (588 = 1192). Two years later in a battle near Raiy, the last Salḍjūk Ṭughril III was killed by Ḳutluḡ Inandj but the country remained with the Khwārizmians. In 614 (1217) the atābeg of Fārs Sa'd b. Zangī succeeded in occupying Raiy but was almost immediately driven out by the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn (cf. Nasawī, ed. Houdas).

Civil wars. Muḳaddasī, p. 391, 395—396 mentions the dissensions (*ʿaṣabiyyāt*) among the people of Raiy in matters of religion. Under 582 (1186—1187) Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xi. 237, records the damage done in Raiy in the civil war between Sunnis and Shī'īs: the inhabitants were killed or scattered and the town left in ruins. Yāḳūt who, fleeing before the Mongols, went through Raiy in 617 (1220) gives the results of his enquiry about the three parties: the Hanafīs, the Shāfi'īs, and the Shī'īs of which the two first began by wiping out the Shī'īs who formed half the population of the town and the majority in the country. Later the Shāfi'īs triumphed over the Hanafīs. The result was that there only survived in Raiy the Shāfi'ī quarter which was the smallest. Yāḳūt describes the underground houses at Raiy and the dark streets difficult of access which reflected the care of the inhabitants to protect themselves against enemies.

The Mongols. The Mongols who occupied Raiy after Yāḳūt's visit dealt it the final blow. Ibn al-Aṭhīr (xii. 184) goes so far as to say that all the population was massacred by the Mongols in 617 (1220) and the survivors put to death in 621 (1224). It is however possible that the historian, echoing the panic which seized the Muslim world, exaggerates the extent of the destruction. Djuwainī (ed. Muḥammad Khān Ḳazwīnī, i. 115) only says that the Mongol leaders put many people to death at Khwār Raiy (in the country inhabited by Shī'īs?) but in Raiy they were met by the (Shāfi'ī?) ḳādī who submitted to the invaders (*il shud*), after which the latter went on. Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Bérézine, in *Trud. V. O.*, xv. 135 [transl. p. 89]) admits that the Mongols under Djebe and Subuday killed and plundered (*kushish wa-ghārat*) at "Raiy" but he seems to make a distinction between Raiy and Ḳum, in which the inhabitants were completely (*ba-kull*) massacred.

The fact that life was not completely extinguished at Raiy is evident from the dates of pottery which apparently continued to be made in Raiy (cf. Guest, *A dated Rayy bowl*, in *Burlington Magazine*, 1931,

p. 134—135: the painted bowl bears the date 640 = 1243). The citadel of Ṭabarak was rebuilt under Ghāzān Khān (1295—1304) but certain economic reasons (irrigation?) if not political and religious reasons, must have been against the restoration of Raiy and the centre of the new administrative Mongol division (the *tumān* of Raiy) became Warāmīn [q. v.] (cf. *Nushat al-Ḳulūb*, in *G.M.S.*, p. 55). After the end of Hülāgū's dynasty, Raiy fell to the sphere of influence of Ṭughā-Timūr [q. v.] of Āstarābād. In 1384, Timūr's troops occupied Raiy without striking a blow but this must mean the district and not the town of Raiy, for Clavijo (ed. Sreznevsky, p. 187) who passed through this country in 1404 confirms that Raiy (*Xahariprey* = *Shahr-i Raiy*) was no longer inhabited (*agora deshabitada*). No importance is to be attached to the mention of "Raiy" in the time of Shāh-Rukh (*Maṭla' al-Sa'dain*, under the year 841 = 1437) or of Shāh Ismā'īl, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*.

The ruins of Raiy. Ölivier in 1797 sought them in vain and it was Truilhier and Gardane who first discovered them. The earliest descriptions are by J. Morier, Ker Porter and Sir W. Ouseley. The first has preserved for us a sketch of a Sāsānian bas-relief which was later replaced by a sculpture of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh. The description and particularly the plan by Ker Porter (reproduced in Sarre and A. V. W. Jackson, *Persia*) are still of value because since his time the needs of agriculture and unsystematic digging have destroyed the walls and confused the strata. Large numbers of objects of archæological interest and particularly the celebrated pottery covered with paintings have flooded the European and American markets as a result of the activity of the dealers. Scientific investigation was begun by the universities of Philadelphia and Boston in 1934 (cf. *The Illustrated London News*, June 22, 1935, p. 1122—1123; E. F. Schmidt, *The Persian Expedition [Rayy]*, in *Bulletin University Museum*, Philadelphia, v., 1935, p. 41—49; cf. p. 25—27). In the citadel hill, Dr. Erich Schmidt found a great variety of pottery and the remains of buildings among which the most interesting are the foundations of Mahdī's mosque (communication by A. Godard to the Congress of Persian Art at Leningrad in Sept. 1935). In an interesting passage, Muḳaddasī, p. 210, speaks of the high domes which the Būyids built over their tombs. According to the *Siyāsāt-nāma*, p. 145, in the time of Fakhr al-Dawla a rich Zoroastrian built an *astōdān* with double roof (*sutūdān ba-du pūshish*) on the top of the hill of Ṭabarak, above the domed tomb (*gunbad*) of Fakhr al-Dawla. The *astōdān*, turned to a new use received the name of *dida-yi sipāh-sālārān* "fort of the commandants" and was still in existence in the time of Nizām al-Mulk. The two towers now to be seen among the ruins of Raiy [both are round in plan, but the one repaired under Naṣīr al-Dīn Shāh has ribbed flanks] are attributed to the Salḍjūks but may continue the Dailamī type of building. The hill of Ṭabarak on which was the citadel (destroyed in 588 [1192] by Ṭughril III) according to Yāḳūt was situated to "the right" of the Khurāsān road while the high mountain was to "the left" of this road. Ṭabarak therefore must have been on the top of the hill opposite the great spur (hill G in Ker Porter's plan: "fortress finely built of stone and on the summit of an immense rock which commands the open

country to the south"); cf. the map in A. F. Stahl, *Die Umgegend v. Teheran*, in *Pet. Mitt.*, 1900.

Bibliography: Cf. the articles **TEHRĀN** and **WARĀMĪN**. — Description of the ruins: J. Morier, *A Journey*, 1812, p. 232, 403; do., *Second Journey*, 1818, p. 190; Ker Porter, *Travels*, 1821, i. 357—364 (map); Ouseley, *Travels*, 1823, iii. 174—199, plate lxxv.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, vi/i., 1838, p. 595—604; Curzon, *Persia*, i. 347—352; F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin 1901, text, p. 55—58; A. V. W. Williams Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, 1905, p. 428—441 (plan by Ker Porter). — Ancient history: Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, p. 122—124; A. V. W. Jackson, *Persia*, loc. cit.; do., *Historical Sketch of Ragha*, in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1908, p. 237—245; do., in *Essays in Modern Theology to Ch. A. Briggs*, New York 1911, p. 93—97; Weissbach, art. *Arsakia*, *Europos* and *Raga*, in *Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie*; Herzfeld, *Archäolog. Mitteil. aus Iran*, ii., 1930, p. 95—98. — Muslim History: A *Tārīkh Raiy* was written by Abū Sa'd Mansūr b. Ḥusain al-Abī [= Āwā'i]; the author was the vizier of the Būyid Maḍjīd al-Dawla and had access to very good sources; Yāqūt often cites this history (i. 57, s.v. *Abaj*); Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, p. 272—275 (many quotations from the *Mudjal al-Tawārīkh*); Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géographique*, 1861 (quotations from the *Haft Iklim* of Aḥmad Rāzī); Barthold, *Istor.-geograf. očerḱ Irana*, 1903, p. 84—86; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 214—218; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 740—809 (very complete utilisation of the Arabic sources; complete list of the dependencies of Raiy). (V. MINORSKY)

RAK'Ā. [See **ṢALĀT**.]

AL-RAḲĀSHI. [See **ABĀN B. 'ABD AL-ḤAMĪD**.]

RAḲĪM. [See **AṢḤĀB AL-KAḤF**.]

AL-RAḲḲA, capital of Diyār Muḍar in al-Djazīra on the left bank of the Euphrates, shortly before it is joined by the Nahr Balikh (Βασίλειος, Βίληχα, Βάλισσος).

The town was in antiquity called Kallinikos. Nikephorion is to be located in the same region (Strabo, xvi. 747; Isidoros of Charax, in *Geogr. Graeci Min.*, ed. Müller, p. 247; Dio Cass., xl. 13; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, v. 86; vi. 119; Ptolemy, *Geogr.*, v. 17; Stephen Byz.); but its usual identification with Kallinikos is certainly wrong and it may be a case of two adjoining towns as with the "black" and "white al-RaḲḲa" of the middle ages. Nikephorion was, according to Appian (*Syr.*, p. 57), a foundation of Seleucus I Nikator; later it was ascribed to Alexander the Great (Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, vi. 119; Isid. Char., c. 1) who can hardly have been here and it is hardly likely that towns were founded so shortly before the battle of Gaugamela (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, v., A, col. 1274, s.v. *Thapsakos*).

Kallinikos owed its name to Seleucus II Kallinikos, who founded the town in 244 or 242 B.C. (*Chron. Pasch.*, ed. Dindorf, i. 330; Mich. Syr., ed. Chabot, iv. 78). Libanios (*Epist.*, p. 21, 5; *Opera*, ed. Förster, x. 19, 8—12) wishes to derive the name from the sophist Kallinikos who was murdered there; it is however hardly likely that the town, the name of which (Syriac Ḳalonīḳos, Ḳaliniḳos) the Christian Syrians retained in the middle ages, was called after a pagan orator, and

in any case, if it were so, we would expect a name like Kallinikeia. In any case the site of Kallinikos corresponds to that of the mediaeval al-RaḲḲa, with which the Syrian historians always identified it. In the time of the emperor Julian, Kallinikos was a strong fortress and an important commercial centre (Ammian. Marcell., xxiii. 3, 7). In the year 393 a Jewish synagogue was burned in the *Castrum Callinicum*; the emperor Theodosius therefore ordered the bishop of the town to rebuild it (Ambrosius, *Epist. ad Theodos.*; Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, xvi., col. 1105 sq.). The emperor Leo in 777 Sel. (466 A.D.) rebuilt Kallinikos in Osrhoëne, called it Leontopolis and appointed a bishop there (probably the successor of the Damianos mentioned in 451 and 458) (*Edessene Chronicle*, ed. Hallier, in *Texte u. Untersuch.*, ix. 1, Leipzig 1893, p. 116, 152; Barhebr., *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 77; Leontopolis: Hierokl., *Synekdem.*, p. 715, 1; Geogr. Cyp., ed. Gelzer, p. 897). Towards the end of the year 503, Timostratos bravely defended the fortress against the Persians and took one of Ḳawādh I's officers prisoner but had to release him as the king threatened to destroy the town completely (Joshua Stylites, ed. Martin, in *Abh. K. M.*, vi. 1, Leipzig 1876, p. lxxv.). The Syrian church historians from the beginning of the viii century frequently mention the monastery of Mar Zakkai, Arabic Dair Zakkā, in the angle formed by the Nahr Balikh and the Euphrates or the Nahr al-Nil Canal not far from Kallinikos (*Vitae viror. apud monophysitas celeberr.*, ed. Brooks, in *C. S. C. O.*, ser. iii., vol. xxv., Paris 1907, p. 38; Mich. Syr., iv. 414 sq.; al-Shābushtī, *Kitāb al-Diyārūt*, cod. Berol., fol. 95v; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 664; iv. 862). Between al-RaḲḲa and Bālis lay the celebrated monastery of Dair Ḥannīnā not far from Sura (G. Hoffmann on Zacharias Rhetor, transl. Ahrens-Krüger, p. 159, 20; Johann. v. Ephes., iv. 22; Mich. Syr., ii. 361; iii. 453 and *passim*; Barhebr., *Chron. eccles.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i. 244, 250; F. Nau, in *R. O. C.*, xv., 1910, p. 63, note 1; Yāqūt, ii. 350 and *passim*; often wrongly called "monastery of Ḥanania", e.g. in Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 329).

In 529, Justinian enacted that trade with the Persians should be conducted at the frontier towns of Nisibis, Kallinikos and Artaxata (*Cod. Iust.*, ed. Krüger, iv. 63, 4, p. 188; Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, ii., 1923, p. 3). Khusrāw I on his third campaign against Syria (542) took the town without difficulty (Procop., *Bell. Pers.*, ii. 21, 31; *Anecd.*, iii. 31) because at the time the walls had been partly taken down in order to be rebuilt. The town was destroyed but later fortified again by Justinian with walls and bulwarks and "made impregnable" (Proc., *De aed.*, ii. 7; James of Edessa, *Chronol. Canon*, ed. Brooks, in *Z. D. M. G.*, liii. 300; Mich. Syr., ed. Chabot, iv. 287). The *κόμες* Ἀνατολῆς Maurikios in 580 had to retire to Kallinikos before Ἀdharmahan but put him to flight there (Theophyl. Sim., iii. 17, 8 sq.; Chapot, *La Frontière de l'Euphrate*, p. 289, note 3 and E. Herzfeld, *Archäol. Reise*, i. 159 make the "emperor" Maurikios flee to the fortress before Hormisdas).

The Arabs in 18 (639) or 19 (640) under 'Iyād b. Ghannam encamped before the N.W. gate of the town, Bāb al-Ruḥā'; after 5 or 6 days the Patricios who governed the town asked for peace and surrendered it to him and the inhabitants

were promised security of life and property. Their churches were not to be destroyed or occupied so long as they paid their tribute and committed no act of hostility; on the other hand they were not to build new churches or sacred places and not to observe Christian customs or festivals publicly (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 173 sq.; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ii. 439). On the death of 'Iyād, Sa'īd b. 'Āmir b. Dīdhaym became governor of al-Djazīra; he built a mosque in al-Rakka (al-Balādhurī, p. 178; Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, ii. 353). It was built of bricks of clay and marble taken from ancient buildings (Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, with fig. 324-329); its Manārat al-Munaitir still marks the ruins that represent the ancient al-Rakka.

In the great battle of Siffin in 36 (656) 'Alī crossed the Euphrates at al-Rakka on a bridge of boats, which he ordered the inhabitants to build, with his infantry and whole equipment to the Syrian bank (al-Tabarī, i. 3259; Ibn Miskawaih, *Tadjarīh*, ed. Caetani, p. 571). According to the *Diwān* of 'Ubaid Allāh b. Kaīs al-Ruḳaiyāt, who died in 690 (ed. Rhodokanakis, in *S. B. Ak. Wien*, CXLIV/x., Vienna 1902, p. 222), al-Rakka and al-Kalas (?) were then in ruins and practically uninhabited but this is poetic exaggeration (Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 329 sq.). He calls the town (p. 285) al-Rakka al-Sawda' to distinguish it from al-Rakka al-Baida', which is mentioned in the *Diwān* of al-Akḥṭal for example (ed. Šālḥānī, p. 304). The name al-Rakka itself may be of Arabic origin ("swampy marshes on a river with periodical inundations"); the similarity of the names of al-Rakka and al-Rāfiḳa to those of two Aramaic tribes of the Assyrian period, Rakhiḳu (*sic!*) and Rapiḳu (Herzfeld, *Arch. Reis* i. 159, note 9), is no doubt quite accidental.

On the south bank, opposite the town between two canals (al-Hanī wa 'l-Marī), was the suburb of Waṣīt al-Rakka, where Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik built two palaces and a bridge over the Euphrates (Yāqūt, ii. 802; iv. 889, 994; Ps.-Dionys. of Telmaḥrē, ed. Chabot, p. 26, 31; Mich. Syr. iv. 457; Barhebr., *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 118).

The governor of al-Ruḥā, the Kaīsī Maṣṣūr b. Dja'wana b. al-Hārith al-'Āmirī, after whom Hiṣn Maṣṣūr was called, was executed after his rebellion in 141 (758-759) by the 'āmil of Abu 'l-'Abbās, al-Manṣūr, in al-Rakka (al-Balādhurī, p. 192).

The caliph al-Manṣūr in 155 (772) built alongside of al-Rakka a new town al-Rāfiḳa and settled Khurāsānians there who were devoted to his dynasty (Ibn al-Faḳīh, in *B. G. A.*, v. 132). The superintendence of the building of the new town was given by him to al-Mahdī, the heir-apparent. It was planned in the shape of a horse-shoe and was in many respects modelled on the round city of al-Manṣūr in Baghdād (al-Tabarī, iii. 276, 372 sq.; Ibn Ḥawkal, in *B. G. A.*, ii. 153; al-Balādhurī, p. 179; al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, in *B. G. A.*, vii. 238, *Ta'riḳh*, ed. Houtsma, ii. 430; Ibn al-Faḳīh, in *B. G. A.*, v. 132; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 734 sq.; Mich. Syr., ii. 526, iii. 10, 297 = iv. 476, 483, 640; Ps.-Dionys. of Telmaḥrē, p. 120 sq.; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, i. 160). Two canals were led from the Euphrates and from the region of Sarūdj to supply the new town with water (Mich. Syr., iii. 10). This new town to which the name al-Rakka came to be transferred from the old town now falling into ruins, had, according to Arab authors (e. g. al-Balādhurī, p. 179), no remains

of antiquity and indeed the modern al-Rakka, the "horse-shoe city", except for a few fragments built into the walls seems to possess no ancient ruins. The ancient Kallinikos has therefore wrongly been located here (Sachau, *Reise in Syrien u. Mesop.*, p. 242; Chapot, *La Frontière de l'Euphrate*, p. 289 sq., where fig. 8 "Nicephorium-Callinicum" is really the plan of the mediaeval al-Rāfiḳa!).

Between al-Rakka (al-Ḥamra' of Musil's map) and al-Rāfiḳa there soon rose a suburb with bazaars to which the markets of al-Rakka (including the largest, Suḳ Hishām al-'Atīḳ) were transferred by 'Alī b. Sulaimān b. 'Alī, governor of al-Djazīra, and as a result the two adjoining towns gradually developed into a twin city (al-Rakkaṭān) (al-Balādhurī, p. 179; Yāqūt, ii. 734, 802; Ibn Ḥawkal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 153). This suburb was burned in 1123 Sel. (812) by the rebels 'Amr and Naṣr b. Šabath along with the adjoining "pillared monastery" (Mich. Syr., iii. 26). 'Abd al-Malik b. Šāliḥ [q. v.] died in the same year in al-Rakka. In the fighting that followed, the 'Aḳōlayē (of al-Kūfa) became lords of al-Rakka and the Persians of al-Rāfiḳa (Mich. Syr., iii. 30). In the reign of Ma'mūn in 816, Ṭāhir built a wall between al-Rakka and al-Rāfiḳa (Mich. Syr., iii. 36).

The walls of the old town fell into ruins at quite an early date (Aḥmad b. al-Ṭaiyib al-Sarakhsī in Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*), and in 375 (985-986) the old al-Rakka was now only a suburb of the western town. As the name al-Rakka came into use for the latter (Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*), in the end it became no longer possible to distinguish between al-Rakka and al-Rāfiḳa (also al-Maḳdisī, cf. E. Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, i. 160, note 7, p. 161). At the beginning of the xiiith century the old al-Rakka was completely in ruins (Yāqūt, ii. 734, 751; Ibn Ḥawkal, p. 153; al-Maḳdisī, p. 141; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 277).

Besides al-Rakka, the capital of Diyār Muḍar, al-Maḳdisī and others mention also "burned al-Rakka" (al-Rakka al-Muḥṭariḳa), i. e. Rakka al-Sawda' on the Balīḳh, a farsakh below the "white town" (Yāqūt, i. 31; ii. 802; Ibn Rusta, p. 90; al-Maḳdisī, p. 20, 54, 141). It was also called "crooked al-Rakka" (al-'Awḍjā') and corresponds to the present ruins of al-Rakka al-Samra'.

Badr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ba'labakkī (Ahlwardt, v. 413, on N^o. 6104) wrote a *risāla* on al-Rakka.

According to Herzfeld, the following larger groups of ruins lie in the area of al-Rakka in addition to Hiraḳla which is in the neighbourhood:

1. The "horseshoe town" with high walls, still standing, which form a semicircle on the north, while in the south they run in a straight line along the banks of the Euphrates and enclose an area of 1,92 sq. km. (Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, ii. 356 sqq.; plan: plate lxiii.). It corresponds to al-Rāfiḳa founded by Maṣṣūr, to which the name al-Rakka was later transferred. Roughly in the centre of the northern round part of this part of the town lie the ruins of a large mosque, the "mosque intra muros" the front of the court of which with a round minaret (Sarre-Herzfeld, ii. 359; iii., pl. lxvi.-lxix. and fig. 33-340), according to an inscription, was restored by the Zangid Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd in 561 (1165-1166) (van Berchem in Sarre-Herzfeld, i. 4-6). Nūr al-Dīn occupied al-Rakka in 554 (1159) and gave it from 562 (1167) to 566 (1171) to his brother Maḥmūd

(Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, xi. 167, 216; Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, in *R.O.L.*, iii. 532, 550). Yāqūt mentions a gate called Bāb al-Djīnān (Yāqūt, i. 443; ii. 125). The gate on the S.E. corner of al-Faṣīl, a brick building on the inner side of the ditch, is still standing (Herzfeld, ii. 358; iii., pl. lxx.; fig. 330—332). Not far from it is the so-called palace, "a plaster-covered brick building with cramps of wood" without inscriptions (Herzfeld, ii. 363; pl. lxxix. sq.; fig. 342—344). On the S.W. corner of this area of ruins is the modern village of al-Rakka.

2. East of the S.E. corner of the preceding area is a smaller site (called al-Hamrā' on Musil's map) "the feature of which is a high quadrangular minaret called Ma'adhanat al-Munaiṭir" which belonged to the "mosque extra muros" (Herzfeld, i. 156; ii. 354, fig. 327). This area of ruins corresponds to the ancient town.

3. An hour further east on the Balikh are the ruins of "grey Rakka" (Rakka al-Samra').

4. A little further north, still on the left bank of the Balikh is the high Tell Zāḥan now Tell Zēdān, according to Herzfeld (i. 157, note 3; ii. 350) and Musil (*The Middle Euphrates*, p. 91, note 9) certainly the ancient Zenodotion.

In the area of these ruins are a number of Muslim saints' graves including those of the *tābi'* [q. v.] 'Uwais al-Karānī and 'Ummār b. Yāsir, whose names however were differently given to Sachau (*Reise in Syr. u. Mesop.*, p. 242 sqq.) and Herzfeld (i. 157; ii. 350) in some cases.

The area of the "horseshoe town" is, according to Herzfeld, "burrowed through and through by treasure-seekers who search here for the Rakka ceramics which fetch exceedingly high prices" and also find glass and bronze, pieces of marble etc. (Herzfeld, i. 158). The blue glazed antique vases which look as if they were enamelled, in the form of amphorae in the Louvre, said to have been found in al-Rakka, therefore certainly came from the eastern old town (Sarre in Sarre-Herzfeld, iii. and iv., cf. *Litteratur*; H. Rivière, *La céramique dans l'art musulman*, 2 vol., 1912—1913; F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, Paris 1926, text, p. 460 sq.).

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de al-Moutasim, in *Mém. prés. par div. savants*, xii., ii., 1909, p. 2—5 with pl. i. sq.; G. L. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, London 1911, p. 53 sqq. with fig. 34—45; E. Reitemeyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber* (diss. Heidelberg), Munich 1912, p. 84 sq. (Rāfka); F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, Berlin 1911—1920, i. 3—6 (van Berchem), 156—161; ii. 349—364, fig. 318—344; iii., pl. lxiii.—lxx., cxvi.—cxx.; iv. 20—25 (Sarre), *Keramik: Die Kunst von Raqqa; Kleinfunde* with fig. 385, 398 sq. and pl. cxl., cxlii.; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, appendix xi., p. 325—331 and index, p. 415; A. Poidebard, *La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie*, Paris 1934, p. 88.

(E. HONIGMANN)

RAKKA, residential city of the Aghlabid emirs of Ifrikiya about 6 miles south of Kairawān, was founded in 263 (876) by Ibrāhīm II, seventh prince of the dynasty. Until then the Aghlabids had resided in 'Abbāsiya [q. v.] nearer the capital. A chance trip into the country by Ibrāhīm, it is said, determined the site of the new residence. The emir was suffering from insomnia and on the advice of his physician, Iṣḥāk b. Sulaimān, went out to take the air. Stopping in a certain place he fell into a deep sleep and decided to build a palace there which was called Rakka, the "soporific". The story is probably based on a popular etymology of the name, which is found elsewhere in North Africa. Another explanation, equally suspect, is that which attributes the name to the memory of a massacre of the Warfaḍjūma by the 'Ibādī chief Abu 'l-Khattāb [q. v.] in 141 (758) and the many dead left lying there.

In the same year that the work of building was begun, Ibrāhīm settled in Rakka in the Castle of Victory (*Qaṣr al-Faṭḥ*). He was to live there the rest of his life, as were his successors, except for the stays the emirs made in Tunis. Rakka became a regular town as al-'Abbāsiya had been before it. Besides Qaṣr al-Faṭḥ (or Qaṣr Abi 'l-Faṭḥ) there were several other castles in it: Qaṣr al-Baḥr (the castle on the lake), Qaṣr al-Ṣaḥn (castle of the court), Qaṣr al-Mukhtār (castle of the elect) and Qaṣr Baghdad, a large mosque, baths, caravanserais and *sūqs*. Al-Bakrī says that it had a circumference of 24,040 cubits (over 6 miles), al-Nuwairi makes it smaller (14,000, nearly 4 miles). A wall of brick and clay surrounded this vast area, and this wall was renovated by the last Aghlabid with a view to a final effort at resistance. Al-Bakrī further tells us that the greater part of the enceinte was filled with gardens. The soil was fertile and the air temperate. The emirs and their followers enjoyed in Rakka a liberty of movement which would have caused a scandal in Kairawān. The sale of *nabidh* [q. v.], forbidden in the pious old city, was officially permitted in the royal residence.

It was from Rakka that Ziyādat Allāh III, the last of the Aghlabids, fled on the approach of the *Shi'is*. The victorious Abū 'Abd Allāh [q. v.] installed himself in Qaṣr al-Ṣaḥn. His master, the Mahdī 'Ubaid Allāh, lived in Rakka until 308 (920) when he moved to al-Mahdiyya. After being deserted by the ruler, Rakka fell into ruins. In 342 (953) the caliph al-Mu'izz ordered what was left of it to be razed to the ground and ploughed over. The gardens alone were spared.

A few traces of the Aghlabid foundation are still to be seen at the present day. A great rectangular reservoir with thick walls strengthened by buttresses may be identified with the lake (*baḥr*) which gave its name to one of the palaces. A pavilion (?) of four stories stood in the centre. Nothing is left of it, but on the west side of the reservoir may be seen the remains of a building which must have been reflected in the great mirror of water. Three rooms may still be distinguished with their mosaic pavements. The technique and style of decoration closely connect these Muḥammadan buildings of the third century A. H. with the Christian art of the country.

Bibliography: al-Nuwairi, in Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, i. 424, 441; al-Bakri, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Algiers 1911, p. 27; transl. de Slane, Algiers 1913, p. 62 sqq.; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, i. 110, 144—145, 147, 157; transl. Fagnan, i. 152, 202, 205—206, 218—219; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Hulla al-siyarā'*, ed. Müller, p. 261; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vii. 215, 222; viii. 34; transl. Fagnan (*Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*), p. 253—255, 297; *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, transl. Fagnan, p. 11—12; Fournel, *Les Berbères*, i. 526; Vonderheyden, *La Berbérie orientale sous la dynastie des Benoû 'l-Aṣṭal*, p. 193 and *passim*; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman*, i. 42—44, 52; *Enquête sur les installations hydrauliques en Tunisie*, 1900 (report by Captain Flick), i. 268—269.

(GEORGES MARÇAIS)

RAMAḌĀN (A.), name of the ninth month of the Muḥammadan calendar. The name from the root *r-m-d* refers to the heat of summer and therefore shows in what season the month fell when the ancient Arabs still endeavoured to equate their year with the solar year by intercalary months [see NAST²].

Ramaḍān is the only month of the year to be mentioned in the Qur'ān (Sūra, ii. 185; eastern numbering): "The month of Ramaḍān (is that) in which the Qur'ān was sent down", we are told in connection with the establishment of the fast of Ramaḍān. The discussion on the origin of this edict cannot yet be considered ended; to what has been said in the article ṢAWM have to be added the researches of F. Goitein, *Zur Entstehung des Ramaḍān*, in *Isl.*, xviii. (1929), p. 189 sqq., who in connection with the above mentioned verse of the Qur'ān calls attention to the parallelism between the mission of Muḥammad and the handing of the second tablets of the law to Moses, which according to Jewish tradition took place on the Day of Atonement (*'āshūrā'*, the predecessor of Ramaḍān!) and actually was the cause of its institution. Goitein suggests that the first arrangement to replace the *'Āshūrā'* [q.v.] was a period of ten days (*aiyām ma'dūdāt*, Sūra ii. 184), not a whole month, which ran parallel with the ten days of penance of the Jews preceding the Day of Atonement and survives to the present day in the 10 days of the *i'tikāf* [q.v.]. If we consider further that the Muslim ideas of the *Lailat al-Ḳadr* which falls in Ramaḍān, in which according to Qur'ān lxxxvii. 1, the Qur'ān was sent down, coincide in many points with the Jewish on the Day of Atonement, we must concede a certain degree of probability to Goitein's suggestions, in spite of the undeniable chronological difficulties (alteration of the length of the period of the fast,

within a very short time) and although the final settlement of the term as a whole month is not thereby satisfactorily explained. On the other hand to strengthen Goitein's position, it ought perhaps to be pointed out that the *Lailat al-Bar'ā* [q.v.] precedes Ramaḍān in the middle of the preceding month of Sha'bān. The ideas and practices described by Wensinck in the article SHA'BĀN, which are associated with this night really to some extent resemble Jewish conceptions associated with the New Year — which precedes the Day of Atonement by a rather shorter interval than the *Lailat al-Bar'ā* Ramaḍān — that the connection between the latter and the Day of Atonement is thereby strengthened. If we try to connect the so far unexplained word *bar'ā* with the Hebrew *ber'ā* "creation" and reflect that according to the Jewish idea the world was created on New Year's Day (numerous references in the liturgy of the festival) we have perhaps a further link in the chain of proof; but first of all the age of the ideas associated with the *Lailat al-Bar'ā* must be ascertained.

The legal regulations connected with the fast of Ramaḍān are given in the article ṢAWM [cf. also TARĀWĪḤ]. Of important days of the month, al-Bīrūnī, among others, mentions the 6th as birthday of the martyr Ḥusain b. 'Alī, the 10th as the day of death of Khadiḍja, the 17th as the day of the battle of Badr, the 19th as the day of the occupation of Mecca, the 21st as the day of 'Alī's death, and of the Imām 'Alī al-Riḍā's, the 22nd as birthday of 'Alī and finally the night of the 27th as *Lailat al-Ḳadr* [q.v.].

The name of this night is Qur'ānic; Sūra xcvi. is dedicated to it. It is there described as a night "better than a 1,000 months" in which the angels ascend free from every commission (*bi-idhn Allāh min kull amr*) and which means blessing till the appearance of the red of dawn. The revelation of the Qur'ān, as already mentioned, is expressly located in it. The same night is obviously referred to in Sūra xlv. 2 as a "blessed" one. The date, the 27th, is however not absolutely certain, the pious therefore use all the odd nights of the last ten days of Ramaḍān for good works, as one of them at any rate is the *Lailat al-Ḳadr* [cf. I'ṬIKĀF].

Trade and industry are largely at a standstill during Ramaḍān, especially when it falls in the hot season. The people are therefore all the more inclined to make up during the night for the deprivations of the day. As sleeping is not forbidden during the fast, they often sleep a part of the day; and the night, in which one may be merry, is given up to all sorts of pleasures. In particular the nights of Ramaḍān are the time for public entertainments, the shadow play [cf. KHAYĀL-I ZILL] and other forms of the theatre.

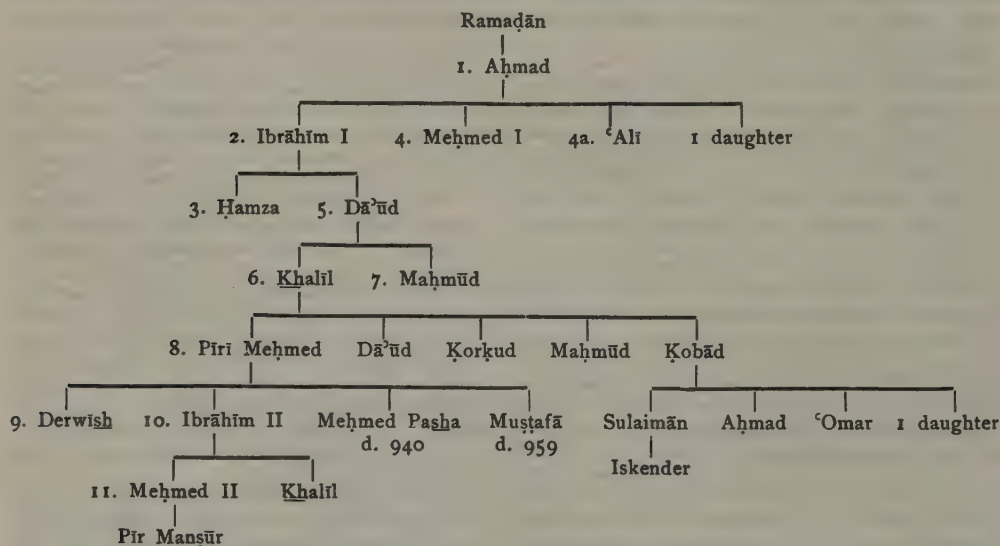
On the termination of the fast by the "little festival", cf. ID AL-FITR.

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(M. PLESSNER)

RAMAÐĀN-OGHULLARĪ, a petty Anatolian dynasty. The earlier history of the Ramaḍān-Oghullarī is, like that of most of the minor Anatolian principalities (*ṭawāʾif-i mülūk*), wrapped in obscurity. According to tradition, this Turkoman family came in Ertoghul's time from Central Asia to Anatolia where they settled in the region of Adana and founded their power. Their territory comprised the districts of Adana, Sis, Ayās, a part of the territory of the Warsak Turkomans, Tarsūs, etc. The date of the earliest known prince of the dynasty, Mīr Aḥmad b. Ramaḍān (see below), is put at 780–819 (1379–1416). Nothing definite is known about the real founder, Ramaḍān-Beg. The French traveller Bertrand de la Broquière thus characterizes Mīr Aḥmad b. Ramaḍān: "lequel estoit tresgant personne d'homme et treshardy et la plus vaillante espée de tous les Turcz et le mieulx ferant d'une mache. Et avoit esté filz d'une femme crestienne laquelle l'avoit fait baptiser à la loy gregiesque pour luy enlever le flair et le senteur qu'ont ceux qui ne sont point baptisiez. Il n'estoit ne bon crestien ne bon sarazin" (cf. *Le Voyage d'Outremer de Bertrand de la Broquière*, ed. Ch. Scheffer, Paris 1892, p. 90 sq.). Mīr Aḥmad was succeeded by Ibrāhīm Beg (819–830 = 1416–1427). The beginning of his reign is put by some, e.g. Mehmed Nüzhet Bey, as early as 810, while its end is put in 819. Khalīl Edhem Bey was the first to propose a new chronology, which is here followed. Ibrāhīm Beg was deposed before his death (831) by his eldest son 'Izz al-Dīn Ḥamza-Beg, who reigned from 830. He was succeeded by his uncle Mehmed Beg b. Mīr Aḥmad and the latter's brother 'Alī, who seem to have reigned jointly. Of his successor, his nephew Arslān Dā'ūd b. Ibrāhīm, we only know that he

fell in 885 (1480) in a battle in the vicinity of Diyārbakr. His body was brought to Aleppo and buried there. The history of the Ramaḍān-Oghullarī now becomes a little better known. His son and successor, Ḡhars al-Dīn Khalīl, known from a number of inscriptions (cf. Max v. Oppenheim and Max van Berchem, *Inscripfen aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1909, p. 109 sq., Nrs. 141–145 of the years 898, 900, 906, 913) ruled for 34 years with his brother Maḥmūd-Beg and died in battle in 916 (1510). The date of his death (beginning of *Djumādā l 916* = beginning of Aug. 1510) is known with certainty from his epitaph in Adana, in M. v. Oppenheim and Max van Berchem (*op. cit.*, p. 110, N^o. 145). His son Pīr Mehmed Paṣha, who appears as ruling from 916–976 (1510–1568), distinguished himself as an Ottoman vassal, fighting against the rebels of İt-eli (Anatolia; cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 71) in May 1528 (*Shā'ibān* 934) as well as in the civil war between the princes Bāyazid and Selīm at Konya (May 1559; cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 368 sqq.). He died in 972 (1568) in his capital Adana. He had an equal command of Persian and Turkish and composed a *Diwān*. His son Derwish-Beg, who had been *mutesarrif* of Tarsūs in his father's life-time became after his death governor (*wālī*) of Adana but died young in 986 (1578). He was succeeded by his eldest brother Ibrāhīm Beg, who had previously been *sandjak-bey* of 'Aintāb. He acted as governor at his father's capital till his death in 1002 (1594). His son Mehmed Beg was the last dynast of the Ramaḍān-Oghlu but he can only have had a nominal rule. The family of the Ramaḍān-Oghlu however has survived to the present day. The following is the genealogical table:



Bibliography: Max v. Oppenheim and Max van Berchem, *Inscripfen aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1909, p. 109 sqq. (cf. the genealogical table based on the inscriptions at p. 114); Mehmed Nüzhet Bey, *Ramaḍān oghullarī*, in *T. O. E. M.*, N^o. 12, Stambul 1327, p. 769 sqq.; Khalīl Edhem Bey, *Düvel-i islāmīye*, Stambul 1345 = 1927, p. 313 sqq. (with

important corrections); E. v. Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, Hanover 1927, p. 157; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, v. 136 sqq.; C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, vol. ix., *Kleinasien*, part 2, Berlin 1859, p. 152 sqq.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

AL-RAMĀDĪ, whose full name was ABŪ 'UMAR (wrongly Abū 'Amr) YUSUF B. HĀRŪN AL-KINDĪ AL-ḲURṬUBĪ AL-RAMĀDĪ, poet of Muslim Spain, who lived in the fourth (tenth) century and died early in the fifth (eleventh) century in 403 (1013), on the day of the 'Anṣara or Feast of St. John (June 24); according to Ibn Ḥaiyān (in Ibn Baṣṣ-kuwāl, cf. *Bibl.*), in 413 (1022—1023), according to al-Maḳḳarī (quoting the same Ibn Ḥaiyān); he was buried in the cemetery of Cordova known as Maḳbarat Kalā'.

The ethnic al-Ramādī is explained in two ways: 1. the poet is said to have come from al-Rammāda, a little town between Alexandria and Barḳa; this explanation is to be rejected for al-Rammāda (with gemination of the *mīm* — and this orthography is attested by the geographers who mention the place, e.g. al-Ya'ḳūbī, al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī —) would not give an ethnic like al-Ramādī (with one *m*); 2. the second explanation which derives Ramādī from *ramād*: "ordinary ashes" or "ashes for washing", is the only possible one; and the poet perhaps in his youth followed the trade of an ash-merchant; in confirmation of this we may call attention to the Romance surname which was originally given him: *Abū Djanis* (wrongly *Abū Sabīḥ* in the *Yatīmat al-Dahr*), i.e. *padre ceniza*, "father cinders" or "cinderman".

Al-Ramādī, a native of Cordova, spent all his life in his native town except for a brief period of exile in Saragossa. His life was dominated by three great factors: his attachment to Abū 'Alī al-Ḳālī, his devotion to the cause of the ḥādīb Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Muṣḥaffī and his love for Ḳhalwa.

Abū 'Alī al-Ḳālī, summoned from the east to Spain by the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir (300—350 = 912—961) had from his arrival in Cordova in 330 (942) no more faithful disciple than al-Ramādī who studied under his direction the *Kitāb al-Nawādir* ("the book of philological rarities"). The young scholar's admiration found expression in a poem which has remained famous (rhyme *ū*, metre *kāmil*) of which some thirty lines are preserved in the *Yatīmat al-Dahr* of al-Tha'ālībī and the *Maṭmaḥ al-Anfus* of al-Faṭḥ b. Ḳhākān (cf. *Bibl.*). It is this poem which gained him the title of Mutanabbī al-Gharb (which had already been given to Ibn Ḥānī al-Andalusī and which was later to be given to Ibn Darrādī al-Kaṣṭallī and to Abū Ṭālib 'Abd al-Djabbār). Al-Ramādī studied also under an Andalusian scholar named Abū Bakr Yaḥyā Ibn Hudḥail al-Kafī or al-A'mā ("the blind"), of whom we know very little.

When at the height of his powers, al-Ramādī became laureate to the Umayyad caliph al-Ḥakam II al-Muṣṭanṣir (350—366 = 961—976), then to his son and successor Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad (366—399 = 976—1009); but his attachment to the cause of the ḥādīb Abu 'l-Ḥasan Dja'far b. 'Uṭṭamān al-Muṣḥaffī and his participation in the plot fomented by the eunuch Djawḍḥar to overthrow Ḥakam II and proclaim another caliph than his son Hishām brought down upon him the wrath of the great minister al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Amir. Thrown into prison at al-Zahrā', he suffered all sorts of ill-treatment; during his imprisonment, he wrote the most touching verses (including a poem in *ḳi*, metre *ṭawīl*, and another in *luḡu*, metre *ṭawīl*) and he prepared a poetical work on birds, the description of which concluded with a poem

in praise of the heir-presumptive Hishām II. Liberated through the intercession of friends he had to go into exile. He went to Saragossa to the governor 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Tuḍjībī whose merits he celebrated in a poem in *mi*. Amnestied by al-Manṣūr he was able to return to Cordova, but on condition that he did not go into society. Finally pardoned, he entered the entourage of the all, powerful ḥādīb as a pensioner (*murtasiḳ*) and it was in this capacity that he took part in an expedition against Barcelona in 375 (985). During the *fitna* which was to lead to the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate and the formation of petty independent states ruled by the *mulūk al-ṭawā'if*, al-Ramādī led a miserable existence and it was in the greatest distress that he died in the early years of the fifth (eleventh) century.

Al-Ramādī became celebrated chiefly for his chaste love for the enigmatic Ḳhalwa (wrongly: Ḥalwa or Ḥulwa) whom he met one Friday in the public gardens of the Banū Marwān on the left bank of the Guadalquivir at the end of the bridge but was never able to see again. It was Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ḥazm al-Zāḥirī, whose ascetic tendencies on this subject are well known, who did most to spread this love-story; but it seems that the memory of Ḳhalwa occupied the heart or mind of the poet only very little; if it still possessed him at Saragossa to the extent of inspiring all the *nasīb* of the panegyric in honour of the Tuḍjībī governor, on his return to Cordova, it disappeared completely for we see al-Ramādī henceforth completely overwhelmed by a new passion, the object of which is not a woman but a Mozarab boy to whom the poet gives the name of Yaḥyā (John) or Nuṣair (Victor?).

The *Diwān* of al-Ramādī never seems to have been collected; of his book on birds, *Kitāb al-Ṭair*, written in prison, there survives only the *Lāmiya* in which he described the falcon hunting; the more important fragments that have survived have already been mentioned. A pupil of Abū 'Alī al-Ḳālī, al-Ramādī is inclined to imitate the poetry of the east, but after Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi and before 'Ubāda b. Mā' al-Samā', he shows a marked fondness for the *muwashṣhaḥ* into the construction of which, he introduced several innovations. In spite of its classical structure, his verse has a very personal character, especially when he calls upon Ḳhalwa or describes his sufferings in the prison at al-Zahrā'. The few lines in which he alludes to the weakness of Hishām II and to his complete domination by his mother Ṣubḥ and by the ḥādīb al-Manṣūr, those in which he speaks of Djawḍḥar's plot are not without historical interest; finally the information which he gives about Mozarabs (worship and costume) in connection with his favourite enable us to check what Abū 'Amir Ibn Shuhaid says on the same subject and for this reason of some documentary importance.

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p. 69-74; ed. Cairo, p. 78-83; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Šila*, N^o. 1376 (p. 613-614: 6 lines); Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Cairo 1310, ii. 410-411; transl. de Slane, iv. 569-572; al-Dabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis*, N^o. 1451 (p. 478-481); al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, i. 255; al-Marrākushī, *al-Mu'djib* (*Hist. des Alm.*), p. 15-17; ed. Cairo p. 14-16; transl. Fagnan, p. 403; Ibn al-Khatīb, *al-Ihāṭa*, Cairo, ii. 71; al-Makkarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* (*Analektes*), index (vol. ii., p. 440-443, reproduces the beginning of al-Dabbī, the end of Ibn Bashkuwāl — with the date 413 instead of 403 for the poet's death — and the whole *Maṭmaḥ*); M. Hartmann, *Das arab. Strophengedicht*, i. *Das Muwašṣaḥ*, Weimar, 1897, N^o. 108, p. 75-78; Dozy, *Hist. Musul. d'Espagne*², ii. 223, 224-225; A. González Palencia, *El amor platónico en la Corte de los Califas*, in *Bol. R. Acad. de . . . Bellas letras . . . de Córdoba*, Cordova 1929, p. 3-4; E. García Gomez, *Poetas musulmanes*, in the same *Bol.*, p. 13; *Poemas arabigo-andaluces*, Madrid 1930, N^o. 32, p. 78. — Isolated verses in Ibn Dihya, *al-Muṭrib*, London MS., fol. 5^a and 6^a; Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, *Umwān al-Murqisāt*, ed. Būlāk, p. 57; al-Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, Cairo, x. 213; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari, *Masālik*, Paris MS., N^o. 2327, fol. 5b-6b. (H. PÉREZ)

RĀM-HORMUZ (the contracted form *Rāmiz*, *Rāmuz* is found as early as the tenth century), a town and district in Khūzistān [q. v.]. Rām-Hormuz lies about 55 miles southeast of Ahwāz, 65 miles S.E. of Shūshṭar, and 60 miles N.E. of Behbehān. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 43, reckons it 17 farsakhs from Ahwāz to Rām-Hormuz and 22 farsakhs from Rām-Hormuz to Arrādjān. Kūdāma, p. 194, who gives a more detailed list of stages, counts it 50 farsakhs from Wasīt to Basra, thence 35 farsakhs to Ahwāz, thence 20 farsakhs to Rām-Hormuz, and then 24 farsakhs to Arrādjān. The importance of Rām-Hormuz lay in the fact that it was situated at the intersection of the roads from Ahwāz, Shūshṭar, Isfahān and Fārs (via Arrādjān); that it is the natural market for the Bakhtiāri and Kūh-gilū tribes [see the art. LUR] and that there is oil in its vicinity. The town lies between the rivers Āb-i Kurdistān and Gūpāl. The first of these (also called *Djibur*) is made up of the following streams: Āb-i Gilāl (Āb-i Zard), Āb-i A'lā (coming from Mungasht), Rūd-i Pūtang and Āb-i Darra-yi Kūl. A canal is led from the right bank of the *Djibur* to supply the town of Rām-Hormuz. Farther down, the *Djibur* joins the Āb-i Mārūn which comes from the southeast in the region of Behbehān and of the old town of Arrādjān [q. v.]. Their combined waters are known as the *Djarrāhī*. The other little river (Gūpāl) runs north of Rām-Hormuz and is lost in marshes. Rām-Hormuz (500 feet above sea-level) is situated above the plain to the northeast of which rise the hills of Tūl-Gorgūn 1,600 feet high.

The town is rarely mentioned by historians. The Pahlavi list of Iranian towns, § 46 (ed. Marquart, p. 19, 98) attributes the building of Rām-Hormuz to Ormizd b. Shāhpuhr (272-273) (cf. also Ṭabarī, i. 833). According to Hamza, ed. Gottwald, p. 46-47, the town was built by Ardashīr I and its name was *Rām-i Hurmizd Ardashīr*, which Marquart explains as "the delight of Ahura Mazda is Ardashīr". According to a tradition recorded by Iṣṭakhri, p. 93, Mānī was

executed in Rām-Hormuz, but Ṭabarī, i. 834, says that Mānī was exposed on the "gate of Mānī" at Djundē-Sābūr (cf. also al-Birūnī, *Chronology*, p. 208). The Nestorian bishops of Rām-Hormuz are mentioned in the years 577 and 587 (Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, p. 27, 145). Muḥaddasī, p. 414, says that 'Aḍud al-Dawla built a magnificent market near Rām-Hormuz and that the town had a library founded by Ibn Sawwār (according to Schwarz, the son of Sawwār b. 'Abd Allāh, governor of Basra, who died in 157 = 773), and was a centre of Mu'tazilite teaching. According to Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 42, Rām-Hormuz was one of the 11 *kūras* of Khūzistān (Kūdāma, p. 242, and Muḥaddasī, p. 407: one of the 7 *kūras*). Its towns (Muḥaddasī) were Sanbil, Īdhadj [q. v.], Tyrm (?), Bāzank, Lādh, Gh.rwa (?), Bābadj, and Kūzūk, all situated in the highlands. To these Yāḳūt, i. 185, adds Arbuk (with a bridge, 2 farsakhs from Ahwāz). On the other places in the *kūra* of Rām-Hormuz (Āsak, Būstān, Sasān, Ṭashān, Ūr) see Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 341-345. According to Muḥaddasī, p. 407, Rām-Hormuz had palm-groves but no sugar-cane plantations (in the 19th century however, Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 111, says that Rām-Hormuz used to produce more sugar than cotton); among the products of Rām-Hormuz Iṣṭakhri (p. 93) mentions silks (*thiyāb abrīsam*) and Dimishkī, p. 119 (transl. p. 153) the very volatile white naphtha which comes out of the rocks. At the present day the Anglo Persian-Oil Company possesses deposits above Rām-Hormuz.

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(V. MINORSKY)

AL-RĀMĪ, whose full name was ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD SHARAF AL-DĪN, a Persian stylist. No details of his life are known; even the few chronological references that we possess are rather vague. His importance lies in his well known work *Anīs al-'Ushshāk*, a treatise on the most common poetical figures for describing the different parts of the human body. According to his own statement, the author made up his mind to compile this work while he was in Marāgha on a visit to the observatory of the famous Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī. The book is dedicated to Sulṭān Abu 'l-Faḥ Uways Bahādur (1356-1373), Īlkhanī of Ādharbāidjān, and according to Hādjdjī Khalīfa (ed. Flügel, i. 488) was finished in Shawwāl 826 (Sept. 1423). This is in obvious contradiction to chronology for at this date Ādharbāidjān had belonged to the Timūrid Shāhrukh since 823 (1420). The author further mentions in this work the poet Awḥadī (d. 738 = 1337) as his contemporary and a certain

Hasan b. Maḥmūd Kāshī (d. 710 = 1300) as his teacher. It may therefore be assumed that Ḥājjdī Khalifa's statement is based on a misunderstanding and that the work was written not later than 1373. The work is divided into 19 chapters which begin with the hair of the head and end with the feet and deal with the human body from head to foot. Besides this book, which is of great value for the study of classical Persian poetry and was used by the great Turkish commentator Muṣṭafā b. Sha'bān Surūrī (d. 909 = 1561) in his *Baḥr al-Ma'ārif*, Sharaf al-Din Rāmī also prepared a commentary on the well-known work on poetics of Rashīd al-Din Waṭwāt, *Ḥaddā'ik al-Sihr* (new edition of the Persian text by 'Abbās Iḳbāl, Teheran 1930) entitled *Ḥaḳḳā'ik al-Ḥaddā'ik* or *Ṣanā'ī' al-Badā'ī'* (Ḥājjdī Khalifa, iii. 77), a work called *Ḥulyat al-Maddā'ih* of which nothing else is known (Ḥājjdī Khalifa, iii. 112) and a *Diwān*, which consisted of ḳaṣīdas, ḳiṭā's and quatrains, but as early as Dawlatshāh's time it could only be found in the 'Irāq, Ādharbāidjān and Fārs. Nothing of all these works has come down to us except the *Anīs al-Ushshāk*. There is said to be a ḳaṣīda of Rāmī's in the *Djavāwīhir al-Asrār* (compiled in 840 = 1436-1437) of Shaikh Ādhari (d. 866 = 1461-1462) (Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, ed. E. Browne, p. 308).

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RĀMĪ MEḤMED PASHA, an Ottoman grand vizier and poet, was born in 1065 or 1066 (1654) in Eiyūb, a suburb of Stambul, the son of a certain Ḥasan Agha. He entered the chancellery of the Re'īs Efendi as a probationer (*shaḡird*) and through the poet Yūsuf Nābī [q. v.] received an appointment as *maṣraf k̄itābī*, i. e. secretary for the expenditure of the palace. In 1095 (1684) through the influence of his patron, the newly appointed Kapudān Pasha [q. v.] Muṣṭafā Pasha, he became *dīwān-efendi*, i. e. chancellor of the Admiralty. He took part in his chief's journeys and campaigns (against Chios) and on his return to Stambul became *re'īs kesedārī*, i. e. pursebearer to the Re'īs Efendi. In 1102 (1690) he was promoted Beylikdī, i. e. Vice-Chancellor and four years later Re'īs Efendi in place of Abū Bakr, in which office he was succeeded in 1108 (1697) by Küçük Meḥmed Čelebi. After the battle of Zenta (Sept. 12, 1697), he became Re'īs Efendi for a second time and was one of the plenipotentiaries at the peace of Carlowitz by the conclusion of which "he put an end to the ravages of the Ten Years War but also for ever to the conquering power of the Ottomans" (J. v. Hammer). As a reward for his services at the peace negotiations he was appointed a vizier of the dome with 3 horse-tails (*tugh*) in 1114 (1703) and in Ramaḍān 6, 1114 (Jan. 24, 1703) appointed to the highest office in the kingdom in succession to the grand

vizier Daltaban Muṣṭafā Pasha. In this office he devoted particular attention to the thorough reform of the civil administration, through the abuses in which he saw the security of the state threatened (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vii. 64). "By lessening the burden of fortresses on the frontiers in east and west, by raising militia against the rebel Arabs, by securing the pay of the army from the revenues of certain estates, by making aqueducts, by restoring ruined mosques, by taking measures for the safety of the pilgrim caravans and for the security of Asia Minor, by settling Turkmen tribes, by ordering the Jewish cloth manufacturers in Selānik and the Greek silk manufacturers in Brūsa in future to make in their factories all the stuffs hitherto imported into Turkey from Europe" (J. v. Hammer), he exercised a most beneficent activity, which however soon aroused envy and hatred, and, especially as Rāmī Meḥmed Pasha as a man of the pen entirely and not of the sword, was unpopular with the army, particularly the Janissaries, finally was bound to lead to his fall (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vii. 72). In the great rising in Stambul which lasted four weeks, beginning with the enthronement of Sulṭān Muṣṭafā and ending with his deposition (9th Rabī' II, 1115 = Aug. 22, 1703), his career came to an end. He was disgraced, but pardoned in the same year and appointed governor, first of Cyprus, then of Egypt (Oct. 1704). His governorship there terminated as unhappily as his grand viziership (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vii. 133 following Rāshid and La Motraye). In Djumādā I 1118 (Sept. 1706) he was dismissed and sent to the island of Rhodes, where he died in Dhu 'l-Hidjja 1119 (March 1707) either under torture or a result of it (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vii. 134 quoting the internuntius Talman). Rāmī Meḥmed Pasha is regarded as a brilliant stylist, as the two collections of his official documents (*inshā'*) containing no less than 1,400 pieces, distinguished by their simple clear and elevated style, amply show (cf. the MSS. in Vienna, Nat. Bibl. Nrs. 296 and 297 in G. Flügel, *Die arab., pers. u. türk. Hss.*, i. 271 sq.). Rāmī Meḥmed Pasha also left a complete *Diwān* of which specimens are available in the printed *Tedhkire* of Salīm (cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 272 sq.: Stambul 1315). His poetical gifts were inherited by his son 'Abd Allāh Re'fet (cf. Brūsali Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *'Othmānī Mi'ellifleri*, ii. 187). His son-in-law was the *tedhkiredjī* Salīm [q. v.].

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(FRANZ BABINGER)

AL-RAMLA, capital of Filastīn, 25 miles E. N. E. of Jerusalem. The Umayyad caliphs liked to choose little country towns, usually places in Palestine, to live in rather than Damascus. Mu'āwīya and after him Marwān and others frequently resided in al-Sīnnabra on the south bank of the Lake of al-Ṭabarīya, Yazīd I in Hawwārīn, Adhri'āt, 'Abd al-Malik in al-Djābiya, Walīd in Usais (now Tell Sais S. E. of Damascus) and al-Ḳaryatāin and his

sons in al-Ḳaṣṭal, Yazīd II also in al-Muwaḳḳar near Fudain or in Bait Ra's (Lammens, *La Bâdia et la Hira sous les Omayyades*, in *M.F.O.B.*, iv., 1910, p. 91—112; A. Musil, *The country residences of the Omayyads*, in *Palmyrena*, New York 1928, p. 277—297).

In the reign of al-Walīd his brother Sulaimān was governor of Filasṭīn. Stimulated by the examples of 'Abd al-Malik, the builder of the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra in Jerusalem, and of his brother who had restored the mosque of Damascus (Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 818), he founded the new town of al-Ramla and removed to it the seat of the provincial government which had been in Ludd since the "plague of 'Amwās" [q. v.] in 18 (638—639). As caliph also he continued to live in al-Ramla (96—99 = 715—717).

The whole population of Ludd was transferred to the new capital of the Djund of Filasṭīn and the latter fortified, while Ludd was allowed to fall into ruins. Sulaimān first of all built his palace (*ḡaṣr*) then the "house of the dyers" (*dār al-ṣabbāghīn*) which was provided with a huge cistern; at a later date it was confiscated with all the property of the Umayyads and came into the possession of the heir of the 'Abbāsids, Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh. Sulaimān also began to build the mosque and continued it when caliph. It was finished under 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz although not on the scale originally intended. The financial management of the building of the palace and of the chief mosque was in the hands of a Christian of Ludd, al-Baṭriḳ b. al-Naka (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 143 sq.; var.: Baṭriḳ b. Baka in Ibn al-Faḳīh, *B. G. A.*, v. 102, and Ibn Baṭriḳ in Yāḳūt, ii. 818). According to Yāḳūt (ii. 817) the latter asked the people of Ludd to give him a house near the church, and when they refused he decided to pull down the church; according to al-Makdisī (*B. G. A.*, iii. 164 sq.), the caliph Hishām threatened the people of Ludd that he would destroy their church if they did not hand over the marble columns, which they had intended for a splendid building and concealed. Sulaimān also began to bring a canal called Barada to the new town and to dig wells of fresh water, as it was 12 miles distant from the nearest river, the Abū Fuṭrus (Ya'ḳūbi, *B. G. A.*, vii. 328). The considerable cost of keeping up the canal was later taken over by the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs and at first voted annually but from the time of al-Mu'taṣim included as current expenditure in the budget.

The advantages and disadvantages of the new town are vividly described by al-Makdisī. Rich in fruits, especially figs and palms, good water and all foodstuffs, it combined the advantages of town and country, those of a position in the plain with the proximity of hills and sea, of places of pilgrimage like Jerusalem and coast fortresses. It had a splendid chief mosque, fine *khāns*, comfortable baths, commodious dwellings and broad streets. On the other hand in winter, it was like a muddy island, in summer a sandbin and as it was not on a river the ground was hard and without grass, and the lack of ample running water was the chief defect of this otherwise so favoured town; for the little drinking water in the cisterns was not accessible to the poorer part of the population. The town covered an area of a whole square mile. Its buildings were of fine building stone and brick. The town's wares were exported chiefly to Egypt.

The chief gates of al-Ramla were: Darb Bi'r al-'Askar (called after the al-'Askar quarter; cf. Yāḳūt, iii. 674; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid*, ii. 258), Darb Masjdīd 'Annaba (as it was called, as de Goeje conjectured, from the town elsewhere however called 'Annaba 4 miles E. of al-Ramla), Darb Bait al-Makdis, Darb Bil'a (i. e. Bāl'a or Bālgha? or Ḳaryat al-Inab, the ancient Ḳiryat Ba'ala now Abū Ḡhawsh?), Darb Ludd, Darb Yāfā, Darb Miṣr and Darb Dādjun, the latter called after a neighbouring town with a mosque, mainly inhabited by Samaritans (Bēth Dagon, now Bait Dedjan).

In the centre of the market-place of al-Ramla was the chief mosque Djāmi' al-Abyaḍ, the *miḥrāb* of which was regarded as the largest of all that were known, the pulpit of which was second only to that in Jerusalem and whose splendid minaret was much admired.

Whether there had been an older town on the site of al-Ramla is problematic. The old attempts to identify it with Arimathia, Ramatha or Ramathaim have now been generally abandoned. An ancient Παρεμβολή, "Camp", should rather be considered, a place-name particularly frequent in Palestine, which was borne for example by the camp of Jerusalem (*Hebr.*, xiii. 11, 13; *Act. Apost.*, xxi. 34—xxiii. 32) and bishoprics in Palestine I. (now Bi'r al-Zarā'a, cf. Féderlin in Génier, *Vie de S. Euthyme le Grand*, p. 104—111) and in Phoinike Libanesia (R. Aigrin, art. *Arabie*, in *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. ecclési.*, iii. 1194—1196); for the Egyptian al-Ramla 4 miles N.E. of Alexandria corresponds to an ancient Nicopolis and later Parembolē. But the Arabic writers say there was no town previously on this site but only a sandy area after which the town was named (al-Balādhuri, p. 143 etc.).

The population of al-Ramla was in the time of al-Ya'ḳūbi (*B. G. A.*, viii. 327 sq.) a mixture of Arabs and Persians (on the settlement of Persians in Syria cf. al-Kindi, *Governors of Egypt*, ed. Guest, p. 19); the clients were Samaritans.

The great cistern 'Unaiziya ('Anēziye) to the N. W. of al-Ramla near the road to Yāfā, known as the cistern of St. Helena, has a Ḳufic inscription of Dhu 'l-Hijidja 172 (May 789), i. e. of the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (van Berchem, *Inscr. arabes de Syrie*, Cairo 1897, p. 4—7; M. de Vogüé, *La citerne de Ramla*, in *Comptes-rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-lettres*, xxxix., 1911, p. 362 sq., 493 sq.).

By the Frankish pilgrims the town is first mentioned in 870 as 'Ramula'. The Crusaders made it a bishopric. In the xiith century was built the beautiful church of the Crusaders, now the mosque (*Djāmi' al-Kabīr* in the east of the town) with its noble Gothic portal, to which was later added very unskillfully an inscription of Sulṭān Katbughā. It also has an inscription, according to which its square tower (now replaced by a round minaret) was built or restored in 714 (1314—1315) by Sulṭān Muḥammad.

The old "white mosque" was restored by Saladin in 587 (1191) and given by Baibars in 666 (1267—1268) two domes, above the minaret and the *miḥrāb*, and the gateway opposite it (Muḍjir al-Dīn, Būlāk, p. 418: transl. Sauvaire, p. 207; the inscription in van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 57—64). The minaret, the so-called "tower of al-Ramla" or "Tower of the 40 martyrs", was, according to Muḍjir al-Dīn and an inscription over its gateway, rebuilt in

Shābān 718 (Oct. 1318) (*Zwei arabische Inschriften*, in *Jerusalem War*, lxix., 1913, p. 100 sq.); the mosque as well as the minaret have both been wrongly taken for the work of the Crusaders (cf. against this van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 63 sq.).

Nāṣir-i Khusrāw who visited al-Ramla in Ramaḍān 438 (1047), calls it a large town with high and strong walls of stone and gates of copper; the inhabitants had a receptacle for the collection of rain-water at the door of each house. There was also a large cistern for general use in the middle of the Friday mosque.

An earthquake of Muḥarram 15, 425 (Dec. 10, 1033) destroyed a third of the town and its mosque fell into ruins (cf. also Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ix. 298).

Most of the public and private buildings were built of marble and adorned with fine sculptures and ornaments. Figs were the chief export of al-Ramla. The name of the province of Filastīn was also given to the capital al-Ramla (Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Arch. Orient.*, vi. 101).

Saladin in 583 (1187) destroyed the town so that it might never again fall into the hands of the Franks and it remained in ruins (Yāqūt, i. 818; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid*, i. 483). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited it in 756 (1355); he mentions the D̲j̲āmī' al-Abyaḍ in which, he was told, 300 prophets were buried. A Latin monastery was founded in 1420 in al-Ramla by Duke Philip the Good, and restored at a later date by Louis XIV.

In 1798 the town was Napoleon's headquarters. The modern al-Ramla has about 6,500 inhabitants; it has a healthy climate and fertile country round it.

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(E. HONIGMANN)

RAMPUR, an Indian state in Rohilkhand and under the political supervision of the government of the United Provinces. It is bounded on the north by the district of Nainī Tāl; on the east by Bareilly; on the south by the Bisauli tahsil of Budāūn; and on the west by the district of Morādābād.

The early history of Rāmpur is that of the growth of Rohilla power in Rohilkhand. After the establishment of Muslim rule in India large

bodies of Afghāns or Pāthāns settled down in the country. So powerful did they become that they were twice able to establish their rule in northern India, under the Lodis [q. v.] in the second half of the xvth century, and under the Sūrs [q. v.] in the time of Shīr Shāh. After the death of Awrangzib and with the decline of the Mughal empire Afghān settlements increased until in the words of the *Siyar al-Mutākhk̲k̲harīn* "they seemed to shoot up out of the ground like so many blades of grass". The name Rohilla was applied to those Afghāns who settled in what is now known as Rohilkhand.

The real founders of Rohilla power were an Afghān adventurer, named Dā'ūd Khān, who arrived in India immediately after the death of Awrangzib, and his adopted son, 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, who succeeded him as leader of a band of mercenary troops. It was during the lifetime of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān that his possessions came to be called Rohilkhand or the land of the Rohillas. In course of time 'Alī Muḥammad Khān became so powerful that he refused any longer to pay his revenues to the central government, in which course he was encouraged by the anarchy consequent upon the invasion of Nādir Shāh [q. v.]. The growth of his power so alarmed Ṣafdar D̲j̲ang of Oudh [see OUDH] that he persuaded the emperor to send an expedition against him, as a result of which 'Alī Muḥammad Khān surrendered to the imperial forces and was taken prisoner to Dihli. After a time he was pardoned and appointed governor of Sirhind. In 1748, according to the *Gulistān-i Raḥmat*, he was transferred to Rohilkhand, but it seems more probable that he took advantage of the invasion of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [q. v.] to recover his former possessions. Two factors had contributed to the growth of Rohilla power: the weakness of the central government and the fact that they were able to take advantage of the internal struggles between the various Rājput chiefs and zamīndārs of Rohilkhand.

'Alī Muḥammad Khān left six sons, but the absence of the two eldest in Afghānistān, combined with the extreme youth of the other four, meant that all real power remained in the hands of a group of Rohilla sardārs, the most important of whom were Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, and Dūndī Khān. This naturally produced intrigues and disputes and eventually weakened the Rohilla power.

In 1771 the Marāṭhās turned their attention to the conquest of Rohilkhand, whereupon the Rohillas applied for aid to Shudjā' al-Dawla, the nawāb-wazīr of Oudh. It was agreed that Shudjā' al-Dawla should receive forty lakhs of rupees for his services (Aitchison, i. 6—7), but the Rohillas later refused to abide by their pecuniary engagements. In accordance with his promise at the Conference of Benares in 1773, Warren Hastings agreed to assist the nawāb-wazīr in expelling the Rohillas from Rohilkhand, for which he was to receive forty lakhs of rupees. On April 23, 1774, the Rohillas were defeated and their leader, Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, slain. At the end of this war Faizullah Khān, a son of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, concluded a treaty with Shudjā' al-Dawla at Lal-dang (India Office MSS., Bengal Secret Consultations, October 31, 1774; see also extracts from the Persian interpreter's journal, February 14, 1775).

By this treaty Faizullah Khān received a *diḡgir* consisting of Rāmpur and other districts with a

revenue estimated at approximately fifteen lakhs of rupees. To prevent him from becoming a menace to Oudh he was not allowed to retain in his service more than 5,000 troops. After the death of Shudjā' al-Dawla, in 1775, Faizullah Khān was informed that his engagements with the late nawāb-wazīr still continued in force with his son, Āṣaf al-Dawla (Bengal Secret Consultations, April 17, 1775. Draft correspondence with the Country Powers, No. 34).

In 1780 the English Company needed additional troops and Hastings urged Āṣaf al-Dawla to demand from Faizullah Khān the 5,000 horses he had engaged to supply by treaty. This demand for cavalry was an unwarrantable interpretation of the Treaty of Laldang for which no justification has ever been attempted. In 1781 Hastings empowered Āṣaf al-Dawla to resume Faizullah Khān's *djāgir* but fortunately this order was never carried out, and it was eventually decided to solve the problem by means of a fresh agreement whereby the obligation to provide troops for the nawāb-wazīr's service was commuted under the Company's guarantee to a cash payment of fifteen lakhs of rupees. In 1801, on the cession of Rohilkhand to the British, Faizullah Khān's descendants were continued in their possessions. For his services in the Mutiny of 1857 Muḥammad Yūsuf 'Alī Khān, the ruler of Rāmpur, received a grant of land and was assured by *sanad* that, on the failure of natural heirs, any succession in his state, which might be legitimate according to Muḥammadan law, would be upheld by the Government of India.

Modern Rāmpur has an area of 893 square miles and supports a population of 465,225, of whom 217,297 are Muḥammadans (1931 Census Report). It is divided for administrative purposes into six *taḥsils*: the Ḥuḡūr, Shāhābād, Milak, Bilāspur, Suār and Tanda (*Administration Report*, 1932—1933). Its rulers are patrons of Oriental learning. The celebrated Madrasa 'Alīya, an Arabic college, which is maintained from state funds, attracts students from all parts of India and even from Central Asia. Rāmpur city, which has a population of 74,080, possesses a fine library containing an exceptionally valuable collection of manuscripts. Almost every Pathān clan is represented in modern Rāmpur, the most numerous being the Yūsafzais and Orakzais. There are also large numbers of Khattaks, Bunerwals, Muḥammadzais, and Afridis.

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(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

RANGĪN. Several Indian poets have used this *takhalluṣ*. The *Riyāḍ al-wifaḳ* of Dhū 'l-Fikār 'Alī, biographies of Indian poets who wrote in Persian, and the *Tadhkirā* of Yūsuf 'Alī Khān (analysed by Sprenger, *A Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustani Mss. of the King of Oudh*, i. 168 and 280) mention five of them. The first, a native of Kashmīr, lived in Dihli in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1719—1748); his ghazels were sung by the dancing-girls. — The most celebrated, however, was Sa'ādāt Yār Khān of Dihli. His father, Ṭahmāsp Beg Khān Tūrānī, came to India with Nādir Shāh and settled in Dihli where he attained the rank of *haft-hazārī* and the title of Muḥkim al-Dawla. In his turn, Sa'ādāt Yār Khān entered the service of Mirzā Sulaimān Shikuh, son of the emperor Shāh 'Ālam, who lived in Lucknow. He was a good horseman and able soldier; for a time he commanded a part of the artillery of the Nizām of Haidarābād but he gave up this post to go into business. He was in his youth a friend of the poet Inshā in Lucknow; a pupil of the poet Muḥammad Ḥatīm of Dihli (cf. Ram Babu Saksena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, p. 48; Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 235), he afterwards submitted all his verses to the criticism of Nithār (cf. Sprenger, p. 273), then of Muṣḥafi (Saksena, p. 90); he died in 1251 (1835) aged eighty (or a year later; cf. Garcin de Tassy). — The following are his works in Urdu: *Mathnawī Dilpazīr*, a poem of romantic adventures (1213 = 1798); *Idjād-i Rangin*, a *mathnawī* of fables and anecdotes (Lucknow 1847 and 1870); another *mathnawī* of anecdotes: *Maḡhar al-Adjā'ib* or *Gharā'ib al-Mash'ūr* (lith. Agra and Lucknow); four *diwāns* collectively known as *Nawā Ratan* ("the Nine Jewels"), the two first lyrical, the third humorous and partly in *rekhti* (language peculiar to women), the fourth in this same language with a preface by Rangin explaining the principal words (on the development of *rekhti* and Rangin's skill in this licentious genre, cf. the article URDU vol. iv., p. 1026b, l. 1—11, and Saksena, *op. cit.*, p. 94); in prose a treatise on horsemanship (*Faras-nāme*, 1210 = 1775, several times edited) and a collection of critical observations on a number of poets, entitled *Madjālis-i Rangin*. In Persian (if the work is really his; cf. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 54, No. 462), Rangin under the title *Mihr u-Māh*, sang of the adventure of a son of a sayyid and of a daughter of a jeweller, based on an incident that occurred in Dihli in the reign of Djahāngir (cf. *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii. 254).

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RANGOON, a city in the Pegu division of Burma lying on both sides of the Hlaing river at its point of junction with the Pegu river and the Pazundaung creek, twenty-one miles from the sea.

Legend, not entirely undocumented, relates that the great pagoda at Rangoon (Mon, *Kyaik Lagung*; Burmese, *Shwe Dagon*) was founded during the life-time of the Buddha and was repaired by the emperor Aśoka (J. B. R. S., xxiv. 4 and 20).

History proper begins with the establishment of Pegu as the capital of a Mon kingdom in 1369.

A convenient port was required for this kingdom. Bassein, which had been the chief port of Burma in the early middle ages, was too distant and too difficult to control. Martaban on the Gulf of Sittang was nearer but had no good river connection with Pegu. It was natural, therefore, that the Rangoon or Hlaing river, of which the Pegu river is a tributary, should come into prominence as a line of approach for over-seas trade. Syriam, to the southeast of Dagon at the mouth of the Pegu river, and Dalla, now part of Rangoon on the opposite bank of the Hlaing, were the chief ports. But the Shwe Dagon pagoda standing on the last spur of the Pegu Yomas was a landmark to shipping coming up the river and was chosen by a succession of kings for the exercise of their piety.

An inscription on the Dagon pagoda hill, engraved by order of King Dhammazedi in 1845 A.D., records additions to the pagoda by his royal predecessors for a century back, as well as by himself (*J. B. R. S.*, xxiv. 8). Similar works of merit by subsequent kings are recorded in the histories (by this period fairly reliable) culminating in the rebuilding of the pagoda by King Bay in Naung after it had been damaged by an earthquake in 1568 A.D. There are also frequent references by early travellers, such as Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, Caesar Frederick, and Gasparo Balbi to Dagon and its celebrated pagoda.

It was the customs revenue of the Rangoon river that financed the Portuguese adventurer de Brito, who rose to power in Syriam between 1600 and 1612. Later in the xviiith century the Dutch, French and English from time to time maintained trading stations at Syriam.

The capital was transferred from Pegu to Ava in 1635 and royal authority gradually declined, but even the weakest kings contrived to keep control of the Irrawaddy and the now important customs station of Syriam. With the seizure of Syriam by the Pegu rebels in 1740 the kingdom of Ava, deprived of its revenues, necessarily came to an end.

The recovery of Syriam was one of the first objects of Alaungpaya, the founder of the dynasty which ended with King Thibaw. His siege operations were for some time unsuccessful and he had to be content with the capture of Dagon in 1755. It is recorded that as he had been successful over all his enemies (*yan akon*) he changed the name of the town to Yangon (Rangoon). Syriam fell in 1756 and was destroyed. A governor was appointed at Rangoon, which now replaced Syriam as the principal sea-port of Burma.

The policy of the early kings of the Alaungpaya dynasty was to encourage foreign trade. A British factory was established at Rangoon and maintained till 1782. Pārsī, Armenian and Muslim traders settled here and flourished. But with the weakening of the central government the exactions of the local officials increased and constituted a serious discouragement to commerce. Symes describes Rangoon as a flourishing port in 1795 and estimates its population at 30,000 (p. 214).

Rangoon was first captured by the British in 1824 during the first Burmese war but was evacuated in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Yandabo at the end of the war. According to the *Kon-baung set Maha-yazawingyi* (vol. iii., p. 15), a Burmese history of the Alaungpaya dynasty, King Tharawaddy visited Rangoon in

1841 (1203 B.E.) and founded a new town south and west of the Shwe Dagon pagoda, to which the population of the old town on the banks of the river was ordered to remove. The order was not at once obeyed, but, by the outbreak of the second Burmese war in 1852, the transfer of the population was pretty complete and the British government was unimpeded in the measures, which it lost no time in undertaking, for the reclamation and lay-out of the riverine area. In the space of three years Rangoon rose from a squalid collection of huts into a thriving and populous town. [For improvements to Rangoon and development of Pegu, see Fytche's *Burma Past and Present*, ii., appendix G]. To-day it is the capital of Burma and has a population of 400,415, of whom 70,791 are Muhammadans (1931 Census Report).

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(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

RAPAK (Jav.; Ar. *raf*⁶) is a technical term used among the Javanese, in this one case only, for the charge made by the wife, at the court for matters of religion, that the husband has not fulfilled the obligations which he took upon himself at the *ta'lik* of *ṭalāk* [see ṬALĀḲ]. These obligations are of a varied and changing nature. Among the conditions the following always occurs: "If the man has been absent a certain time on land or (longer) over seas" i.e. without having transmitted *nafaka* [q. v.] to his wife. A clause that is never omitted is the following: "If the wife is not content with this". She is therefore at liberty to be quite satisfied with the husband's non-fulfilment of his vows, without taking steps for a divorce. The work of the court is only to ascertain the fulfilment of the condition and the arising of *ṭalāk*. As always, the *ṭalāk* is still entered in a register. — It is evident that this procedure guarantees the integrity of the law otherwise endangered.

Bibliography: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*, Batavia 1893, i. 382; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Moh. wet*, Leyden 1925, p. 210. (R. A. KERN)

RAS AL-‘AIN (‘AIN WARD), a town in al-Djazira on the Khābūr. In ancient times it was already known as Resain-Theodosiopolis (*Notitia dignitatum*, or. xxxvi. 20) or *Pégnva* (Steph. Byz.), Syriac *Rēsh* ‘Ainā. On account of its position at the sources of the Khābūr it has been identified with the road-station *Fons Scabura* of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (*fons Chabura* in Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, xxxi. 37; xxxii. 16) (E. Herzfeld, *Reise im Euphrat-*

u. *Tigris-Gebiet*, i. 191; A. Poidebard, *La Trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie*, p. 151 sq.). According to Ioannes Malalas (Bonn, p. 345 sq.) in whom the form *Ῥοφαεῖνᾱ* is probably due to a confusion with the Syrian Raphaneaia, the town in 383 (according to the *Edessenische Chronik*, ed. Hallier, in *Texte und Untersuch. z. Gesch. d. altchristl. Literatur*, ix/i, p. 102, 149, N^o xxxv., as early as 692 Sel. = 380—381) received from Theodosius I city rights and the name Theodosiopolis, a name borne also by the Armenian town of Karin (Erzerüm) probably from the time of Theodosius II. As its new name was generally used without any distinguishing epithet, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish which of the two towns is intended. For example the siege of Theodosiopolis by Bahrām V Gūr in 421 (Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.*, v. 37, 7) which Weissbach (Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, v., A, p. 1925, s.v. *Theodosiopolis*, N^o 2) refers to the Armenian town, is told by Michael Syrus (transl. Chabot, ii. 13 = Barhebr., *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 70) of Rēsh ʿAinā; the Syriac chroniclers (Mich. Syr., ii. 372; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, p. 92) further record that Khusrāw II gave back to the Byzantines Dārā and Rēsh ʿAinā, while the other sources mention only Dārā and Martyropolis in addition to Armenia. The Persian general Ādharmahan twice (578 and 580) destroyed the town (Mich. Syr., ii. 322 sq.). In the reign of Phocas the Persians took Rēsh ʿAinā from the Byzantines (*The Chronological Canon of James of Edessa*, transl. Brooks in *Z. D. M. G.*, liiii., 1899, p. 323, N^o 284).

In the year 19 (640) ʿIyād b. Ghannm after the subjection of Osrhoēne marched against the province of Mesopotamia and by ʿOmar's orders sent ʿUmayr b. Saʿd against the town of ʿAin Warda or Rās al-ʿAin, which was besieged and stormed by him (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 175—177). When a portion of the people of the town abandoned it, the Muslims confiscated their property. Among the rebels who rose against the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik about 700 was ʿUmayr b. Ḥubāb of Rās al-ʿAin (Abu l-Faraj, *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, Būlāk, xx. 127; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, iv. 254 sq.; Mich. Syr., ii. 469; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 111). In the reign of Maʾmūn, Ḥubaib took the town in 1125 Sel. (814 A.D.) (Mich. Syr., iii. 27; Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, p. 137). The Jacobite patriarch Yōhannān III died on Dec. 3, 873 in Rēsh ʿAinā (Mich. Syr., iii. 116; Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccles.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i., Lyons 1872, col. 387). After their campaign against Dārā and Nišibin (942 A.D.) the Byzantines in 943 took Rās al-ʿAin, plundered it and carried off many prisoners (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 312). A man from Rās al-ʿAin, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain Aṣfar Taghlib, called al-Aṣfar, disguised as a dervish, in 395 (1005) with a body of Arabs made a raid into Byzantine territory as far as Shaizar and Mahrūya near Antākīya but was driven back by the Patricios Bīghās. The governor Nicephoros Uranos in the following year undertook a punitive expedition to the region of Sarūdj, defeated the Bani Numair and Kilāb and had al-Aṣfar thrown into prison by Luʿluʾ, lord of Ḥalab in 397 (1007) (Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Antākī, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xxiii., 1932, p. 466 sq.; Georg. Kedren-Skylitz., Bonn, ii., 454, 8; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 229). About the year 523 (1129) the Franks were lords of the whole of Syria and Diyār Muḍar and threatened Āmid, Nišibin

and Rās al-ʿAin. The latter was taken by Joscelin and a large part of the Arab population killed and the remainder taken prisoners (Mich. Syr., iii. 228; Barhebr., *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 289). But the Franks cannot have held the town for very long.

Saif al-Dīn of Mawṣil and ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd of Ḥalab in 570 (1174—1175) attacked Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and besieged Rās al-ʿAin but were soon afterwards defeated by him at Ḳurūn Ḥamā. In 581 (1185—1186) Saladin crossed the Euphrates and marched via al-Ruhā, Rās al-ʿAin and Dārā to Balad on the Tigris. His son al-Aḡdāl in 597 (1200—1201) received from al-ʿĀdil the towns of Sumaisāt, Sarūdj, Rās al-ʿAin and Djumlin; when he then marched on Damascus, Nūr al-Dīn of Mawṣil and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad of Sindjār again took the Džazira from him but fell ill in Rās al-ʿAin in the heat of summer and concluded peace again. In 599 (1202—1203) al-ʿĀdil took from al-Aḡdāl the towns of Sarūdj, Rās al-ʿAin and Djumlin (other fortresses also are mentioned). When the Kurđj (Georgians) who had advanced as far as Khilāt in 606 (1209—1210) learned that al-ʿĀdil had reached Rās al-ʿAin on his way against them, they withdrew (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, in *R. O. L.*, v. 46). Malik al-Ashraf, who had defeated Ibn al-Mashṭūb in 616 (1219—1220) forgave him for rebelling and gave him Rās al-ʿAin as a fief (Kamāl al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 61; according to Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, p. 439, however, Ibn al-Mashṭūb died in prison in Ḥarrān).

Saladin's nephew al-Ashraf in 617 (1220—1221) was fighting against the lord of Mārdin. The lord of Āmid made peace between them, when Rās al-ʿAin was ceded to al-Ashraf, Muwazzar and the district of Shabakhtān (around Dunaisir) to the lord of Āmid. In exchange for Damascus, al-Ashraf, in 626 (1229) gave his brother al-Kāmil the towns of al-Ruhā, Ḥarrān, al-Raḡḡa, Sarūdj, Rās al-ʿAin, Muwazzar and Djumlin (Kamāl al-Dīn, in *R. O. L.*, v. 77; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, p. 458) who occupied them in 634 (1236—1237) (Kamāl al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 92). After the defeat of the Khwārizmians at Djabal Djalahmān near al-Ruhā, the army of Ḥalab in 638 (1240—1241) took Ḥarrān, al-Ruhā, Rās al-ʿAin, Djumlin, al-Muwazzar, al-Raḡḡa and the district belonging to it (Kamāl al-Dīn, in *R. O. L.*, vi. 12). But in 639 (1241—1242) the Khwārizmians, who had made an alliance with al-Malik al-Muẓaffar of Maiyāfāriḳin, returned to Rās al-ʿAin, where the inhabitants and the garrison, including a number of Frankish archers and cross-bowmen, offered resistance. An arrangement was made by which they were admitted to the town by the inhabitants, whose lives were promised them, and captured the garrison. When al-Malik al-Manṣūr had returned to Ḥarrān and al-Muẓaffar had retired to Maiyāfāriḳin with the Khwārizmians, they sent their prisoners back (Kamāl al-Dīn, in *R. O. L.*, vi. 14). In the same year also the Tatars came to Rās al-ʿAin (*ibid.*, p. 15). When the Khwārizmians and Turkmens raided al-Džazira, the army of Ḥalab under the emir Djamāl al-Dawla in Djumādā II 640 (1242—1243) went out against them and the two armies encamped opposite one another near Rās al-ʿAin. The Khwārizmians combined with the lord of Mārdin and finally a peace was made by which Rās al-ʿAin was given to the Ortoḳid ruler of Mārdin (Kamāl al-Dīn, in *R. O. L.*, vi. 19).

In a Muḥammadan cemetery in the North of Rās al-‘Ain, M. von Oppenheim found an inscription of the year 717 (1317–1318). The Syrian chroniclers mention Rēsh ‘Ainā as a Jacobite bishopric (11 bishops between 793 and 1199 are given in Mich. Syr., iii. 502) in which a synod was held in 684 (Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, i. 287). Towards the end of the xivth century the town was sacked by Tīmūr.

Rās al-‘Ain is built at a spot where a number of copious, in part sulphurous, springs burst forth, which form the real “main source” of the Khābūr (al-Dimishkī, ed. Mehren, p. 191). The Wādī al-Djirdjib, which has not much water in it and starts further north in the region of Wirānshehir, and which may be regarded as the upper course of the Khābūr, only after receiving the waters from the springs of Rās al-‘Ain becomes a regular river, known from that point as the Khābūr. According to M. von Oppenheim (cf. his map in *Petermanns Mitteil.*, 1911, ii., pl. 18), the springs at Rās al-‘Ain are ‘Ain al-Ḥuṣān, ‘Ain al-Kebrit and ‘Ain al-Zarkā; according to Taylor (*J.R.A.S.*, xxxviii. 349, note) ‘Ain al-Baiḍā and ‘Ain al-Ḥasan are the most important; he also gives the names of 10 springs in the N. E. and 5 in the S. of the new town. The Arab geographers talk of 360, i.e. a very large number of springs, the abundance of water from which makes the vicinity of the town a blooming garden. One of these springs, ‘Ain al-Zāhiriya, was said to be bottomless. According to Ibn Ḥawkal, Rās al-‘Ain was a fortified town with many gardens and mills; at the principal spring there was according to al-Makdisī a lake as clear as crystal. Ibn Rusta (*B.G.A.*, vii. 106) mentions Rās al-‘Ain, Karḳisiyā, and al-Rakka as districts of al-Djazīra. Ibn Djbair in 580 (1184–1185) saw two Friday mosques, schools and baths in Rās al-‘Ain on the bank of the Khābūr. According to Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī (xivth century) the walls had a circumference of 5,000 paces; among the rich products of Rās al-‘Ain, he mentions cotton, corn and grapes. The historical romance *Futūḥ Diyār Rabi’a wa-Diyār Bakr* (xvth century?) wrongly ascribed to al-Wākidi, which contains much valuable geographical information, mentions at Rās al-‘Ain a plain of Muthakḳab and a Mardj al-Tīr (var. al-Dair); it also mentions a Nestorian church in the town and several gates (in the translation by B. G. Niebuhr and A. D. Mordtmann, *Schriften der Akad. von Hamburg*, i., part iii., Hamburg 1847, p. 76, 87: the “gate of Istacherum” in the east and the “Mukthaius or gate of Chabur” not precisely located. I have not been able to see the Arabic text of Ps.-Wākidi, ed. Ewald, Göttingen 1827).

At Rās al-‘Ain were the Jacobite monasteries of Bēth Tirai and Spequlos (*speculae*; Ps.-Zacharias Rhet., viii. 4, transl. Ahrens-Krüger, p. 157, 2; so also for Asphulos in Mich. Syr., iii. 50, 65, cf. ii. 513, note 6; Saphylos in Mich. Syr., iii. 121, 449, 462; Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i. 281 sq.; Sophoclis, *ibid.*, p. 397 sq. probably so to be read throughout!).

A little to the southwest of Rās al-‘Ain on the right bank of the Khābūr is the great mound of ruins, Tell Ḥalāf, where M. von Oppenheim excavated the ancient palace of Kapara (cf. *Bibl.*).

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ed. v. Mzik, in *Bibl. arab. Hist. u. Geogr.*, iii., Leipzig 1926, p. 21 (N^o. 296); Suhrāb, *Adḡāib al-Aḳālīm*, ed. v. Mzik, *ibid.*, v., 1930, p. 29 (N^o. 256); on Resaina in antiquity: Weissbach, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, s. v. *Resaina*, vol. i., A, col. 618 sq.; s. v. *Theodosiopolis*, N^o. 1, vol. v., A, col. 1922 sq.; Assemani, *Dissert. de monophysit.*, in *B. O.*, ii., p. 9; Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien u. a. umliegenden Ländern*, ii., Copenhagen 1778, p. 390; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi. 375 sq.; Taylor, in *J. R. G. S.*, xxxviii., 1868, p. 346–353; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 87, 95 sq., 125; V. Chapot, *La frontière de l’Euphrate de Pompée à la conquête arabe*, Paris 1907, p. 302 sq.; M. v. Oppenheim, in *Z. G. Erdk. Berl.*, xxxvi., 1901, p. 88; do., *Der Tell Halaf und die verschleierte Göttin*, in *Der Alte Orient*, year X, fasc. I, Leipzig 1908, p. 10 sq.; do., *Der Tell Halaf, eine neue Kultur im ältesten Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1931, p. 69 sq. (cf. also index, p. 274 under Rās al-‘Ain); A. Poidebard, *La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie*, Paris 1934, p. 130, 151 sq., 158, 164.

(E. HONIGMANN)

AL-RĀSHID BI ‘LLĀH ABŪ DJĀ‘FAR AL-MANŠŪR B. AL-MUSTARSHID, ‘Abbāsīd caliph. On the 2th Rabī‘ II, 513 (July 13, 1119) the caliph al-Mustarshid [q. v.] had homage paid to his twelve-year-old son Abū DJā‘far al-Manšūr as heir-apparent and in Dhū ‘l-Ḳa‘da 529 (Aug.—Sept. 1135) the latter was acclaimed caliph under the name al-Rāshid bi ‘llāh. When the Saldjūḳ Sultān Mas‘ūd b. Muḥammad [q. v.] soon afterwards demanded 400,000 dinārs from him, al-Rāshid refused, because, as he said, he had no money. Mas‘ūd’s envoy then attempted to search the caliph’s palace and seize the money by force; but the resisted the Sultān’s troops were scattered and his palace plundered. Several emirs also withdrew their homage from the sultān. His nephew, Dāwūd b. Maḥmūd, advanced from Ādharbāidjān against Baghdād and reached it in the beginning of Šafar 530 (Nov. 1135). In the meanwhile the number of the caliph’s supporters increased. He was joined among others by the Atābeg of al-Mawṣil ‘Imād al-Din Zengi [q. v.] and Dāwūd was proclaimed sultān in Baghdād. On hearing this Mas‘ūd prepared for war, advanced on Baghdād and laid siege to it; he did not succeed in taking it, so after some fifty days he withdrew to Nahrawān [q. v.] and then went to Hamadhān [q. v.]. Ṭorontai, governor of Wāsiṭ, then appeared and placed a sufficient number of boats at his disposal so that he was able to cross the Tigris and occupy the western bank. The result was that the allies separated. Dāwūd returned to Ādharbāidjān and Zengi with the caliph to al-Mawṣil, while Mas‘ūd in the middle of Dhū ‘l-Ḳa‘da 530 (Aug. 1136) entered the ancient city of the caliphs, where he forbade looting and other excesses and restored order. He then summoned an assembly of judges and legists who declared the fugitive caliph unworthy of the throne. The latter was accused among other things of having broken his oath to the Sultān; he was said to have solemnly promised Mas‘ūd never to take up arms against him nor to leave the capital; he was also accused of other crimes. In his stead, his uncle Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Muḳtafi b. al-Mustazhir [q. v.] was appointed commander of the faithful.

Al-Rāshid however did not stay long in al-Mawsil but went to Ādharbāidjān where he joined Dāwūd. Several emirs, dissatisfied with Mas'ūd, also made common cause with Dāwūd with the object of restoring al-Rāshid to the throne; the latter however took no part in the military operations [see also the article MAS'ŪD]. On Ramaḍān 25 or 26, 532 (June 6 or 7, 1138) the former caliph, who had not quite recovered from an illness, was murdered by Assassins near Iṣfahān.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

RĀSHID, MEHMED, an Ottoman imperial historiographer, belonged to Stambul, where he was born as the son of the Kādi Mullā Muṣṭafā, a native of Malaṭiya. He completed his studies in his native city where he was appointed official historiographer (*waḳfī nuwwis*, q. v.) in 1126 (1714). He held this office till his appointment as kādi at Aleppo in 1134 (1720). Later on he went as ambassador to Persia with the rank of Kādi of Mecca, became in Sha'bān 1142 (Feb. 1730) Kādi of Stambul, was dismissed a few months later and on 1st Djumādā 1147 (Oct. 1734) appointed kādi 'aṣker of Anatolia. He died on 18th Šafar 1148 (July 10, 1735) in Stambul (cf. Şubḥi; *Ta'riḫh*, fol. 13, 22, 66 remarkably brief) and was buried opposite the mosque of Afḍalzāde in the Kara Gümrük Street. On his tombstone see Brüsali Mehmed Tāhir, *Oḥmānī Müellifleri*, iii. 55 note.

Mehmed Rāshid in continuation of Na'imā [q. v.] wrote a history of the Ottoman empire from 1071 (1660) to 1134 (1721) usually called briefly *Ta'riḫh-i Rāshid* (cf. Hādjdji Khalifa, N^o. 14,526) which is the authoritative source for this period. His successor in the office of imperial historiographer was Ismā'il 'Āsim, known as Küçük Çelebi-zāde (cf. Rāshid, *Ta'riḫh*, iii., fol. 114).

In addition to numerous MSS. (cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 269 to which we have to add Upsala, N^o. 667—668 [Rāshid's autograph?]) and Stambul Lālā Ismā'il, N^o. 378) Rāshid's history has been twice printed (folio, Stambul 1153, 4 vols.; octavo, 6 vols., Stambul 1282; cf. thereon *J.A.*, 1868, i. 477). Portions have been translated by M. Norberg, *Turkiska rikets annaler*, Hernösand 1822, iii. 635—1079, and J. J. S. Sekowski, *Collectanea z Dziejopisów Tureckich*, ii., Warsaw 1825, p. 1—208.

Bibliography: cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 269 sq. (FRANZ BABINGER)

AL-RASHĪD. [See 'ABD AL-WĀḤID, HĀRŪN.]

AL-RASHĪD (MAWLĀI) B. AL-ŠARĪF B. 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ, 'Alid Sultān of Morocco and the real founder of the dynasty which still rules the Sharifan empire. He was born in 1040 (1630—1631) in Tāfilālt [q. v.] in the south of Morocco, where his ancestors, the Hasani Šurafā' (Šorfa' [q. v.]) of Sidjilmāsa [q. v.], had founded a flourishing *zāwiya* [q. v.] and gradually acquired a fairly considerable political influence, which increased with the decline of the Sa'dian [q. v.] dynasty.

Morocco being at this time plunged into anarchy, the Šorfa' of Tāfilālt were able rapidly to become masters of the great tracts of steppe-like country to the north of the cordon of oases which formed their appanage. The eldest son of the chief of the *zāwiya*, Mawlāi Maḥammad, having successfully fought the marabout of the *zāwiya* of Iḡh in al-Tāzarwālt (S. W. of Morocco), 'Alī Abū Ḥassūn, who had political ambitions of his own, assumed a royal title in 1050 (1646). He did not however yet succeed in crushing the power of the marabouts of the *zāwiya* of al-Dilā' in central Morocco; he had to be content, after a very brief occupation of Tāzā and Fāz in 1650, with effective sovereignty over eastern Morocco only.

On the death of Mawlāi al-Šarīf in 1069 (1659) his son, Mawlāi al-Rashīd, not trusting his brother, Mawlāi Maḥammad, left the ancestral *zāwiya* for the rival *zāwiya* of al-Dilā', where in spite of a superficially warm welcome, he was soon given the hint to go; he proceeded to Āzrū, then to Fās, which, regarded as an undesirable by the lord of the city, the adventurer al-Duraidī, he was not allowed to enter. He next went to eastern Morocco, and very soon succeeded in gaining a large number of followers, particularly, in the important tribe of the Banū Īznāssen (Beni Snassen), the *Shaikh* al-Lawāti, a religious dignitary, then of great influence. At the same time he attacked a very rich Jew, who played the regular lord and lived in the mountains of the Banū Īznāssen, at the little town called Dār Ibn Maṣṣāl: al-Rashīd slew him and seized his wealth. This coup vividly impressed the imagination of the people of the district and was to give rise, as P. de Cenival has brilliantly shown, to a legend, the memory of which still survives in the annual festival which follows the election of the "sultān of the *ḡulbā'*" at Fās. Mawlāi al-Rashīd by this murder not only acquired considerable material resources, but also a real ascendancy over the people of the neighbourhood. In 1075 (1664) the large tribe of the Angād rallied to his authority, and he set up in Uḡḍa [q. v.] as a regular ruler. On the news of the proclamation of al-Rashīd, his brother Mawlāi Maḥammad, much disturbed, hurried from Tāfilālt to eastern Morocco; his troops were met by those of al-Rashīd, and Mawlāi Maḥammad having been killed early in the battle, his men then went over to the surviving prince. Thenceforth Mawlāi al-Rashīd went on from success to success.

He very soon seized Tāzā without difficulty, and directly threatened Fās, but he first of all took care to secure his power solidly at Tāfilālt, the cradle of his line, and added to his lands the mountains of the Rif [q. v.] on the shores of the Mediterranean, which were then ruled by an enterprising individual named Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh A'arrās. This *shaikh* had made an agreement, first with the English and then with the French, for the establishment of factories on the Rif bay of Alhucemas (transcribed in the documents of the period as Albouzème). Mawlāi al-Rashīd deprived him of the Rif in March 1666, just when the Marseillais Roland Fréjus, having obtained from the King of France the privilege of trading in the Rif, was landing on the Moroccan coast. Fréjus then went to see Mawlāi al-Rashīd at Tāzā, but the negotiations into which he endeavoured to enter with the *shaikh* soon collapsed.

Al-Rashīd without delay turned his attention to

the capital of northern Morocco, Fās, which still withstood his authority. He laid siege to it and took it by storm on the 3rd Dhū 'l-Hijjā 1076 (June 6, 1666); the adventurer in command there, al-Duraīdī, took to flight. Al-Rashīd took vigorous steps to punish certain of the notables of the town, and the people proclaimed him sultān. He was at the same time able to rally to his side the important group of Idrisid *Shorfa'* in the capital.

The years that followed were used by Mawlāi al-Rashīd to extend his possessions towards west and south. He first made an expedition against the *Gharb*, out of which he drove the chief al-Khaḍīr Ghailān, and seized al-Kaṣr al-Kabīr (Alcazarquivir [q. v.]); he also took Meknes [q. v.] and T'etuan [q. v.] as well as Tāzā, the inhabitants of which had rebelled. In 1079 (1668) he took and destroyed the *sāwiya* of al-Dilā' after having routed its chief Muḥammad al-Hādīj at Baṭn al-Rummān. The same year, Mawlāi al-Rashīd seized Marrākesh and put to death there the local chief 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shabbānī, surnamed Karrūm al-Hādīj. In 1081 (1670) he undertook an expedition into Sūs [q. v.] where agitators still disputed his authority. He took Tārūdāt [q. v.] and the fortress of Iḥigh and returned to Fās, now lord of all Morocco. At this time, says the chronicler al-Ifrānī, "all the Maghrib, from Tlemcen to the Wādī Nūl on the borders of the Ṣaḥarā, was under the authority of Mawlāi al-Rashīd".

The next year the sultān went from Fās to Marrākesh where one of his nephews was endeavouring to set up as a pretender to the throne. During his sojourn in the southern capital, Mawlāi al-Rashīd, not yet 42, died as the result of an accident on the 11th Dhū 'l-Hijjā 1082 (April 9, 1672): the horse he was riding having reared, he fractured his skull against a branch of an orange-tree. He was buried at Marrākesh, but later his body was brought to Fās where he was interred in the chapel of the saint 'Alī Ibn Hrizhim (vulg. Sīdī Ḥrazem). His brother, Mawlāi Ismā'īl [q. v.] who succeeded him, was proclaimed sultān on the 15th Dhū 'l-Hijjā following.

The brief political career of Mawlāi al-Rashīd was, we have seen, particularly active and fruitful. The Muslim historians of Morocco never tire of praising this ruler whose memory is still particularly bright, especially in Fās. It was he who built in the town the "Madrasa of the Rope-makers" (*Madrasat al-Sharrāṭīn*), the bridge of al-Raṣīf, the *kaṣaba* of the *Sharāda* (Casba of the Cherarda) and 2½ miles east of Fās, a bridge of nine arches over the Wādī Sabū (Sebou).

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et de Mouley Ismaël, Paris 1683; H. de Castries, *Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, Paris, in course of publ., 2nd series, *passim*; P. de Cenival, *La légende du juif Ibn Meçkal et la fête du sultan des tolba à Fès*, in *Hespéris*, vol. v., 1925, p. 137–218; A. Cour, *L'établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc et leur rivalité avec les Turcs de la Régence d'Alger (1509–1830)*, Paris 1904; Ch. A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1931, p. 487–490 (reproduction of a portrait [authentic?] of Mawlāi al-Rashīd, fig. 225, p. 481). — Cf. also the articles *SHORFA'*, *SIDJILMĀSA* and *TĀFĪLĀLT*.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

RĀSHID AL-DĪN SINĀN (or, as the Ismā'īlis themselves usually call him, Sinān Rāshid al-Dīn), the famous leader of the Syrian Ismā'īlis in the second half of the xiith century, is better known to the world as *Shaiḫ al-Djabal*, or the "Old Man of the Mountain". His full name was Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sinān b. Sulaimān b. Muḥammad. He was born near Baṣra, educated in Persia, and, in 558 (1163), was appointed by Imām Ḥasan of Alamūt as the head of the Syrian Ismā'īli (Nizāri) community. This post he occupied till his death at an advanced age in Ramaḍān 589 (Sept. 1193), at Maṣyāf. He played a prominent part in the Syrian and Egyptian politics of his time, successfully defending his people from the continuous pressure of the orthodox Muḥammadan rulers, especially the famous Saladin [q. v.], on the one hand, and against the Crusaders on the other. The fact that this small community still continues to exist (in the villages near Ḥamā), in spite of the persistently hostile attitude of its neighbours, must to a great extent be attributed to the solid foundations laid by him. References to him are to be found in the works of all historians who deal with the events of his period, but the most detailed account is given in the paper by Stanislas Guyard, *Un grand maître des Assassins, au temps de Saladin* (*J. A.*, 1877, p. 324–489). It gives the original Arabic text of the *Faṣl*, a genuine Ismā'īli work probably by a contemporary of Sinān, containing the *manāḳib* about him, i.e. various anecdotes based on the oral tradition of the sect. This text is accompanied by a French translation and an introduction containing a detailed review of the historical information about Sinān, and the Ismā'īli sect in general, which, in the main, still preserves some value. The *Faṣl* appears to be now unknown to the Syrian Ismā'īlis; they do not appear to have any reliable and genuine histories of their own community. The recently published *al-Falak al-dawwār fī Samā' al-'Immat al-aṭṭhar*, by an Ismā'īli author, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Murtaḍā from Khawābī (Aleppo 1352 = 1933), shows no trace of such local tradition, and the account of Sinān given in it is entirely based on well-known general histories, such as those by Ibn al-Aṭṭār, Abu 'l-Fidā', etc.

The stories connected with Sinān chiefly centre around his organisation of *fidā'is*, which he used as an instrument for removing his political opponents by assassination. Undoubtedly there is some grain of truth in these stories; but it is obvious that excited bazaar rumours greatly exaggerated them, wrongly attributing to him and his organisation many exploits for which they were not responsible. Many historians state that

he was regarded as the supreme and superhuman head of the sect. Unfortunately, he is never referred to in any available genuine works of the Persian Ismā'īlis, and it is difficult to ascertain what was his real position in the sectarian hierarchy. Most probably he occupied the highest rank after the Imām, i.e. that of the *ḥudūdīyat*, which, according to the reformed Nizārī doctrine, implied a considerable "dose" of the superhuman. In any case, there is no reason to think that he either claimed to be, or was regarded as an Imām, although, just as in the case of other eminent Ismā'īlis, such as Nāṣir-i Khusrāw and Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabbāḥ, popular tradition furnished him with noble descent from 'Alī himself.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(W. IVANOW)

RASHĪD AL-DĪN ṬABĪB, one of the greatest historians of Persia. Fadl Allāh Rashīd al-Dīn b. 'Imād al-Dawla Abu 'l-Khair was born in Hamadhān about 1247. He began his career in the reign of the Mongol ruler Abāghā Khān (1265—1282) as a practising physician. But as in addition to a remarkable knowledge of medicine he was an exceedingly talented and farseeing statesman, he rose under Ghāzān Khān (1295—1304) from his earlier position to the rank of a *ṣadr* (and also court historian) which was given him after the execution of Ṣadr-i Dīhān Ṣadr al-Dīn Zandjānī (May 4, 1298). In 1303 he accompanied his sovereign in this capacity on a campaign against Syria. Under Ūldjaitū (1304—1316) Rashīd attained the zenith of his career. He used his fabulous income for a number of charitable buildings. For example in order to beautify the new capital of the Mongols in Persia, Sulṭāniya, he built a whole new suburb, called after him Rub'-i Rashīdiya, which consisted of a mosque, a madrasa, a hospital and several thousand houses. At the same time he was working steadily on his history of the world, the first volume of which he presented to his sovereign on April 14, 1306. At this period there was no limit to his influence. He even succeeded in converting Ūldjaitū to the teaching of the Shāfi'is. Two eminent Baghdad scholars, Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī and Djamāl al-Dīn, who were accused of negotiating with Egypt and were expecting death, were rescued by him. In 1309 he resumed his building activity and erected a new suburb near Ghāzāniya, east of Tabriz, the water for which he provided by a great canal from the Sarāwrūd. But his high position now procured this great man a number of enemies. In 1315 he experienced considerable unpleasantness through the shortage of money which prevented the soldiers being paid. After Ūldjaitū's death his enemies exerted every effort to destroy Rashīd al-Dīn. In October 1317 he was dismissed from his high offices and the death of his patron Amīr Sawīdj (Jan. 1318) deprived him of his last support, until finally he was executed with his young son Khwādja Ibrāhīm on a false charge of having poisoned his former master Ūldjaitū (July 18, 1318). His corpse was exposed to every contumely, his pride, the Rub'-i Rashīdī, destroyed and plundered. His elder son Ghiyāth al-Dīn, however, succeeded in retaining a high office even after his father's death, but in 1336 he also was sentenced to death. Even after death Rashīd's body was not allowed to rest in its grave, for eighty years later Timūr's son, the mad Mirān-

shāh (1404—1407), had his bones dug up and buried in the Jewish cemetery (1399).

As already mentioned, Rashīd owes his fame to his immortal history, *Dīamī al-Tawārikh*, a history of the Mongols which he began by command of Ghāzān-Khān (wherefore it is sometimes also known as the *Tā'rikh-i Ghāzānī*). Ūldjaitū ordered the work to be continued and to be completed by a general history of the world of Islām and a geographical appendix. The work, according to the original plan, was to consist of two main parts: I. History of the Mongols and II. General History and Appendix. But when the work was finished in 1310—1311 it took the following form:

Vol. i. 1. History of the Turkish and Mongol tribes, their divisions, genealogy and legends.

2. Čingiz-Khān, his predecessors and successors down to Ghāzān.

Vol. ii. Preface, Adam, the Muslim and Hebrew Prophets.

1. The old Persian Kings.

2. Muḥammad and the caliphs to 1258. History of the ruling dynasties of Persia. The eastern and western Ismā'īlis. The Oghuz and the Turks, Chinese, Jews, the Franks, their emperors and Popes, India, Buddha and his religion.

Rashīd had intended to add the history of Ūldjaitū's reign also, the beginning of which (1306—1307) was to open the second volume and the end to close it. Whether he did so is not yet known, as that portion as well as the geographical appendix is lacking in all extant manuscripts. The most remarkable feature of this great work is the conscientiousness with which Rashīd went to work and endeavoured to find the best and most reliable sources. Although the Mongol chronicles, the celebrated *Altan dāptār*, could hardly be accessible to him as a Persian, he obtained the necessary facts from them through his friend Pūlād-čink-sānk and partly from Ghāzān himself, who had a remarkable knowledge of his people's history. The information about India was furnished him by an Indian *bhikṣu*, about China by two Chinese scholars. The many-sidedness of Rashīd al-Dīn's learning is simply astounding in a mediæval scholar of the time. He knows of the struggles between Pope and Emperor, even knows that Scotland pays tribute to England and that there are no snakes in Ireland.

Rashīd al-Dīn was well aware of the importance of his work and endeavoured in all possible ways to ensure its survival. He ordered copies to be made for his friends and for different scholars; the works, written in Persian, were translated into Arabic and vice-versa. Every year he sent copies to the libraries of the great cities and allowed anyone to copy them freely. Yet all these measures proved in vain, for no single complete copy has come down to us.

Besides his great history, he also wrote: 1. *Kisāb al-Ahyā wa 'l-Āthār* in 24 chapters, which discussed questions of meteorology, agriculture, bee-keeping, suppression of snakes and other pests etc., and also notes on architecture, fortification, ship-building, mining and metallurgy. No copy has yet been found. 2. *Tawqīḥāt*, a mystic theological tractate in 19 chapters. 3. *Miftāḥ al-Tafāsīr*, on the eloquence of the Kur'ān, its commentaries etc. 4. *al-Risālat al-sulṭāniya* (finished on March 14, 1307), the result of a theological disputation in the presence of Ūldjaitū. 5. *Laṭā'if al-Ḥakā'ik*,

14 letters of a mystical and theological nature. The last four works are written in Arabic and form what is known as the *Madjmū'a-yi Rashīdiyya*. A fine copy of this collection made in 1310-1311 (probably at the request of the author himself) is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (de Slane, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, Paris 1883—1895, No. 2324, p. 407). 6. *Bayān al-Hakā'ik*, 17 letters of a theological nature, occasionally touching on medical questions. In the late Prof. E. G. Browne's private library was a valuable collection of 53 letters by Rashīd al-Dīn to various notables. They were collected by his secretary Muḥammad Abarkūhi.

In spite of the immensely high value of Rashīd al-Dīn's history we have so far no complete edition of the surviving portions, either in text or translations. The task is however not an easy one as the MSS. of the work, although fairly numerous, are not at all reliable and require much very difficult critical work. Even the oldest MSS. (Brit. Mus. Add. 16, 688, Rieu, No. 78—79) is rather defective. In W. Barthold's opinion the best manuscript known to him was that in the Leningrad Public Library (v. 3—1) copied in 1407—1408. A very valuable old manuscript (xivth or xvth century) is in the Central Asian Library in Tashkent (see E. K. Betger, *Fahresbericht der Mitt. As. Staatsbibliothek für das Jahr 1925* [in Russian] and W. Barthold, *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften der U. S. S. R.*, 1926, p. 217 sqq. [in Russian]).

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RĀSİM, AHMAD, a Turkish writer born in 1283 (1866—1867) in Şarī Güzel. He early lost his father Babā' al-Dīn and was brought up by his mother. In 1292 (1875) he entered the famous school Dār al-Shefāka in Stambul, which he left in 1300 (1883) with the leaving certificate.

Already in his last years at school he showed a fondness for art and literature and therefore decided to become a writer, and to this profession, or, as he himself calls it: the Sublime Porte Road (*Bāb-i 'ālī Dī'adesi*), he has remained faithful, untroubled by all the political changes that have taken place. Like many other writers he began as a journalist, and almost all the more important Turkish papers received contributions from his pen, such as the *Djiride-i Hawādith*, *Terdjūmān-i Hakikat*, *Ikdām*, *Şabāh*, *Ṭarīk*, *S'ādet*, *Ma'lūmāt*, *Taswīr-i Aşkār* and *Hakk*, and periodicals like *Therwet-i Funūn* and *Resimli Gazete*. He afterwards collected his numerous articles and essays, for example in the two volumes "Articles and entertaining Sketches" (*Maḳālāt wa-Musāḥabāt*, 1325) and in the four volumes "Life of a man of Letters" ("Ömr-i Edebi, 1315—1318). The latter is not an account of his life but reflects his spiritual development and his feelings and emotions reflected in publications of different years.

Ahmad Rāsim's output became in time very extensive; in all there are said to be over 100 works of larger or smaller size from his pen. Nevertheless he was not a polygraph in the bad sense of the word, but before he dealt with a subject he always first studied it thoroughly and then wrote on it seriously, sometimes also in the lightly humorous fashion of which he is a master, or again in a pleasing conversational way, but always with artistic feeling and in a particular style which is his own. He always well knew the taste of his readers and he had great success with them. His style was a new one and independent of existing schools and coteries; he created a school himself and his influence must long and strongly be felt in Turkish literature.

His literary work covers the fields of the novel, long short story and tale, e.g. his early novels, "Heart's Inclination" (*Mail-i Dil*, 1890) and "Life's Experiences" (*Tadjarib-i Hayāt*, 1891; short analysis of both in Horn, *Geschichte der türkischen Moderne*, p. 46 sq.), also his patriotic novel "The Difficulties of Life" (*Mashākki-i Hayāt*, 1308), the stories "Inexperienced Love" (*Tedjribesiz Ishk*, 1311), "My School-friend" (*Mekteb Arkadaşım*, 1311), a little later "The Unfortunate Man" (*Nākām*, 1315) and another patriotic novel "A Soldier's Son" (*Asker Oğlu*, 1315) and somewhat more lyrical "The Book of Grief" (*Kitābe-i Ḡhamm*, 1315) and "Nightingale" (*Andalib*, in verse).

At the same time he had from the first a preference for history. He does not, of course, in any way claim to further the study of history by independent research but rather sees it his duty to arouse an interest in history among his countrymen by presenting it in popular form, and from this point of view his historical writings may be regarded as carefully prepared compilations. In his early period he wrote a history of ancient Rome (*Eski Roma'llar*, 1304), a short history of civilisation (*Ta'rikk-i mukhtaşar-i Beşer*, 1304), on the progress of knowledge and culture (*Terekkiyāt-i 'ilmiye we-medeniye*, 1304), later essays on similar subjects entitled "History and Author" (*Ta'rikk we-Muḥarrir*, 1329=1911), a history of Turkey from Selim III to Murād V, entitled *Istibdadān hākimiyyet-i milliyeye* in two volumes, 1341—1342, and a meritorious general survey of the history of Turkey, *Öthmānlı Ta'rikk* in 4 volumes, 1326—1330. A valuable supplement to these historical works is

formed by the four volumes of "City Letters" (*Şehir Mektûbları*, 1328–1329), in all 218 epistles, which we have an unsurpassed description of old Stambul life in all its variety, written moreover in a very stimulating and vivid, sometimes bantering, fashion which makes it one of his best works. In "İslâm's Pages of Honour" (*Manâhîb-i İslâm*, 1325), the Muslim festivals, mosques and other religious matters are dealt with.

It seems to be only recently that our author has turned to the history of literature, e.g. in his book on *Shinâsî* [q. v.], which is intended to be an introduction to the history of the Turkish Moderns (*Maḥbûṭât Ta'rihîne Madḥhal. İlk büyük Muḥarrirlerden Shinâsî*, 1927), while his personal recollections of Turkish writers are collected in another book (*Maḥbûṭât Khâṭîrlerinden. Muḥarrir, Şâ'ir, Adīb*, 1924), also recollections of his own school-days and the old system of education in general, in his "Bastinado" (*Falaka*, 1927).

Aḥmad Râsım was also prolific as a writer of schoolbooks on grammar, rhetoric, history etc. He also wrote a letter-writer (*Ṭavvîlî Khazîne-i Mekâtîb yahod mükemmel Münşe'ât*, 5th impression, 1318). In all his works are to be found translations, and a large collection from his early period is called "Selection from Western Literature" (*Adabîyât-ı gharbîyeden bir Nabḍha*, 1887).

For this great literary activity Aḥmad Râsım required considerable freedom, such as did not exist under 'Abd al-Ḥamîd and such as he could hardly have had at all as a state official. He was however twice a member of a commission of the Ministry of Education, Conseil de l'Instruction Publique (*Endjûmen-i Teftîş we-Mu'âyana*), but only for a very short time. He showed his interest in religious matters in 1924, when after the abolition of the caliphate he wrote an article in *Wakîf* on March 4, 1924 on the relics (*amânât*, *mukhallaṭât*) of the Prophet, cloak (*khırka*), banner (*livâ'*), praying-carpet (*sadjâda*) etc., which also appeared in Cairo and Damascus in Arabic. He proposed to make these relics accessible to the public in a Museum (cf. Nallino, in *O. M.*, iv., 1924, p. 220 sq.). In recent years Aḥmad Râsım has so far been politically active as to be a deputy for Stambul along with men like 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥamîd and Khalîl Edhem (cf. *O. M.*, vii., 1927, p. 416 and xi., 1931, p. 227 and Mehmed Zeki, *Encyclopédie biographique de Turquie*, i., 1928, p. 23 and ii., 1929, p. 88).

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RASSIDS, name of a dynasty. Zaidî historians make no distinction between the Zaidî imāms in Dailam [q. v.] and those in the Yaman [q. v.]; this article deals only with the Yaman. For some periods the Zaidî historians are detailed,

for others there are only casual references in writers whose main interest was elsewhere, so details are often uncertain and it is doubtful if some rulers claimed to be imāms. The name is taken from a property near Mecca, al-Rass by name, which belonged to the grandfather of the first imām, al-Ḳāsim al-Rassi, who was a descendant of Ḥasan, the son of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. In 280 (893) Yahyā, named al-Ḥādī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ, entered the Yaman from the Ḥidjāz and advanced nearly to Ṣan'ā' [q. v.] but, failing to conquer the country, had to retreat. Later he was called back and in 284 he occupied Ṣa'da [q. v.] and conquered Naḍjrān [q. v.] though his hold on these districts was not secure and there was constant fighting. He took Ṣan'ā' more than once and his son was a captive there in 290. Then the Ḳarmaṭians [q. v.] appeared in the Yaman, took Ṣan'ā' in 294 and held it for three years, besides taking many other towns. The imām helped to drive them out of Ṣan'ā' but could not hold the town for himself. He died in 298 (910–911). During his lifetime 'Abbāsīd governors and troops were in the Yaman. Yahyā fought seventy battles with the Ḳarmaṭians and was so strong that he could obliterate the stamp on a coin with his fingers. He was a Ḥanafī in law and wanted to set up an Islāmīc state where women wore the veil and soldiers divided booty according to the precepts of the Ḳur'ān. He tried to make the *dhimmīs* [q. v.] of Naḍjrān sell any land they had bought during Islām; he had to be content with imposing a tax of one ninth of the produce.

Homage was at once paid to his son Muḥammad who kept Ṣa'da as his capital and ruled Naḍjrān, Ḥamdān [q. v.], and Khawlān. He abdicated in 301 and was followed by his brother Aḥmad who was always fighting various chiefs and the Ḳarmaṭians. In 322 (934) he was defeated by the Banū Ya'fur [q. v.] and died, Ṣa'da being occupied by the victors for four months. A son Ḥasan claimed to be imām but homage was paid to another son al-Ḳāsim al-Mukhtār. Discord ensued and at last both brothers were deposed; still al-Ḳāsim could capture Ṣan'ā' in 345 (956), though he was murdered before the end of the year. Ḥasan had died earlier. In the troubles that followed Yūsuf al-Dā'ī was lord of Ṣan'ā' until he was driven out by a new-comer from the north. In 388 (998) there was propaganda in the Yaman for al-Ḳāsim al-Manṣūr, then delegates met him in Bīsha [q. v.] and, helped by the tribe or *Khath'am*, he established himself in Ṣa'da and took Ṣan'ā' while prayers were said in his name in Kaḥlān and Mikhlaṭ Dja'far. He died in 393 and his son ruled from Alḥān to Ṣa'da and Ṣan'ā' till he was killed in 404. Some said that he was not dead but was the *mahdī* [q. v.]; another report says that he made this claim for himself. Up to this point one may perhaps speak of a dynasty of imāms; afterwards the name does not apply. The army consisted of about 1,000 horse and 3,000 foot. The next imām came from the Ḥidjāz and had some success; before he died another outsider, Abu 'l-Faṭḥ, came from Dailam in 430 (1038–1039), captured Ṣa'da and other places, and was killed fighting the Sulaiḥid [q. v.] sultān. It is said that Abū Ṭālib Yahyā (d. 520 = 1126), the imām in Dailam, was recognised in north Yaman where he appointed a governor. Aḥmad b. Sulaimān was proclaimed in 532 and ruled

Ša'da, Nadjran and Djawf [q. v.]. In 545 a great assembly met and questioned him for eight days to test his fitness as imām. Followed by the tribes of Madhhidj [q. v.] and Bakil [see ḤĀSHID] he took Šan'a' from the Hamdānid sultān and otherwise defeated him. He held Zabid [q. v.] for a few days and prayers were said in his name in Khaibar [q. v.] and Yanbu' [q. v.]. He also fought with success against the Qarmāṭians. In his old age he became blind and was taken prisoner by Fulaita b. al-Kāsim, to the disgust of all, even of the Qarmāṭians. He was set free and died in 566 (1170—1171). 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza set up as imām in 593 (1196—1197) and homage was paid to him in the following year after an examination (the Ḥamzī sharifs took their name from his father). He held Šan'a' for a short time but had to retire before the Aiyūbid [q. v.] sultān. He established himself in the north and received taxes from Khaibar and Yanbu'. One writer speaks of troops from Baghdād being in the Yaman; this may be an exaggeration of the report that the Muṭarrifiya asked help from the caliph. In 611 (1214) he held Šan'a' and Dhamār [q. v.] and attacked Lahidj [q. v.]. He had to abandon Šan'a' for his soldiers were tired of war. It is said that he ruled Gilān [q. v.] and Dailam by his *dā'īs*. He died in 614. The history of the imāms for the next two hundred years is given in the article RASULIDS.

At the beginning of the rule of the Tāhirids an imām in Šan'a' fought against them; he was at last beaten, was captured as he fled by some townsmen, and handed over to Muṭahhar, another imām. The Tāhirids took Šan'a' and made a son of the imām governor of towns and castles. In 869 (1164—1165) the imām Muḥammad b. al-Nāṣir retook Šan'a' and in the following year al-Malik al-Zāfir the Tāhirid was slain there.

Yahyā Sharaf al-Din began in a small way in 912 (1506—1507). Later he called in Egyptian troops from Kamarān [q. v.] to help him against the Tāhirids. They took Ta'izz [q. v.] and Šan'a', but, as the news of the Turkish conquest of Egypt broke their spirit, they were soon driven out again. In spite of the Tāhirids and recalcitrant sharifs the imām conquered most of the highlands and even took Djazān and Abu 'Arish [q. v.] but failed to take 'Aden [q. v.] and Zabid [q. v.]. Soon the Turks took Djazān, Ta'izz and Šan'a', being helped by quarrels between the imām and his sons. The Qarmāṭians (i. e. Ismā'ilis) were still dangerous enemies; eleven camel-loads of their books were captured and the imām's chief followers studied them so as to warn the common folk of the dangers in them. In 953 (1546—1547) the imām divided his realm among his sons. Though one of them, al-Muṭahhar, had submitted to the Turks he led an insurrection against them in 974 which was at first successful. This provoked the Turks to a systematic conquest. Al-Muṭahhar was defeated and allowed to retire to Ša'da with a Turkish garrison. Then an imām from a different family rose and maintained himself for seven years till he was taken prisoner. In 999 (1590) the conquest was complete. In 1006 however al-Kāsim, the ancestor of the present imām, declared himself. After varying fortunes his son drove out the Turks in 1045 (1635—1636) and since then the government has remained in this family. Sometimes a disputed succession has been settled by argument and some-

times by the sword, an unworthy imām has been deposed, and a son has taken the place of his decrepit father. About 1150 (1737) Abū 'Arish broke away from the Yaman and in 1219 (1804) 'Asir [q. v.] became independent. The history of the imāms from this point is in the article YAMAN. Now the Wahhābī king has confined the imām to the Yaman in a narrow sense of the name, and 'Asir is under the influence of Nadjd. Many of the imāms were industrious writers on things religious.

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RASUL (A., plur. *rusul*), messenger, apostle. The word is found in Arabic literature with the profane sense of envoy, messenger. Here we are only concerned with its religious acceptance. According to the Qur'an, there is a close relation between the apostle and his people (*umma*; q. v.). To each *umma* God sends only one apostle (Sūra x. 48; xvi. 38; cf. xxiii. 46; xl. 5). These statements are parallel to those which mention the witness whom God will take from each *umma* at the Day of Judgment (Sūra iv. 45; xxviii. 75 and cf. the descriptions of the rasul who will cross the bridge to the other world at the head of his *umma*: Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 129; *Rikāḥ*, bāb 52).

Muḥammad is sent to a people to whom Allāh has not yet sent an apostle (Sūra xxviii. 46; xxxii. 2; xxxiv. 43). The other individuals to whom the Qur'an accords the dignity of rasul are Nūḥ, Lūṭ, Ismā'il, Mūsā, Shu'aib, Hud, Šāliḥ and 'Isā.

The list of the prophets [cf. NABI] is a longer one; it contains, besides the majority of the apostles, Biblical or quasi-Biblical characters like Ibrāhīm, Ishāk, Ya'qūb, Hārūn, Dāwūd, Sulaimān, Aiyūb, Dhū 'l-Nūn. Muḥammad in the Qur'an is called sometimes rasul, sometimes *nabi*. It seems that the prophets are those sent by God as preachers and *nadhīr* to their people, but are not the head of an *umma* like the rasul. One is tempted to imagine a distinction between rasul and *nabi* such as is found in Christian literature: the apostle is at the same time a prophet, but the prophet is not necessarily at the same time an apostle. But this is not absolutely certain, the doctrine at the basis of the Qur'anic utterances not being always clear.

As to the close relation which exists between the rasul and his *umma*, it may be compared with the doctrine of the *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, according to which the twelve apostles divided the whole world among them so that each one had the task of preaching the Gospel to a certain people.

As regards the term rasul, account must be taken of the use of the word apostle in Christianity, as well as of the use of the corresponding verb (*shalakh*) in connection with the prophets in the

Old Testament (Exodus, iii. 13 sq.; iv. 13; Isaiah, vi. 8; Jeremiah, i. 7). The term *rasūl Allāh* is used in its Syriac form (*sheliḥeh dalaḥa*) *passim* in the apocryphal Acts of St. Thomas.

Post-Kur'ānic teaching has increased the number of apostles to 313 or 315 without giving the names of all (Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, 1/i. 10; *Fikḥ Akbar III*, art. 22; Reland, *De religione mohammedica*, sec. ed., Utrecht 1717, p. 40).

The doctrine that they were free from mortal sin is part of the faith [see 'ISMA]. For the rest, the difference between *rasūl* and *nabī* — apart from the considerable difference in point of numbers — seems in later literature to disappear in the general teaching about the prophets. Thus, in the *Akida* of Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Nasafī the two categories are treated together and the author makes no difference between *rasūl* and *nabī*. Similarly al-Idjī deals with prophets in general, so far as can be seen, including in them the *rasūls*. If one difference can be pointed out, it is that the *rasūl*, in contrast to the prophet, is a law-giver and provident with a book (commentary on the *Fikḥ Akbar II* by Abū 'l-Muntahā, Ḥaidarābād 1321, p. 4). According to the catechism published by Reland (p. 40—44), the *rasul-lawgivers* were Ādam, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, 'Isā and Muḥammad.

In the catechism of Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Nasafī, the sending of the apostles (*risāla*) is called an act of wisdom on the part of God. Al-Taftāzānī's commentary calls it *wājib*, not in the sense of an obligation resting upon God but as a consequence arising from his wisdom. This semi-rationalist point of view is not however shared by all the scholastics: according to e.g. al-Sanūsī (cf. his *Umm al-Barāhīn*), it is *djā'iz* in itself but belief in it is obligatory.

Bibliography: A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, ii. 251 sqq.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, index, under "gezanten Gods"; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1926, p. 44 sqq.; Pautz, *Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung*, index; A. J. Wensinck, in *A.O.*, ii. 168 sqq.; do., *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, p. 203—204; al-Idjī, *Mawāḳif*, ed. Soerensen, p. 169 sqq. — Cf. also the *Bibliography* to the art. *NABī*.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

RASŪLIDS, name of a dynasty. The family of Rasūl came to the Yaman [q.v.] with Tūrānshāh, the Aiyūbid [q.v.] conqueror. Rasūl was probably a Turkmen though descent from the royal house of Ghassān [q.v.] was claimed for him; he got his name because a caliph employed him as ambassador. 'Alī b. Rasūl and his three sons became important. The last Aiyūbid Mas'ūd put two of the sons in prison in 624 (1227) but the third Nūr al-Dīn 'Umar, who had already been governor of Mecca, was made *atābek* [q.v.] and, on the departure of Mas'ūd, governor of the Yaman. Mas'ūd died on his way to Egypt so 'Umar prepared to make himself independent. Zabīd [q.v.] was his capital and from 627 on he captured many places in the hills, such as Ṣan'ā' [q.v.], Ta'izz [q.v.], and Kawkabān [q.v.]. After two temporary successes he took Mekka in 638 and held it for fifteen years. In 628 he made peace with the Zaidī *sharīfs* and there was little fighting till the imām Aḥmad b. Ḥusain declared himself in Thula [q.v.] in 646 (1248—1249). 'Umar may have declared himself independent in

628 but he was not recognised by the caliph till 632. In 645 his nephew, Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad, quarrelled with his uncle and fled to Ḍhamār [q.v.]. He allied himself with the imām but was soon reconciled to his uncle and fought against the *sharīfs*, the descendants of the imām 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza. 'Umar was murdered in 647 by mamlūks in al-Djanad. His kingdom stretched from Mecca to Ḥaḍramawt though many places in the hills were independent. He was a great builder of schools and mosques and a patron of letters like most of his family. His reign is an epitome of the dynasty; family quarrels, wars with the imām and the *sharīfs*, who were often at variance with the imām.

The murderers won over the rest of the mamlūks, proclaimed a nephew of the dead man, and marched on Zabīd. Palace intrigues had banished al-Muzaffar Yūsuf, the sultān's eldest son, to Maḥdjam. With 150 horse he too marched on Zabīd where his wife inspired resistance to the pretender. He gathered troops as he advanced and the mamlūks surrendered to him the murderers and the pretender. He had to reconquer the country, for his two brothers each hoped to be sultān, Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad was in a strong position at Ṣan'ā', and the imām, Aḥmad b. Ḥusain was active; even the caliph was disturbed at his power. At the end of three years Ṣan'ā', Ta'izz, and the strong fortress of Dumlu'a had been retaken and peace made with the imām, who broke it by joining Asad al-Dīn; though the latter soon returned to his duty. In 658 he joined many of his kin in prison, staying there till his death. Ṣa'da was taken in 652 but could not be held. The imām Aḥmad had been appointed with the approval of the family of his predecessor but dissensions arose so the *sharīfs* with the help of the sultān fought and killed him in 656. One imām was captured in 658, another was taken and blinded in 660, and a third was proclaimed in 670. The *sharīfs* were tribal or territorial chiefs, sometimes the enemies and sometimes the allies of the sultān. In 674 rebel mamlūks in Ṣan'ā' joined the imām and *sharīfs* but the combination was signally defeated. Zafār [q.v.] in Ḥaḍramawt was taken in 678 and an embassy came from China. Yūsuf was a strong and successful ruler, and al-Khazradjī calls him caliph at the end of his reign. He died in 694 (1294—1295).

His son and successor reigned only three years and encouraged the cultivation of palms round Zabīd where others had tried to introduce corn. His brother, the governor of Shīhr [q.v.], took 'Aden [q.v.] and tried to make himself sultān but was defeated and imprisoned. From prison he was called to rule as al-Mu'ayyad Dāwūd in 696. His reign was a succession of small fights both in the hills and the plains, the same places and opponents recurring again and again. In 697 (1247—1248) he took two castles from the Karmatians [q.v.]. In 709 the Kurds in Ḍhamār rebelled, joined the imām and attacked Ṣan'ā' and later some of the Kurds killed some of the Ghuzz. In 712 peace was made with the imām Muḥammad b. Muḥzir for ten years at a price of 3,000 dinārs yearly. Five years later the sultān broke the treaty. Warfare was savage and usually accompanied by the destruction of houses and trees; the heads or the slain were cut off. In 718 the army was reorganised on the Egyptian model. Towards the

end of the reign governors were changed frequently, perhaps a sign of weakness. It was easy for a foreigner to rise to high rank. More than once the same man was chief minister and chief *kādi*. In 721 a son, al-Muǧǧāhid 'Alī, succeeded but he was soon in prison where he stayed four months only till he was set free by his friends and the usurper took his place. In 724 he was a sultān without a kingdom; 'Aden was lost, one cousin al-Zāhir was independent for ten years, other relatives set up for themselves in Bait al-Faḳīh [q.v.], mamlūks attacked Ta'izz and took Zabid; it was not till they had been in rebellion some months that their pay was stopped. Sharifs defeated the mamlūks; troops came from Egypt but did so much damage that all were glad when they soon left. The imām's death in 728 removed a dangerous enemy, and the sultān did establish some sort of order. Sons and other relatives rebelled as did the mamlūks because their pay was in arrears. The sultān crushed the Ma'āziba, a tribe of the plains or foothills, and made a woman chief of what was left. In 736 (1335—1336) the peasants fled from the district of Zabid because of a combination of taxes and a new coinage. An officer touring to collect taxes used his Ghuzz escort to put to death an insubordinate chieftain. The sultān went on pilgrimage in 751 and was carried off to Egypt, being allowed to come back a year later. From this time on the Arabs of the plain gave trouble. Normally the tribes kept each other in check but the sultān had so weakened one side that now the Ma'āziba could raid at will, they even cut communications between Zabid and the north. The government policy was to deprive them of their horses. A tyrannical governor was killed and the murderer was not punished. Mahǧjam was captured by a sharif, a rebel governor defied the sultān for two years, and three sons of the sultān rebelled. Al-Afdal al-'Abbās succeeded in 764. One of his rebel brothers joined the imām, attacked Haraq, and later Shihr. Zabid was taken by the Arabs, other places by sharifs, the imām Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn raided as far as Zabid, there was fighting round Dhamār, and the sultān died in 778. Al-Ashraf Ismā'il was chosen as successor. The mamlūks mutinied, a sharif was lord of Ṣan'ā', and the imām was actively hostile till his death in 793. His son 'Alī was driven out of Ṣan'ā' by a rival and made Dhamār his capital. The imāmate seems to have been hereditary in one family for at least five generations. In 798 the imām 'Alī sent presents to the sultān. It is clear that much of the highlands was lost and there was continual trouble in the plains. Yet the sultān was still powerful; he kept a firm hand over his officers and received letters, presents, and embassies from India and Abyssinia. He died in 803 and is called a good ruler. The next sultān, al-Nāṣir Aḥmad, worthily upheld the state. In the north he made Ḥālī [q.v.] accept him as overlord, in the south he defeated the imām who had attacked his vassals, the Banū Tāhir, and in Wuṣāb he captured forty castles. Rich gifts came to him from Mecca and China. A brother rebelled and was blinded. At his death in 827 the state rapidly went to pieces. A series of short reigns with many rebellions of the mamlūks ushered in the end. The land was ravaged by plague, the imām died of it in 840 leaving his authority to a daughter. In the same year died another imām, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, who was a prolific

writer. Civil war was complicated by attacks by the Arabs, who sacked Zabid in 846. A new imām, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, strengthened his position by marrying a granddaughter of 'Alī of Ṣa'da. The Banū Tāhir joined in the fighting and took Laḥidj and 'Aden, till in 858 (1454) the last Rasūlid abdicated before them and went into exile at Mecca.

Most of the sultāns were builders of mosques and madrasas, some were writers. In the heyday of the dynasty the sultān regularly spent a holiday in the palm groves of Zabid (these were called *subūr*) and at the sea. The land was governed by officials or by vassal chiefs who paid tribute. In all big towns were two officers, one called *wālī* or *amīr* and another called *nāṣir*, *zimām*, or *mushidd*. High officers regularly went on tour to collect the taxes. The army consisted of the cavalry of the gate, mamlūks both Kurds and Ghuzz, and levies. A thousand horse and ten thousand foot made a big army. A man's horses were sometimes slain at his funeral.

Bibliography: al-Khazraǧī, *The Pearl-Strings*, in *G.M.S.*, iii. 1918; H. Nützel, *Münzen der Rasuliden*, Berlin 1891; H. C. Kay, *Yaman. Its early mediæval history etc.*, London 1892; C. T. Johannsen, *Historia Yemenae*, Bonn 1828. (A. S. TRITTON)

RĀTIB (A., plūr. *rawātib*), a word meaning what is fixed and hence applied to certain non-obligatory ṣalāts or certain litanies. The term is not found in the Qur'ān nor as a technical term in Ḥadīth. On the first meaning see the article NĀFILA, p. 826^a. As to the second, it is applied to the *dhikr* which one recites alone, as well as to those which are recited in groups. We owe to M. Snouck Hurgronje a detailed description of the *rawātib* practised in Atchin.

Bibliography: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*, Batavia—Leyden 1893—1894, ii. 220 sqq.; English transl. by O'Sullivan, *The Achehnese*, Leyden 1906, ii. 216 sqq. (A. J. WENSINCK)

RAṬL, unit of weight dating from pre-Islāmic times, varying with countries and periods. Maḳrīzī (p. 3, 5) says that, except for the *mithḳāl*, which had remained uniform, the pre-Islāmic weights were double the Islāmic ones, and that the raṭl contained 12 ūkiya or 144 dirhems. In mediæval Damascus it equalled 600 dirhems and in Aleppo 720 dirhems. In modern Egypt it is uniform = 1/100th *kanṭār* = 12 ūkiya = 144 dirhems = 0.449 kg. = 0.99 lb. avdp. 2.75 raṭls = 1 okḳa = 1.248 kg. = 2 lb. 11 oz.

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(A. S. ATIYA)

RĀWALPINDI, a division, district, *taḥṣīl*, and town in the north-west of the Panǧāb. The division has an area of 21,347 square miles and a population of 3,914,849 of whom 3,362,260 are Muḥammadans. The district, which is divided for administrative purposes into four

*taḥṣīl*s, has an area of 2,050 square miles, with a population of 634,357 (524,965 Muḥammadans). The *taḥṣīl* covers an area of 770 square miles and supports a population of 289,073 (212,256 Muḥammadans). The town and cantonment, situated on the north bank of the river Leh, have a population of 119,284, about half of whom are Muḥammadans (1931 Census Report).

Since Rāwālpindi lies in the path of invaders from the north-west much of its history resembles that of the Panḍjāb [q. v.]. The district formed part of Gandhāra and was included in the Persian Empire of the Achaemenids. About ten miles to the north-west of the town lie the ruins of the ancient city of Takshaḥila (Taxila) which was an important seat of learning in the fourth century B. C. The Muslim invaders experienced much trouble from the turbulent Gakkhar tribes of this area who are still the most important tribe socially in the district. In the days of Akbar [q. v.] the territories included in the modern district of Rāwālpindi formed part of the *sarkar* of Sind Sāgar Dōāb in the *suba* of Lahore (*Āin-i Akbarī*, transl. Jarrett, ii. 324). To-day Rāwālpindi is one of the most important military stations in northern India.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in the article PANḌJĀB: *Imperial Gazetteer*, s. v. Rāwālpindi; J. H. Marshall, *Archaeological Discoveries at Taxila*, 1913; do., *Guide to Taxila*, 1918; *Rāwālpindi District Gazetteer*, 1907; H. A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 1919, s. v. Gakkhars.

(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

RAWĀNDĪZ RUIYNDĪZ (the first word is composed of two elements: *rawān* of uncertain etymology and *diz* meaning fortress; the second means "fortress of iron"), capital of the *ḥaḍā'* of this name in the *wilāyat* of Mawṣil on the caravan route, halfway between this town and that of Sāwdj-Bulāk [q. v.], including the following *maḥall*s (the names and figures given in brackets are those of the corresponding Kurd tribe and the number of the hearths: n. nomad; s. settled): Halwān (Zerārī, s., 500); Ḥarīr (Helānī, n., 800; Māmsāl, n., 2,000; Māmsām, s., 500); Welāsh (Bālek, s., 2,000); Dergel (Dergeli, s., 700); Desht-i Diyan (Bālekiyān, s., 800); Piresīniyān (Piresīnī, s., 1,000); Rawendūk (Rawendūk, s. 600); Desht-i Barazgīr (Barādst, s., 1,000); Beresiyan and Mergesūr (Shirwān, s. 1,200). The Sidān and the Serhāti, two subdivisions of the powerful tribe of the Herki, number about 6,000 hearths and have their winter-quarters between Rawāndīz Ruiyndīz and Arbil (Hawlēr in Kurdish) while the Mīndān, the third section of this tribe, spend the winter around 'Akrā. The summer pastures of all three are in Persia at Mergawar. Under the Kurd feudal system the district of Rawāndīz Ruiyndīz contained the following subdivisions: Hevdiyān, Sheteneh, Dūlemerī, Sidekān, Ḳhakūrḱ, Piresīnī, Desht-i Sūrān, Bapīshitiyān, Rawāndīz, Akūlān, Bālekān. After the League of Nations (Dec. 1925) had given Mawṣil to the 'Irāk Rawāndīz Ruiyndīz became definitely a part of the mountainous Kurdish zone running along the Persian frontier which was given the name of Southern Kurdistan at the establishment of the British mandate. The figures given for the population here are only approximate, the tribes having in some cases been decimated by war and

influenza in 1918—1919. According to the census of 1935 the town of Rawāndīz Ruiyndīz had 2,176 inhabitants and the *ḥaḍā'* 38,342.

Topography. The district of Rawāndīz Ruiyndīz, which roughly speaking lies on the other side of the bend made by the Great Zāb when it leaves the mountainous part of its course (running westwards to the Tigris), consists of parallel valleys and chains which rise gradually as they approach the Persian frontier and which have a general orientation from N. W. to S. E. The average height may be put at over 1,500 feet. The two principal watercourses of the region, the Rūbārī Rawāndīz and Rūbārī Rūkūch, left bank tributaries of the Great Zāb, have their sources on the Persian frontier. The roads are naturally more practicable in the direction N. W. to S. E. except the passages in the vicinity of the Great Zāb with its deep gorges. The Great Zāb is 500 feet above the level of the sea. Rawāndīz Ruiyndīz, at the present day an insignificant little town, owes its importance mainly to its position with relation to the roads of Kurdistan.

Road system. It would be in a way wrong to mention, in the matter of high roads which from all time have connected the Irānian plateau with the adjoining countries in the west, only 1. the silk route in the north (Justi, *Geschichte Irans*, p. 476) going from Trebizond via Khoi to Lithinos Pyrgos (the modern Taṣh Medgān), and 2. the southern road, that from the Median gate or the defile of the Gyndes (Diyāla). Besides these two main arteries of traffic, axial to the route always taken by commercial and cultural relations and in time of war, and lying between them is the road which went from Niniveh to Media and forked twice at Arbil and Rawāndīz. At Arbil the road entered Persia by the pass of Gomesbān, Khoi Sandjāk, Rāniya, Serdesht and thence by the pass of Kurtēk at Sāwdj Bulāk [q. v.] via Afān.

The Achaemenid royal road also passed this way (Justi, *op. cit.*, p. 475). It was, we believe, the southern section, running towards the land of Elam, while, according to Th. Reinach (*Un peuple oublié, les Mantiènes*, in *Rev. des Et. Gr.*, vii., 1894), the main highway from Sardes ran through modern Armenia and central Kurdistan, although we cannot say exactly on which side of the Zagros it lay. Among the Arab geographers, Yāqūt alone gives a few notes on the road through Rawāndīz Ruiyndīz (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 441). The road Arbil-Marāgha was known to the Mongols after their occupation of Arbil (1258). The itinerary by the pass of Garū Shinka (Zinwe-Shaikh) has been described by Perkins (*J. A. O. S.*, ii., 1853, p. 83 sq.) and Thielmann (*Streifzüge im Kaukasus*, Leipzig 1875, p. 321 sq.). The latter (cf. Yāqūt) mentions as stages, starting from the pass: Rāyat; Dergala (ruins of a fortress); Rawāndīz; Kānī-Atmān (Kānī Wetmān?); Derre Brush (ford on the Great Zāb, between Girdemānīsh and Kāzān); Tez-Kherāb; Mawṣil, in all seven stages from Sāwdj Bulāk. According to information received from Russian soldiers who took part in the expedition against Rawāndīz Ruiyndīz (summer of 1916), the pass of Garū Shinka (6,000 feet) is a kind of promontory with valleys on either side starting from the ruins of Khāneh (Persian Lahidjān) and joining on the other side in Turkish territory. There is a *ziyāret* there under the Naḳshbendī Shaikh Djemāl to the influence of which is to be attributed the parti-

cipation of the neighbouring Kurdish tribes in the *djihad*. The name of the pass Zinwe Shaiikh is explained by the presence of this *ziyāret*. The actual site of Rawāndīz Ruiyndīz is described in M. Bittner (*Der Kurdengau Uschnūje und die Stadt Urūmije*, Vienna 1895). In the month of May the corn ripens at Rawāndīz Ruiyndīz, the arable land being on the right side of the Rūbārī Ruiyndīz. Like Arbīl, Ruiyndīz is also a point of bifurcation of roads. We have just mentioned the road over the Garū Shinka pass. Another, farther north, goes via Sidakān, Topzāwa, pass of Kel-i Shīn (10,000 feet with a famous stele), Duru to Ushnū. J. de Morgan (*Mission scient. en Perse*, ii. 46) wrongly thinks this is the only road from Persia to Mawṣil besides that which goes via Serdesht.

Lastly there is a road from Ruiyndīz to Sham-dīnān, of which there are four variants: 1. Shaitāne, pass of Khadjīdja, Kānī Rash, Čumār; 2. Shaitāne, pass of Garau Cariya, Kekla, Begizhne; 3. Shaitāne, pass of Mergesūr, Kekla; 4. the route of the Turkish telegraph line by Rūbārī-Dibur and Čumār. The first of these is the best and was taken in 1916 by the Russian column which came down the Ruā pass to the support of the movement converging via Garū Shinka on Ruiyndīz.

History. From what has already been said it will be evident that Rawāndīz Ruiyndīz, situated at the intersection of the communications of Kurdistan as well as of roads leading farther afield, has always owed its importance to its position. It should also be remembered that in the period of prosperity of the Nestorian church all this country played a great part, mainly on account of the influence of the Metropolitan see of Arbīl. We may mention (cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*) the names of Dara, Hanitha, Shaqlāwa (from which came one of the MSS. which enabled M. l'Abbé Chabot to establish the text of the *Synodicon Orientale*, Paris 1902) as well as the fact that there were many monasteries in these parts. According to the late Metropolitan Mar Hanānīsho^o, the *maḥall* of Barādoṣt (not to be confused with the Barādoṣt of the Shīkāk Kurds to the north of Tergawar; cf. URMIYA) before the war had still a few Christian communities. From the point of view of Kurdish history the destinies of Ruiyndīz have been frequently those of Shehrizūr of which it formed part at certain times. The Persian historian S. A. Kesrewī Tabrizī (*Shehriārān e Gommām*, ii., *Rawādīān*, Teherān 1308 = 1929) gives us some notes (p. 125, 133-136) on Ruiyndīz, in the time of the Atābeks under the Aḥmedilī (501—624 A. H.) the last representative of whom, a woman, became the wife of Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārizmshāh. A local history of the *wālīs* of Ardelān, a resumé of which I published (in the *R.M.M.*, xlix. 70 sqq.), also contains some information about the families ruling in Rawāndīz down to 1249 A. H. It may be added that (*Sheref Nāmeḥ*, II/i., p. 505), "the brothers of Aibeh Southan released Southan Mourad son of Iaqoub big from the castle of Rouyindiz where he had been imprisoned by order of Southan Arbeh" (904 = 1498—1499). A Kurdish text in my possession enables me to give a few details about the last lord of Ruiyndīz. The beks of Ruiyndīz are said to be descended from an Arab of the tribe of Shammar (again this fondness for inventing an Arab descent which we frequently find in Kurd genealogies). For some years this ancestor was a

humble shepherd in the *desht* of Ruiyndīz in the villages of Badlīlān and Bapīshṭiān (should we not recognise in the these *ba* prefixes the remains of the Semitic *beth*? [cf. e. g. BĀDJAMĪA]). Becoming rich — some say by having found a treasure —, the ancestor established himself at Badlīlān, acquired houses and fields and became mayor there. His heirs in time became *agha*, then *beg*. Arrogant and rapacious, they had at the same time the reputation of being patrons of learning (*'ilm u-ma'rifat*). At the beginning of the sixteenth century, one of them, Memed Bek the Blind, established at Rawāndīz, was honoured by Sulṭān Mejdīd who gave him the title of *pāshā*, whence his sobriquet of *Pāshā-i Kūra*. He had some claims on Mergawar and Shīnū in which he met with the resistance of 'Azīz Bek of Letān near Nālos. With the help of guns founded for him at Rawāndīz by a certain *hustā* (= *ustā*) Redjeb, he broke this resistance. Since then the tribe of Letān has not had any independent tribal existence. Its remnants were absorbed into the neighbouring tribes of Shamdīnān. The Blind Pāshā next took possession of Arbīl Kerkuk, Sulaimāniye, Shamdīnān, 'Akrā, 'Amādiya. The resistance he encountered in the tribe of Zibārī and notably that of its hero 'Azō of the village of Sawti has become legendary. Taken prisoner, 'Azō is said to have replied to the offer to take him into his service by the Pāshā, who had no son, that he would make him one. The Pāshā built several fortified towers the ruins of which can still be seen (Sidakān; among the Shirwāniyān; 'Akrā, Rawāndīz, Darā). He also repaired the road in the pass of Ruiyndīz "with nails of iron". He built many schools. In his time plunder, robbery and rapine disappeared. "The grapes hung above the roads till autumn and no one dared to touch them". Justice was administered by '*ulamā*'. Finally in 1836 the Pāshā was defeated by the Turks after a siege of four months and died soon afterwards in Constantinople, or others say in Cyprus. Of the descendants of the Pāshā his grandson Sa'īd Bek was *kā'immaḥām* of Ruiyndīz. He was murdered by his servants. Yūsif Beg, son of Muṣṭafā Beg at Badlīlān, *agha* of the tribe of Pīreshniān, was of the same line and in constant rivalry with Sa'īd Beg of Ruiyndīz. The memory of the Pāshā seems to have been kept alive in the tribe of Mūkri where F. de Morgan records a curious game of this name, in which one of the players pretends to be the "Blind Pāshā". A Kurdish work (*Mīrānī Sōrān* by Saiyid Ḥusain Ḥusnī Mūkriānī, Rawāndīz 1935) gives a full account of the story of the Pāshā, his struggle with the Turks, his relations with Persia and with Mehmed 'Alī Pāshā of Egypt, giving as its principal source, a Kurdish MS. (*Melīkhā* by Mirzā Muḥammedī Weḳāye' Nigār). The Pāshā struck coins in his own name: *qaraba fī Rawāndīz al-Amīr al-Manṣūr Muḥammed Big*. — During the Great War the Rawāndīz road was used in the winter of 1914—1915 by Ḥalīl Bey's troops advancing on Urmiya (contrary to H. Grothe, *Die Türken und ihre Gegner*, Frankfurt a. M. 1915) and later in July 1916 by the Russian Rībalchenko, a column which Major K. Mason (*Central Kurdistan*, in *J. R. G. S.*, 1919) wrongly accuses of massacring 5,000 Kurds, women, children and old men at Ruiyndīz. After the armistice and during the period till Dec. 1925, when the League of Nations made its decision, Rawāndīz was occasionally the head-

quarters of an English political officer; sometimes it slipped from the English and was a centre of concentration for hostile Kurdish elements. Thus in Sept. 1922 (cf. B. Nikitine, *L'Iraq économique*, in *Rev. des Sc. Pol.*, July–Sept. 1923) the English were forced to withdraw their feeble forces from the mountains and to occupy the line Arbīl–Kirkūk–Kifri. A Kurdish government was then proclaimed in Sulaimāniye with a “Pādīshāh of Kurdistān”, a role assumed by a certain Shaikh Maḥmūd, of a noble Kurd family. Driven out by the English in 1919 after the rising, which he had led, he was pardoned in 1922 and his followers proclaimed him Pādīshāh. Threatened by English aeroplanes and without resources, Shaikh Maḥmūd retired to Rawāndīz to the Turkish emissaries. Finally in April 1923, Ruiyndīz was taken by the Anglo-Mesopotamian troops composed almost exclusively of Assyro-Chaldean highlanders. Two months later in the name of H. M. King Faiṣal a more tractable Kurdish administration was installed there as throughout southern Kurdistān (cf. above). The first governor thus appointed was a certain Saiyid Ṭa of the family of Sadāte Nehri [cf. SHAMDINĀN]. A brief history of Ruiyndīz since the war is given in *Mirānī Sūrān*. At the present moment the Persian government is considering a system of roads which may give Rawāndīz a certain importance. It is a question of a carriage road connecting Tauris to Mawṣil via Rawāndīz. The Teherān government is anxious to have an outlet without the necessity of going through Transcaucasia.

Human Geography. The route through Rawāndīz as well as the roads leading from it have never played a part comparable to that of the two historic arteries of traffic. This is explained by the lack of security, which is the first condition for the making of a trade route. Now this region has always lain between two hostile states: Assyria and Media, Muṣaṣir and Zamua, Turkey and Persia, Turkey and the ‘Irāk. The configuration of the country, the mode of life of its people contribute rather to break them up than bind them together. The road, the means of communication, has here the character of a weapon or line of defence except for brief periods of peace.

Language. Kurdish is the language spoken in this region, except by the town dwellers (Arbīl, Altūn Kepri, Kirkūk etc.) of Turkish origin. With the establishment of the Kurdish administration and the opening of Kurdish schools following the decisions of the League of Nations, Kurdish will probably develop still more and we may look for the creation of a Kurdish intellectual centre. According to O. Mann (*Die Mundart der Mukri Kurden*, ii. 205), the dialect of Rawāndīz is very like that of Shamdīnān, but E. B. Soane does not share this opinion (*Kurdish Grammar*, London 1913). F. Jardine's manual, *Bahdīnan Kurmanji, a grammar of the Kurmanji of the Kurds of Mosul division and surrounding districts of Kurdistan*, London 1922, is more particularly devoted to this dialect.

Cartography. The Government of India Survey is preparing a revision of the maps of this region. Until their results are published as well as those being prepared for other reasons by the Turkish Petroleum Co., there is accessible the excellent geographical material in the Report presented in 1925 to the League of Nations by the Commission of Enquiry whose task it was to collect material

of an ethnographical and economic nature regarding the wilāyet of Mawṣil (*League of Nations, Question of the Frontier between Turkey and Iraq. Report submitted by the Commission instituted by the Council Resolution of September 30, 1924* [C. 400 M. 147, 1925, vii.]).

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text: Spiegel, *Ērān* (p. 27–28); Rawlinson in *J.R.G.S.*, x. (p. 22 sqq.); M. Streck, *Das Gebiet der heutigen Landschaften . . . Kurdistān*, in *Z.A.*, xv., 1900 (p. 267, 382), on the ancient and Sāsānid periods; Hammer, *Ilchanen* (ii., p. 125 and 337), on the Mongol period. The *Sheref Nāmek*, St. Petersburg 1860 (i., introd.) mentions the castle of Roubīn (read *Ruiyn*).

(B. NIKITINE)

AL-RAWḌA. One of the series of large islands in the bed of the Nile before it divides into the Damietta and Rosetta branches. Situated near Old Cairo and extending to Kaṣr al-‘Aīnī, it is separated from the right bank by a narrow canal known as al-Khalīdj, while the river runs to full width on the other side between the Island and Giza (Djiza).

In early medieval times, it was used for three purposes: 1. as a convenient site for the Nilometer [cf. MIKYĀS] on the S. E. side, rebuilt in the reign of al-Musta‘īn (862–866); 2. as a dockyard for the construction of the fleet (Mas‘ūdī calls it “the island of shipbuilders”) until the reign of the first Ikḥshīdī who transferred the docks to the Miṣr bank of the Nile further north in the direction of the present port of Būlāq, which developed at a still later date; and 3. as a naturally fortified resort in case of danger on the mainland, by destroying the customary bridge of boats which connected it with the fort of Babylon. Muḥawkaṣ did so when he wished to preserve his freedom in negotiating with the Arabs. Realizing this, too, Ibn Ṭūlūn built a fort on the Island (c. 877) and al-Ṣāliḥ Aiyūb built another where his body was concealed after his death by his wife Shadjar al-Durr [q. v.] until the defeat of the French at Manṣūra (1249). As a fortification, al-Rawḍa reached its highwater-mark under the Baḥrī Mamlūks who returned to it after the death of al-Ṣāliḥ Aiyūb and, entrenched behind the water of the Nile, ruled Egypt for nearly a century and a half. They further strengthened the defence of the Island by building walls and towers along its shores. In earlier times it was occasionally used as a pleasure resort where spacious gardens were planted and magnificent palaces erected, such as the Hawdadj built c. 1125 by the Caliph al-Amīr of a Bedouin mistress. During the Baḥrī Mamlūk period, noble buildings increased in number to house the rulers of Egypt and a mosque and a madrasa (whose remains are still to be seen) were established for the use of the inhabitants.

During the Burdjī Mamlūk period, Miṣr and the quarters outlying the Citadel were better favoured, though at the time of the Ottoman conquest Selim I found in the Island a safer residence. When Egypt became an Ottoman province, Miṣr and the Citadel became the seat of the Turkish governor, while the Mamlūk forces took to the Djiza side of the River. As a result, al-Rawḍa was deserted, its fortifications ruined, and it furnished robbers and highwaymen with a refuge.

The Island did not again attract the rulers of Egypt until the time of Muḥammad ‘Alī, whose

son Ibrāhīm Pasha ordered large gardens to be planted there. At present it has become an Egyptian residential quarter connected with Cairo by two bridges and with Djiza by a third. The facilities of modern means of communication have brought it within easy reach of the centre of the capital. The construction of a new large hospital is planned as a substitute for the antiquated Kaṣr al-ʿAini on the northern extremity of the Island.

Bibliography: See *Bibliographies* of articles on CAIRO and MIḶYĀS. An elaborate account of the Island and especially the MiḶyās may be found in 'Alī Pasha Mubārak: *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfiḳiyya*, 20 vols., Cairo 1306, xviii. 2—111; Ibn Duḳmāk, *Description de l'Égypte*, ed. Vollers, Cairo 1893, iv. 109—120. (A. S. ATIYA)

RA'Y (A.), opinion. As a technical term denoting the purely intellectual function it is used in the system of Islām in opposition to such terms as 'ilm, sunna, Kitāb Allāh, dīn and ḥadīth. See the art. FIḶḶH.

RAWSHANĪYA, Afghān sect founded by Bāyazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh, who took the title Piri Rawshan: called by their enemies *Tārikhān*.

1. Life of the Founder. Bāyazīd was born at Djullindur in the Panḍjāb about 931 (1525), his father's native place being Kaniguram, an Afghān town, whither his parents returned. When his mother Banin was divorced by ʿAbd Allāh, Bāyazīd became alienated from his father, who disapproved of his seeking the solution of religious difficulties from a poor relation, the ascetic Ismāʿīl; he started earning his living by transporting goods from Samarkand to Hindustān with Turkish horses. In the town Kalindjār, S. W. of Allāhābād, he became acquainted with one Mullā Sulaimān from whom he imbibed Ismāʿīlī doctrine. Returning to Kaniguram he lived as a hermit in a cave, and evolved eight precepts for his followers; he was in consequence attacked and wounded by his father. Thence he fled to Ningrahar, where he was given protection by a Mohmand chief Sulṭān Aḥmad, and presently won adherents among the Ghoria Khel in the neighbourhood of Peshāwar from the Kḥalil and Maḥmūdīzāi, who had recently overrun the Peshāwar plain. He established himself at Kalidhar in the territory of the ʿUmarzāi, and sent out missionaries who were also raiders. At this time one Saiyid ʿAlī Tirmidhī aided by Ākhūnd Derwezeh (one of the authorities for his biography) started controversy with him; they were unsuccessful, and Bāyazīd, who at some time had taken the title Piri-i Rawshan (Luminous Shaikh, parodied by his enemies as Piri-i Tārik), conceived the idea of annexing the empire of Akbar, on whose treasury he presently issued drafts. He was arrested by Muḥsin Khān Ghāzī, governor of Kābul, whither he was taken. He was there accused of heresy before the ʿulamā, who however, for a consideration, acquitted him. He retired first to Totei, thence to Tirāh, where he proposed to substitute a new religion for Islām. After a time many of his Tirāh followers reverted to Islām, and were expelled by him; they fled to Ningrahar, and were attacked by Bāyazīd, who however was defeated with great slaughter by Muḥsin Khān. He fled to a village in Kalapani, where he died (993 = 1585).

2. Later history of the community. Bāyazīd's activities were resumed by the eldest of his five sons, ʿUmar, who attacked the Yūsufzāi,

a tribe which had followed Bāyazīd, but reverted to Islām; in the battle which ensued ʿUmar was killed, as was also his brother Kḥair al-Dīn; another brother, Nūr al-Dīn, was put to death by the Gudjars. The youngest son, Djalāl al-Dīn, was captured by the Yūsufzāi, who surrendered him to Akbar in 989 A. H. Escaping from Akbar's court he returned to Tirāh, where he assumed the role of sovereign of Afghānistān, and Akbar found it necessary to send an army against him in Ṣafar 994. This army met with a serious defeat, which was repaired by a later expedition (995). The numbers of the Rawshanīs are given on this occasion as 20,000 foot and 5,000 horse. A further expedition was sent in 1000 A. H. (or 1001) which captured some 14,000 men (according to Badaoni) with Djalāl al-Dīn's wives and children, but not apparently himself; since in 1007 he took Ghazni, but was unable to maintain himself there, and on retiring was attacked by the Hazāra, wounded and put to death. This last affair is by some assigned to a son of his bearing the same name.

The next head of the community was Djalāl al-Dīn's son Aḥdād, who figures in the history of Djahāngir. In 1020 A. H. he surprised Kābul in the absence of its governor Kḥān Dawrān. The attack was beaten off with great loss to the raiders, yet in 1023 Aḥdād was again in the field, but sustained a serious defeat at Pish Bulagh. After a series of enterprises with varied success he was besieged in the fortress of Nuaghār, and killed by a musket-shot.

The historian of Shāh Djahān, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambo, asserts that in the second year of his reign (1038) that monarch took effective steps to suppress the heresy started by Bāyazīd; nevertheless in the following year he records how the Afghān Kamāl al-Dīn was joined in the attack on Peshāwar by ʿAbd al-Kādir, son of Aḥdād, and Karimḍād, son of Djalālāh (Djalāl al-Dīn). The place was relieved by Ṣaʿīd Khān, and ʿAbd al-Kādir induced to submit; in 1043 he was recommended by Ṣaʿīd Khān, "who had caused him to repent of his evil deeds" to Shāh Djahān, who gave him a command of 1,600 horse. Other members of Aḥdād's family received honours and rewards in 1047. In the same year Karimḍād, who had taken refuge in the Mohand country, but had been recalled by the tribes of Bangash, was attacked, captured and executed by Ṣaʿīd Khān. It is asserted that some relics of the community still exist in this region. A branch of the sect, called ʿIsawī, was founded at Swat by one Saiyid ʿIsā of Peshāwar (T. C. Plowden, translation of the *Kālid-i Afghāni*, Lahore 1875).

3. Doctrines of the sect. According to the *Dabistān*, which is friendly to the sect, Bāyazīd's doctrine was extreme pantheism; "If I pray" he said, "I am a *mushrik*; if I pray not, I am a *kāfir*". He marked eight stages (*naḳām*) in religious progress: *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa*, *ḥaḳīqa*, *maʿrifa*, *ḳurba*, *wuṣṭa*, *waḥda*, *sukūna*; the four last are said to be technicalities of his system. The explanation of these stages, quoted from Bāyazīd's *Hāl-nāme*, inculcates lofty morality, e. g. to hurt no creature of God. The account which follows is inconsistent with this, as noxious persons were to be killed because they resembled wild creatures, harmless persons who did not possess self-knowledge might be killed, because they resembled domestic animals. They might be regarded as dead, and their property

might be seized by the "living". Further he abrogated the direction of prayer and the preliminary ablution. Other details are furnished by a hostile writer, the historian of *Shāh Djahān* quoted above, copied in *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*. Marriage, he says, is without a contract, there being merely a feast at which a cow is slaughtered. Divorce is ratified by placing some pebbles in the wife's hand. The widow is deprived of inheritance, and indeed is at the disposal of the heirs, who may marry her themselves or sell her to some one else. When a son is born to one of them, an incision is made in the ear of an ass, and the blood dripped on the infant's tongue. This is in order to ensure that the infant shall be bloodthirsty and have the mind of an ass. Any stranger who falls into their hands is enslaved and can be bought or sold. Daughters receive no share in the inheritance. They massacre whole tribes when they conquer them. Even on the Day of Judgment their victims, though martyrs, will not hold them to account. — According to others, however, they recognized neither Paradise nor Hell.

4. Literature of the sect. Bāyazīd is said to have written much; works by him cited in the *Dabistān* are the *Hālnāme* or autobiography, mentioned above, and *Khair al-Bayān*, the sacred book of the sect, in the style of the *Qur'ān*, addressed by the Divine Being to Bāyazīd. This was issued in four languages: Arabic, Persian, Hindi and Pushto. A work in Arabic, *Maḥsūd al-Mu'minin*, by him is also mentioned.

Bibliography: The account of the sect given by J. Leyden, in *Asiatic Researches*, xi. 363–428, London 1810, based on the *Dabistān al-Madhāhib* (p. 247–253 in ed. Bombay 1292) and the Pushto work *Makhsan al-Islām* of Akhund Derwezeh, furnished the material for the account of the sect in Graf T. A. von Noer's *Kaiser Akbar*, Leyden 1885, ii. 179 sqq., and largely for that in *Glossary of the Punjab Tribes and Castes*, Lahore 1915, iii. 335 sqq. Notices of the sect were also got from Indian historical works; from the *Akbar-nāme* (printed, Calcutta 1881) by M. Elphinstone, *History of India*, London 1866, p. 517 etc.; from the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* (lith., Lahore 1292) by H. Elliot, *History of India*, London 1873, v. 450; from the *Tuzūk-i Djahāngīrī*, transl. A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, London 1909 by Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, Oxford 1922, who also uses the *Ikbāl-nāme-i Djahāngīrī*, Calcutta 1865. For *Shāh Djahān*'s time the *Shāh Djahān-nāme* called '*Amal-i Šāliḥ* of Muḥammad Šāliḥ Kambo, ed. Ghulam Yazdani, Calcutta 1923 and 1927, is the chief authority. The printed text of the *Bādīshāh-nāme* (Calcutta 1867, 1868) which, according to *Muntakhab al-Lubāb* (Calcutta 1869), should contain an exaggerated account of the atrocities of the sect, has very little about it.

(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

AL-RĀZĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. ZAKARIYĀ, a celebrated physician, alchemist and philosopher. Almost nothing is known of his life. He was born in 250 (864) at Raiy. There he seems to have studied deeply in mathematics, philosophy, astronomy and belles-lettres. He perhaps also studied alchemy in his youth. It was only after attaining a rather advanced age that he devoted himself to medicine. Entering the service of the ruler of Raiy, he soon became head of

the new hospital in this town and later we find him in the same capacity in Baghdād. We do not know exactly how long he remained there. The reputation of being the greatest physician of his time brought him from one court to another. The fickleness of the favour of princes as well as the uncertainty of the political situation are the causes of his unsettled life. He returned several times to his native town where he died in 313 (925) (according to al-Bīrūnī on 5th *Shābān* 313) or in 323.

We are no better informed regarding Rāzī's teachers. Several Arabic biographers regard him as a pupil of the physician 'Alī b. Rabbān al-Ṭabarī, which is chronologically impossible. As his teacher in philosophy the *Fihrist* mentions a certain Balkhī (not the geographer Abū Zaid al-Balkhī) from whom Rāzī is said to have taken some ideas. Nāṣir-i Khusraw says the same thing about a rationalist philosopher with the curious name of Ērānshāhri (cf. *Zād al-Musāfirin*, p. 73, 98; cf. also al-Bīrūnī, *Hind*, p. 4, 326; *Āthār*, p. 222, 225); it is very probable that the two sources refer to the same individual. Although the influence of Rāzī was considerable, we know nothing of his pupils. The philosopher Yahyā b. 'Adī, an Aristotelian, Jacobite and disciple of Fārābī, is said to have begun to study philosophy with Rāzī (cf. Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa 'l-Ishrāf*), and a later source (Hudjwiri, *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, transl. Nicholson, p. 150) speaks of connections between him and the mystic al-Hallāj. It was in Shī'a circles that the philosophical doctrines of Rāzī left the deepest mark Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm b. Nawbakht, a theologian of the "Twelver" Shī'a, borrows from him, in his *Kitāb al-Yāqūt*, his theory of pleasure, and the Ismā'īlians Abū Ḥatīm al-Rāzī (d. 322 = 926), Kirmānī (d. after 412 = 1021) and Nāṣir-i Khusraw [q. v.] attempted to refute certain parts of his philosophical system. Among the other authors who combated his views may be mentioned Fārābī, Ibn Haitham, 'Alī b. Riḍwān and Maimonides.

Rāzī is above all a physician and he is rightly regarded as the greatest physician of Islām. In addition to numerous monographs on various maladies of which the most famous is his treatise on smallpox and measles (*Kitāb al-Djadarī wa 'l-Ḥaṣba*), he wrote several large manuals of medicine which were the most remarkable that the middle ages knew. A number of his works were translated into Latin and down to the xviiith century the authority of al-Rāzī was undisputed. His *Manṣūrī* (*Liber Almansoris*) is dedicated to Manṣūr b. Ishāk, governor of Raiy, and his *Mulūkī* (*Regius*) to 'Alī b. Wēh-Sūdhan of Ṭabaristān. The *Hāwī* (probably the same as the *Djāmi'*), is the largest medical encyclopaedia in Arabic. Rāzī is said to have devoted 15 years of his life to writing it and seems to have died before finishing it. The book is a compilation of extracts from all the Greek and Arab physicians on every problem of medicine and Rāzī concludes by giving the results of his own experience. While accepting earlier tradition, Rāzī is the least dogmatic of the Arab physicians and in the field of medical practice surpasses the knowledge of the ancients. We still possess his clinical notebook in which he describes very carefully the progress of his patients.

The same empirical spirit is found in the other branches of science which he studied. In chemistry, about which we are better informed, Rāzī, rejecting

all occultist and symbolical explanations of natural phenomena, confined himself exclusively to the classification of substances and processes as well as to the exact descriptions of his experiments. In spite of the statement of the *Fihrist*, Rāzī does not seem to have been acquainted with the alchemical writings attributed to Djābir b. Haiyān. Pseudo-Madjriti in his *Kitāb Rutbat al-Hakīm*, endeavoured to reconcile the alchemy of Rāzī with that of Djābir. Of his writings on mechanics we only possess a synopsis of his treatise on the balance (*mizān ṭabīʿī*). All his works on physics, mathematics, astronomy and optics, of which a large number are enumerated by the bibliographers, have perished.

It is the same with his metaphysical works of which we only have a few fragments preserved in later authors. Besides the *Shiʿa* theologians mentioned above, we must make particular mention of al-Birūnī, who in his various works frequently refers to Rāzī. He also devoted a complete *risāla* to a study of the life and works of Rāzī.

The following are the characteristic features of his metaphysics: Rāzī asserts the existence of five eternal (*qadīm*) principles which are the Creator, Soul, Matter, Time and Space. The eternity of the world is, according to Rāzī, the necessary corollary of the concept of God, the unique and immutable principle (the line of argument of the Aristotelian philosophers). Now Rāzī denies this eternity. Only the plurality of the eternal principles, their opposition and combination, can explain temporal creation. The origin and destinies of the world are imagined by Rāzī under the form of a myth with gnostic affinities. The Soul, the second eternal principle, possessing life but not knowing, is seized with the desire to unite with matter, and to produce within itself forms susceptible of procuring corporeal enjoyments. But matter is elusive. The Creator then in his pity creates this world, with its durable forms in order to permit the soul to enjoy it and to produce man. But the Creator also sends the intelligence (*ʿaql*) partaking of the substance of his divinity to awaken the sleeping soul in its abode (*haikal*) which is man and to teach that this created world is not its true home, the place of its happiness and of its peace. To escape the bonds of matter there is only a single means for every man, which is the study of philosophy. When all human souls have attained liberation the world will dissolve and matter deprived of forms will return to its primitive state.

In his physics, Rāzī, an opponent of the Aristotelians and *mutakallimūn*, relies on the authority of Plato and the pre-Socratic philosophers. His atomism, fundamentally different from the parallel theories of the *kalām*, is related in many ways — an exceptional case in mediæval philosophy — to the system of Democritus. In Rāzī's view matter in its primitive state before the creation of the world (*hayūlā muṭlaqa*) was composed of scattered atoms (*djusʿ lā yataḍjazzuʿ*). Atoms possessed extent. Mixed in various proportions with particles of the Void — of which Rāzī against the Aristotelians affirms the positive existence, — these atoms produced the elements. The latter are five in number: earth, air, water, fire and the celestial element. All the properties of the elements (lightness and heaviness, opaqueness and transparency etc.) are determined by the proportions of Matter and Void entering into their composition. Earth and water,

dense elements, tend towards the centre of the earth, while air and fire in which particles of the void predominate, tend to rise. As to the celestial element, a balanced mixture of Matter and Void, circular movement is peculiar to it. Fire springs from the striking of iron on stone because iron as it moves cleaves the air and rarifies it so that it is transformed into fire.

Rāzī distinguished universal space (*makān kullī*) or absolute space (*makān muṭlaq*) from partial (*djusʿī*) and relative (*muḍāf*) space. Absolute space, denied by the Aristotelians, is pure extent, independent of the body which it contains. It extends beyond the limits of the world, is infinite. There is reason to believe that Rāzī affirms the plurality of worlds. The term relative or partial space is applied to the size or extent of any particular body.

In his theory of time, which he says is Platonic, Rāzī differentiates in analogous fashion absolute (*muṭlaq*) time and limited (*maḥṣūr*) time. It is only to limited time that the Aristotelian definition of time, considered as a number of movement (in the first place the movement of the celestial spheres), is applicable, according to the Prior and Posterior Analytic. Absolute time is an independent substance which flows. It existed before the creation of the world and will exist after its dissolution. Abandoning a distinction made in the *Timaeus* and handed down by the Neo-Platonists to the Arabic philosophers, Rāzī identifies it with eternity (*dahṛ*, *αἰών*). To attack the Aristotelian conceptions of space and time, Rāzī makes use of the view of the man in the street with a healthy mind not broken in to philosophical subtleties.

In his ethics, Rāzī, in spite of his pessimistic metaphysics, is against excessive asceticism. Socrates, whom he regards as his model, far from being the ascetic of cynical tradition, took an active part in public life. According to the maxim of Aristotle, blame cannot be attached to the human passions but only to their excessive indulgence. At the basis of his moral teaching is a special theory of pleasure and pain. Pleasure (*ḥdonā*) is not something positive but the simple result of a return to normal conditions, the disturbance of which has caused pain (*πᾶθος*). The *sira falsafiya* (*βίος φιλοσοφικός*) aspires, according to the saying of Plato (*Thaetetes*, p. 176^b), to resemble the Creator to be, like him, just towards man, indulgent to his faults.

In view of the individualistic ethics of Rāzī, we can understand his critical attitude to established religion. In many writings he refuted the Muʿtazili theologians (Djāhīz, Nāshī, Abu l-Kāsim al-Balkhī, Mismaʿī [= Ibn Akhī Zurhān]) who attempted to introduce scientific arguments into theology. Nor was he sparing in his criticism of the extreme *Shiʿa* (refutation of Aḥmad al-Kaiyāl) and of the Manichaeans. Among his adversaries in philosophy we find, besides the Dahri Abū Bakr Ḥusain al-Tammār al-mutaṭabbib, the Sabaeen Thābit b. Qurra, the polyhistorian Masʿūdī and Aḥmad b. al-Ṭaiyib al-Sarakhsī, a pupil of al-Kindī.

Unlike the Muslim Aristotelians Rāzī denies the possibility of a reconciliation between philosophy and religion. Two heretical writings figure in his bibliography: the *Makḥarīk al-Anbiyāʾ* or *Ḥiyāl al-Muṭanabbīyīn* was read in heretical circles in Islām and notably among the Karṁatians (cf. Baghdādī, *Fark*, p. 281). It seems even to have influenced the famous theme of the *De Tribus*

Impostoribus, so dear to western rationalists from the time of Frederick II (cf. L. Massignon, in *R. H. R.*, 1920). The second, *Fī Nakḍ al-Adyān* is partly preserved in a refutation, the *Kitāb Al'ām al-Nubuwwa* of the Ismā'īlī Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī. The principal theses of this book are as follows: all men being by nature equal, the prophets cannot claim any intellectual or spiritual superiority. The miracles of the prophets are impostures or belong to the domain of pious legend. The teachings of religions are contrary to the one truth: the proof of this is that they contradict one another. It is tradition and lazy custom that have led men to trust their religious leaders. Religions are the sole cause of the wars which ravage humanity; they are hostile to philosophical speculation and to scientific research. The alleged holy scriptures are books without value. The writings of the ancients like Plato, Aristotle, Euclid and Hippocrates have rendered much greater service to humanity. — Rāzī's book undoubtedly contains the most violent polemic against religion that appeared in the course of the middle ages. It takes up to some extent the arguments of the contemporary Manichaeans against positive religions but above all it seems to be inspired by the criticism of religion in antiquity.

Rāzī believed in a progress of scientific and philosophical knowledge. He claims to have advanced beyond most of the ancient philosophers. He even thinks himself superior to Aristotle and Plato. As regards medicine, he had attained the level of Hippocrates and in philosophy he feels himself close to Socrates. But after him there should come other learned men who would reject some of his conclusions just as he had sought to supplant the teachings of his predecessors.

Bibliography: Lists of Rāzī's works with more or less anecdotal biographies will be found in the following works: *Fihrist*, p. 299—302, 358; Ibn al-Kifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-Hukamā'*, ed. Lippert, p. 271—277; Ibn Abī Usaib'a, *Uyūn al-Anbā'*, ed. Müller, i. 309—321 (cf. G. S. A. Ranking, *The Life and Works of Rhazes [International Congress of Medicine, historical section, London 1913, p. 237—268]*); Bīrūnī, *Risāla fī Fihrist Kutub Muḥ. b. Zak. al-Rāzī*, ed. P. Kraus, Paris 1931; part. transl. by J. Ruska, *al-Bīrūnī als Quelle für das Leben und die Schriften al-Rāzī's*, in *Isis*, v., 1922, p. 26—50. — Other sources: Ibn Khallikān, p. 678; Abū Ṣā'id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Umam*, Bairūt 1912, p. 33 and 61; Abū 'Alī al-Tanūkhī, *al-Faraḍj bā'id al-Shidda*, Cairo 1903—1904, ii. 94—104; *Ḥikāh Maḳāla* (ed. Muḥammad Kaẓwīnī, in *G.M.S.*, xi., 1910), p. 74 sqq.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fīṣal*, Cairo 1317, i. 3, 24—33, 34; Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyāset Nāmeḥ*, transl. Schefer, p. 288; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Zād al-Musāfirin*, Berlin 1341, p. 73 sqq., 103, 114 sqq., 231, 235, 318 sqq. (cf. L. Massignon, in *R. M. M.*, lxii. 218); do., *Risāla*, at the end of the *Diwān*, Teheran 1304—1307, p. 572; Maimonides, *Dalālat al-Ḥā'irīn*, ed. Munk, iii. 18; do., *Kōbheṣ Teshūbhōth*, Leipzig 1859, ii. 28; Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Hind*; do., *Āthār*, p. 253; Elias of Nisibis, *Munāgara* (cf. P. Aziz, in *Anthropos*, v. 2, 444 sqq.) (criticism of the Arabic language); Dāwūd Ālebi, *Kitāb Maḳhūḍāt al-Mawṣil*, p. 58 (criticism of the Arabic script); Brockelmann, *G.A. L.*, i. 233 sqq.; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der arabischen Ärzte*, Göttingen 1840, p. 40—49; L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la Médecine Arabe*, i. 337—354; E. G.

Browne, *Arabian Medicine*, Cambridge 1921, p. 44—53; P. de Koning, *Traité sur le calcul dans les reins et dans la vessie*, Leyden 1896; G. Elgood, *A Persian Manuscript attributed to Rhazes*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1932, p. 905 sqq.; M. Meyerhof, *Thirty-three clinical observations by Rhazes* (circa 900 A.D.), in *Isis*, xxiii. 2 (1935), p. 322 sqq.; J. Ruska, *al-Rāzī als Chemiker*, in *Zeitschr. f. angewandte Chemie*, 1922, p. 719 sqq.; do., *Über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Rāzī-Forschung*, in *Archivio di storia della scienza*, v. (1924), p. 335 sqq.; do., *Die Alchemie al-Rāzī's*, in *Der Islam*, xxii. (1935), p. 281 sqq.; do., *Übersetzung und Bearbeitungen von al-Rāzī's Buch Geheimnis der Geheimnisse*, in *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*, iv. 1 (1935); Th. Ibel, *Die Wage im Altertum und Mittelalter*, Erlangen (diss.) 1906, p. 153 sqq.; Tj. de Boer, *De "Medicina Mentis" van den Arts Rāzī (Versl. Med. Ak. Amst., vol. 53, series A, Amsterdam 1920)*; A. Baumstark, *Aristoteles bei den Syrern*, p. 115 sqq., 126 sqq.; Abbās Eghbāl, *Les Nawbakht*, Teheran 1933, p. 167, 170, 179; H. H. Schaefer, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxix. 228; sqq.; L. Massignon, *Recueil des Textes inédits*, p. 180 sqq.; P. Kraus, *Raziana*, in *Orientalia*, N.S., iv. (1935), p. 300 sqq.; v. (1936), p. 35 sqq.; S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomlehre*, Berlin 1936. — A detailed bibliography is contained in G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, i. 609—610.

(P. KRAUS and S. PINES)

AL-RĀZĪ, the name of three historians of Muslim Spain. i. MUḤAMMAD B. MŪSĀ B. BASHĪR B. DĪANNĀD B. LAKĪT AL-KINĀNĪ AL-RĀZĪ, who took his *nisba* from the town of al-Rāy in Persia where he was born, came from the east to Cordova about the middle of the third century A. H. (864 A. D.) to trade there. His high degree of Arabic culture gave him a welcome in intellectual circles in the Umayyad capital and the emir Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān entrusted him on several occasions with diplomatic missions in the east or in Spain itself. His successor, his son al-Mundhir, showed him the same confidence; it was on his return from an embassy to Elvira [q. v.] for this prince that al-Rāzī died in Rabī' II 273 (Sept. 5—Oct. 3, 886).

We would have known nothing of Muḥammad al-Rāzī as an historian but for a statement by Muḥammad Ibn Muzain reproduced by the Moroccan writer Muḥammad al-Wazīr al-Ghassānī in his account of an embassy to Spain in 1691, entitled *Riḥlat al-Wazīr fī 'ftikāk al-Asir* (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, p. 284—286). Ibn Muzain there says that in 471 (1078—1079) he found in a library in Seville a little book by Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Rāzī entitled *Kitāb al-Rāyāt*, relating to the conquest of Spain by the Muslims and giving details of the Arab contingents, each distinguished by its standard (*rāya*) who entered the Peninsula with Mūsā b. Nuṣair [q. v.]. The passage of Ibn Muzain has been reproduced in the Madrid edition of the *Faḥ al-Andalus* of Ibn Kūṭīya (cf. the *Bibl.*). However little we know of this work of Muḥammad al-Rāzī, we cannot but regret its loss bitterly.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmilat al-Šila* (B. A. H., v.), Madrid 1887, N^o. 1048; al-Maḳkarī, *Nafḥ al-Tib (Analects)*, vol. ii, p. 76 (reproduces the notice of Ibn al-Abbār); R. Dozy,

introduction to his edition of *al-Bayān al-muḡrib* of Ibn ʿIdhārī al-Marrākushī, p. 22; J. Ribera, *Historia de la conquista de España de Abencófia el Cordobés*, Madrid 1926, p. 197 of the text and p. 170 of the transl.; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y géógrafos arábigo-españoles*, Madrid 1898, No. 4 and the references cited p. 45, note 2; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura arábigo-española*, Barcelona-Buenos-Aires 1928, p. 130.

ii. AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD, son of the preceding, surnamed al-Taʿrīkhī ("the chronicler"), the first in date of the great historians of al-Andalus. He was born in Spain on the 10th Dhu 'l-Hijja 274 (April 26, 888) and died on the 12th Radjab 344 (Nov. 1, 955). He was the pupil of Cordovan scholars of repute like Aḥmad b. Khālīd and Kāsim b. Aṣḡagh. He wrote several monographs on the history of Spain: a *Taʿrīkh Mulūk al-Andalus*; a description of Cordova (*Kitāb fī Sifat Qurṭuba*) written on the plan of the description of Baghdad by Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn Abī Ṭāhir; a book on the Spanish *mawālī*; lastly a voluminous work on the genealogies of the Arabs of Spain, *Kitāb al-Istʿāb*, which was to form one of the essential sources of the *Djamharat al-Ansāb* of Ibn Ḥazm [q.v.]. These various works have unfortunately not come down to us and until quite recently we had only a few quotations from Aḥmad al-Rāzī preserved by later writers. The recent discovery of a fragmentary manuscript of a chronicle relating to the 10th century in Spain now puts at our disposal quite extensive extracts from this author and from his son ʿIsā (see iii.): these passages are collected in *Documents inédits d'histoire hispano-umayyade*, to appear shortly.

The majority of Aḥmad al-Rāzī's biographers do not attribute to him any geographical work, but some, e.g. al-Ḍabbī and Yāqūt, notice a Spanish geographer whom they call Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Taʿrīkhī who is clearly Aḥmad al-Rāzī; this individual, according to these authors (al-Maḡḡarī attributes it directly to Aḥmad al-Rāzī), wrote a lengthy work on the routes (*masālik*) of al-Andalus, its anchorages (*marāṣī*), its principal towns (*um-mahāt al-mudun*) and the six Arab *ajūdun* [q.v.] which were settled there after the conquest. This description of Spain has been preserved in a Castilian translation published in 1850 by P. de Gayangos as an appendix to his *Memoria sobre la autenticidad de la Crónica denominada del Moro Rasis* (supplemented by R. Menéndez Pidal, *Catálogo de la Real Biblioteca. Manuscritos, Crónicas generales de España*, Madrid 1898). The description forms the first part of this *Crónica* and in its present Castilian form comes from a translation into Portuguese, now lost, prepared by order of King Denis of Portugal towards the beginning of the 14th century by a cleric named Gil Pérez; the latter was no doubt the author of the second part and in the third he confined himself to summing up very briefly the historical work in the strict sense of Aḥmad al-Rāzī.

The description of Spain by al-Rāzī, in spite of the many difficulties offered by the fact that it has passed through two translations, both often very inaccurate and corrupt in the place-names, is nevertheless a very important document from the geographical, as well as the political and social point of view for the Muḥammadan part

of Spain in the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. After a number of general reflections on al-Andalus, its situation with regard to the rest of the inhabited world, and its climate, we have an individual description of each of the principal districts, of which special use was made by Yāqūt [q.v.] for the Spanish references in his *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*. A comparison of the Spanish text of al-Rāzī's description with that of Yāqūt enables us to discover a close relationship between the two works. They both give the same number of administrative circles (*kūra*) in Umayyad Spain of the 10th century, 41 in all: Cordova, Cabra, Elvira, Jaen, Todmir, Valencia, Tortosa, Tarragona, Lérida, Barbitania, Huesca, Tudela, Saragossa, Calatayud, Bārūsha, Médinaceli, Shantabariya, Racupel, Zorita, Guadalajara, Toledo, Oretó, Faḡs al-Ballūt (Llano de las bellotas), Firriish, Mérida, Badajoz, Béja, Ocsonoba, Santarem, Coimbra, Exitania, Lisbon, Niébila, Sevilla, Carmona, Moron, Sidona (Shadhūna), Algéciras, Reiyo, Ecija and Tākoronnā.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Taʿrīkh ʿUlamāʾ al-Andalus* (B.A.H., vii.—viii.), Madrid 1892, No. 135; al-Ḍabbī, *Buḡyat al-Multamis* (B.A.H., iii.), Madrid 1885, No. 329 and 330; al-Maḡḡarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭib (Analectes)*, ii. 111, 118; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arīb*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth (G.M.S., vi. 2), Leyden 1909, p. 76—77; R. Dozy, cf. above; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, No. 23; A. González Palencia, *Hist. de la lit. ar. esp.*, p. 130—131; J. Alemany Bolufer, *La Geografía de la Península Ibérica en los escritores árabes*, Granada 1921, p. 28 sqq.

iii. ʿISĀ B. AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD, son of ii., grandson of i., continued his father's Umayyad chronicle down to his own time and extended the portions dealing with earlier periods by using sources which had not been available to Aḥmad al-Rāzī. He has not been the subject of notice by any of the Spanish biographers already published but he is frequently quoted by later historians, notably by Ibn Ḥaiyān [q.v.], Ibn Saʿīd [q.v.] and Ibn al-Abbār [q.v.]. According to the latter, he also wrote a monograph on the *ḥadjijs* [q.v.] of the Umayyad court of Cordova: *Kitāb al-Hudjjiḍ li 'l-Khulafāʾ bi 'l-Andalus*.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥaiyān, *al-Muḡtabis*, Oxford ms., *passim*; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥullat al-siyarāʾ*, in Dozy, *Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes*, Leyden 1847—1851, p. 74; al-Maḡḡarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭib (Analectes)*, ii. 671; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, No. 41; A. González Palencia, *Hist. de la lit. ar. esp.*, p. 131.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AMĪN AḤMAD RĀZĪ, a Persian biographer. Hardly anything is known of his life. He belonged to Raiy where his father Khwādja Mirzā Aḥmad was celebrated for his wealth and benevolence. He was in high favour with Shāh Ṭahmāsp and was appointed by him *kalāntar* of his native town. His paternal uncle Khwādja Muḥammad Sharif was vizier of Khurāsān, Yazd and Isfahān, his cousin Ghīyāth-Beg a high official at the court of the Emperor Akbar. Amīn himself is said to have visited India. The work to which he owes his fame is the great collection of biographies *Haft Iklim* (finished in 1002 = 1594). For many years he collected information about famous men until finally he yielded to the entreaties of one of his friends and arranged his material in book form. The final editing of it took six years. The

biographies are arranged geographically according to the 7 climes. In each clime the biographical part is preceded by a short geographical and historical introduction which is followed by notes on poets, 'ulamā's, famous *shāikh*s etc. in chronological order. The work is of special importance for the history of Persian literature, as the biographies of poets contain numerous specimens of their works, some of which are very rare. It contains the following sections: Clime I: Yaman, Bilād al-Zandj, Nubia, China. Clime II: Mecca, Medina, Yamāma, Hurmuz, Dekkān, Ahmādnagar, Dawlatābād, Golkonda, Ahmādābād, Sūrat, Bengal, Orissa and Kūsh. Clime III: Irāk, Baghdād, Kūfa, Nadjaf, Baṣra, Yazd, Fārs, Sīstān, Kāndahār, Ghaznīn, Lahūr, Dihlī, India from the oldest times down to Akbar, Syria, Egypt. Clime IV: Khurāsān, Balkh, Herāt, Djam, Mashhad, Nīshāpūr, Sabzawār, Isfara'īn, Isfahān, Kāshān, Kūm, Suza, Hamadḥān, Raiy and Tīhrān, Damāwand, Astarābād, Ṭabaristān, Māzandarān, Gilān, Qazwīn, Aḥdarbāidjān, Tabriz, Ardabil, Marāgha. Clime V: Shirwān, Gandja, Khwārizm, Mā warā' al-Nahr, Samarqānd, Bukhārā, Farghāna. Clime VI: Turkistān, Fārāb, Yārkand, Rūs, Constantinopel, Rūm. Clime VII: Bulghār, Şaklab, Yādījūdj, Mādījūdj. — Unfortunately this valuable work has not yet been published. Mawlawī 'Abd al-Muḥtadīr began his edition in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, but so far only one part has appeared (Calcutta 1918).

Bibliography: Rieu, *Catalogue* 335b; E. G. Browne, *A Hist. of Persian Literature in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924, p. 448; H. Ethé, *Neupersische Literatur*, in *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii. 213. (E. BERTHELS)

REDİF (Ar. *radīf*), "what follows immediately after a person or thing (Fagnan, *Additions*); one mounted on a croup, pillion-rider"; cf. for use in the figurative sense in a composite epithet in Turkish (Persian): *ordu-i zafer-redif*: "the victorious army (one which has victory on its croup)" (*Tārīkh-i Djewdet*, 1270 A. H., i. 22). The synonyms *terdif* and, more rarely, *irdāf*, "the act of causing to follow or join, to make to accompany", are also sometimes used in Turkish as well as the words *terdif* and *irdāf*. As a technical term *radīf*, pronounced *redif*, has been used: 1. in Persian and Turkish prosody; 2. in the Ottoman army.

1. Persian and Turkish prosody. — Redif is a kind of "hypermetre" (taking this word in a wider sense than in classical or even English prosody), i. e. the part of the line which follows the rhyme (*kāfiye*: in Neo-Turkish: *ayak*) or more exactly the last syllable of the latter (*rawī*), or which comes between two words forming a rhyme. The *redif* may consist of one or more suffixes, particles or independent words. The old theorists however disputed the quality of redif to repeated suffixes and gave different names to each of the (Arabic) letters representing them: *waṣl* (first letter); *khurūdj* (second); *masid* (third); *nā'ire* (fourth). In Persian and Turkish prosody the same redif is repeated at the end of all the lines of a piece of poetry.

Although it made its appearance in Turkish as early as the xiiith century, the redif is an especially Persian invention. Indeed in the national Turkish poetry (syllabic metre) suffixes or particles repeated at the end of the lines count as rhyme (Kowalski, *Ze studjów nad formą poezji ludowej tureckich*, Cracow, 1922, p. 33). The redif existed in classical Arabic only in an embryonic form and

under another name (Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique*, p. 143). The redif fell into disuse in Turkey in the xixth century, probably under the influence of French poetry.

In addition to this special use in prosody the name redif is sometimes given to the second term of an *itbā'*, i. e. of a hendiadys (*mūzāwedje*) of which the two terms rhyme or are alliterative; as for example Pers. *fulān bāhmān, daḡḡ u-lakḡ, khaṣh u-khāsh*, Turk. *parça parça, ufak tefek* (*Burhān-i kāfī*, Turk. transl. p. 128, 323, 328, 371). *Mutarādif* (*müterādif*) means "synonym".

2. Turkish military usage. — Maḥmūd II gave the name of redif (*'asākīr redife-i menşūre*) to the reserve army created in 1834 (Jouanin and van Gaver, *Turquie*, p. 425). The historian Luṭfi (iv. 144) speaking of the project for this army, under the year 1249 (May 21 1833—May 9 1834) explains the meaning of the term by saying that it was a force that "came after" the regular army (*muwazzafe-ye redif olarak*). They were therefore not soldiers who had, at need, to mount behind the cavalry on the croup, like the Roman velites. Redif was contrasted with *niḡām* or *'asākīr-i niḡāmīye* or *'asākīr-i muwazzafe*, taken in the strict sense of active or regular army (standing army) and with *ihtiyā'* "reserve of the regular army". For the lack of an exact equivalent we may say militia in English and "armée de reserve" or "garde nationale" in French. The German term "Landwehr" is perhaps nearest it but in the Prussian rather than the Austrian sense. Sometimes the redif are included in the *niḡāmīye*, taking the latter term in a wider sense of regular or disciplined troops (synonym *müretteb*). Luṭfi (*loc. cit.*) calls the redif *bir newi'* *'asākīr-i niḡāmīye* "a kind of regular troops".

The characteristic feature of the redif army was the existence of permanent cadres, whence its mixed character. It was linked with the regular army by its officers and with the reserve by its men (*efrād-i redife*). It was the object of its creators that this army should provide a large number of men if necessary without imposing too long a period of service on the rural population (Luṭfi, *op. cit.*).

It was decided from the first that the redif should consist of battalions (*tabur*) and indeed this organisation by battalion depots (*tabur dā'ireleri*) remained in force as long as the redif existed. The commanders of these battalions (*bīnbāshī*) were at first chosen from the chief local families (*maḥalleri khānedānīndan*). The first battalions formed in 1250 (May 10 1834 to April 28 1835) were those of the *sandjaks* [q. v.] of Ḳaraḥiṣār Şāhib, Anḳara, Kiangırlı (Çankırlı), Siroz and Monteshe. Ismā'il Bey, hereditary Kurd governor of Palu, was appointed colonel of the three battalions in the *kaḡās* known as those of the "Imperial Mines" (*me'ādin-i hūmayūn*) in the *eyālet* of Siwās (Luṭfi, iv. 171). There were three to four battalions to the *sandjak*, or 10 to 12 to the *eyālet*. The officers received a quarter of the usual pay, but were only expected to serve and wear uniform two days a week (Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pāshā, *Netā'idj ül-Wuḡū'at*, iv. 109).

In 1252 (April 18, 1836 to April 6, 1837), the redif was organised in wide groups with a high command: *müşşerlik* (*mürşşürlük*) or "marshalship" [cf. *MÜŞİR*] of redif, conferred upon the *wālīs*. The first were those of the *eyālets* of Ḳaraman (Konya), Khudāwendigār (Brussa: guard or *khāṣṣe*), Anḳara, Aydn, Erzurum, Edirne. At

the same time plans were made to raise the money required for this purpose. The wali-marshals were given the *harwānī* (*kharāmānī*) or cloaks of their new rank. Just as the troops of the line (*menşüre*) were distinguished from those of the guard (*khāsse*) so there were *redif-i menşüre* and *redif-i khāsse*. The appointment of commanders of divisions was to follow (for details see the *Ṭakrīr-i ālī* or report of the grand vizier Mehmed Emin Ra'ūf Pāshā in Lutfi, v. 165—170). If we may believe the *khāṭṭ-i hümāyūn* promulgated on this occasion by Maḥmūd II, these first steps gave every satisfaction (*ibid.*, p. 74).

When the Military School (*mekteb-i ḥarbiye*) instituted in 1251 began to supply officers, the redif under arms was converted into active forces and the officers were sent back to their *odjāks* (*Netā'idj ül-Wukū'āt*, iv. 109—110). The service as redif (*khidmet-i redife*) was now definitely to assume the character of a kind of period of service in the reserve or intermittent service the duration of which (*müddet-i redife*) was to be fixed under conditions which we shall explain below.

In the *khāṭṭ-i hümāyūn* of Gülkhāne (Nov. 31, 1839) there is an allusion to an approaching improvement in the system of regional recruiting. In 1838, five years had been fixed as the period of service in the regular army, previously practically unlimited (one saw young married soldiers leaving their families for life), but this measure did not immediately make its effect felt (cf. von Moltke, *Lettres sur l'Orient*, n. d., p. 211, letter N^o. xlvii.).

On Sept. 6, 1843 the military law of the *ser'asker* Rızā Pāshā (Engelhardt, i. 71) was promulgated, a law of fundamental importance, half French and half German in character, the principles of which have survived even in the most recent legislation; it confirmed the period of regular service at five years (later reduced to four), to be followed by a period of seven years during which a redif could be recalled to the colours for a month each year (later every two years). Each *ordu* (army corps) was to have its redif contingent (*şımf-ı redif*) placed in time of peace under the orders of a brigadier-general (*liwā*, brigade) who lived at the headquarters of the *ordu*. In 1853 (Ubicini, i. 456) the redif were organised into 4 (out of 6) *ordu*, namely those of *khāsse* (Scutari [Asia] and Smyrna), Derise'adet (Istanbul and Anḳara), Rumeli (Manastır) and Anatolia (Harput). The *ordu* of 'Arabistān and the 'Irāḳ were still to be organised. Ubicini adds this observation: "By means of this organisation the government has secured.... a force at its disposal equal to the regular army and capable of being moved in a few weeks either to the line of the Balkans or to any other point in the empire". According to Bianchi (*Guide de la conversation*, 1852, p. 230), the organised reserve (*müretteb redif*) was then 150,000 men compared with 300,000 of the regular army.

Husein 'Awni Pāshā's law of 1869, more clearly French in character (Aristarchi, iii. 514; Engelhardt, ii. 37 *sqq.*), provided for 4 years active service and one of *ihtiyāt* or in the active reserve, a period of 6 years in the redif in two bans (*şımf-ı muḳaddem* and *şımf-ı tālī*) of 3 years each (according to Engelhardt of 4 and 2 years respectively). In practice in 1877 there were 3 bans, the third (*şımf-ı thālīth*) being represented by the territorial army (*mustahfiz*) then mobilised (Zboński, p. 98). A conscript who obtained a lucky number

in the draw was drafted directly into the redif army (art. 17).

The law of 27th Şafar 1304 = 13rd Teshrin-i thānī 1302 (Nov. 25, 1886; résumé by Lamouche, p. 77 and Young, ii. 394) prepared by a commission of reorganisation which included Muẓaffar Walī Rızā Pāshā and von der Goltz Pāshā, fixed the period of redif service at 9 years, but was soon afterwards followed by a special law (*redif kanunu*) of 10th Muḥarram 1305 (Sept. 28, 1887). According to this, which was however not put into force till 1892, the period of redif service was 8 years. The ranks in the redif were the same as in the regular army from general of division down to sergeant-major. These officers formed at the same time the personnel of the recruiting offices for the whole army.

According to the law regulating the uniforms of the army on land (*elbise-i 'askerīye nizam-nāmesi*) of the 29th Djumādā I 1327 = 5th Ḥaziran 1325 (June 18, 1909), the redif soldiers wore as distinctive badge a dark green (*neftī*) piping (*zih*, Pers. *zih*, Arab. *zik*) at the bottom of the collar (*yaḳa*) of the tunic (*djaket* or *djeket*, modern spelling: *caket*, *ceket*). The officers wore a piece of cloth of the same colour 7 centimetres in length fastened on the collar of the undress tunic (*ceket*) or the full dress tunic (*setre*, older *setri*; cf. Pers. *sudre*) (*Düstūr*, *Terṭīb-i thānī*, i. 276; A. Biliotti and Aḥmad Sedād, *Législation ottomane*, Paris 1912, p. 171 *sqq.*).

The redif system was abandoned by the Young Turks. The law of 18th Ramaḍān 1330 = 18th Aghustos 1328 (Aug. 31, 1912) without proclaiming the dissolution of the corps ordered the formation of units of *mustahfiz* with elements furnished by the battalion depots in the second inspection (*müfettişlik*) of redif (*Düstūr*, *Terṭīb-i thānī*, iv. 615). The Young Turks have been reproached with this measure and some have even seen in it the cause of the Turkish defeat in the Balkan War.

Bibliography: 1. Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et prosodie des langues de l'Orient musulman*², Paris 1873, index under *ridf*, *radif*, *tarāduf*, *murādif*; Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de Perse*, p. 28, note; Mu'allim Nādjī, *İstīlāḥāt-i edebīye*, Istanbul 1307, s.v. *ridf*, *redif*, *müreddef*, p. 78, 84 and 86. Cf. also the *Bibliography* of the article 'ARÜP.

2. Léon Lamouche, *L'organisation militaire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1895; H. Zboński, *Armée Ottomane (loi de 1869)*, Paris 1877; L. v. Schlözer, *Das türkische Heer*, Leipzig n. d.; Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, Paris 1853; Ed. Engelhardt, *La Turquie et le Tanzimat*, Paris 1882; Aristarchi Bey, *Législation Ottomane*, publ. by Démétrius Nicolaïdes, part 3, Constantinople 1874; George Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman*, vol. ii., Oxford 1905. — (The collections of Turkish laws or *düstūr* generally refrain from including the principal laws relating to the army and the two works just mentioned contain only a very few). (J. DENY)

REFİİ, an Ottoman poet and Ḥurūfī. Of Refi's life we only have a few hints from himself; the Ottoman biographers and historians do not seem to mention him at all. He himself describes how in his youth he studied many branches of knowledge but did not know what he should believe, and how sometimes he turned to the Sunna, sometimes to philosophy and sometimes to

materialism. He often travelled a great distance to visit a particular scholar but always was disappointed. The poet Nesimî [q. v.] was the first to teach him the grace of God and the truth, and ordered him to teach this truth in his turn to the people of Rûm, and for this purpose he had to speak in Turkish. He therefore wrote his *Beshâret-nâme*, "the message of joy", which he finished on the first Friday of Ramadân 811 (Jan. 18, 1409). This work is not yet printed; it is quite short and written in the same metre as 'Ashîk Pasha's *Gharîbnâme*, a *remel* of six feet with irregular prosody. The Hurûfî teaching is expounded in a very prosaic style, the merits of the names and letters, the sacred number 32, the prophets, the throne of God, the human countenance, the splitting of the moon, Faql Allâh [q. v.], the founder of the Hurûfî sect — all this is dealt with from the usual Hurûfî point of view. As sources an *Arshnâme*, a *Djâwidânnâme*, and a *Maḥabbetnâme* are quoted; the first and third are probably the works of the same names by Faql Allâh, the second according to Rieu was written by Afḍal Kāshî (d. 707 = 1307).

Another of Refî's works is the "Book of Treasure" (*Gendj-nâme*). It is printed in the Stamboul edition of the *Diwân* of Nesimî. The *Gendj-nâme* is better as poetry and on the whole less Hurûfî than generally Sûfî in tone. Man from the Hurûfî and philosophic point of view, Faql Allâh and Aḥmad (= Muḥammad), the 72 sects, the greatest Name (*ism-i âzam*), the water of life etc. are discussed in it.

Nesimî and his pupil Refî seem to be the only Ottoman Hurûfî poets of importance, and while the sect, in spite of all persecutions, continued to exist long after and even had connections with the Bektāshîye, these two poets as such do not seem to have produced any school. So far as I am aware know no historian of Turkish literature has taken any interest in Refî, until quite recently Köprülü-zâde Mehmed Fu'ad, who has even promised us a special study of him.

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RE'İS ÜL-KÜTTÂB or **RE'İS EFENDİ** (Ar., used in Turkey), properly "chief of the men of the pen", a high Ottoman dignitary, directly under the grand vizier, originally head of the chancery of the Imperial Diwân (*dîwân-i ḥümâyûn*), later secretary of state or chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs. According to d'Herbelot he was called also *re'is kitab*.

This office, unlike many others, is purely Ottoman, at least as regards the particular line of development that it took. Establishing itself at the expense of

the functions of the *nishāndji* [q. v.], we may say that it owes nothing to the influence of the more or less iranised Saldjûks, nor to the Byzantines. In its origins it seems rather to be connected with a more general and more vague institution of the East, one which deserves more profound study: that of the secretaries of the *dîwân* or chiefs of the secretariat of the *dîwân*. This office is found in different Muslim countries under different names: *perwâne* among the Mongols of Persia, *dîwân begi* among the Timūrids, *munshi* in Persia, (cf. Chardin, vi. 175; Ewliyâ Çelebi, ii. 267). In the Ottoman provinces there was attached also to the *wālî* an important official known as the *dîwân efendî(sî)*; in Egypt, under Mehmed 'Alî, the *dîwân efendî* became a kind of president of the council of ministers. The *re'is ü-l-küttâb* were in brief the *dîwân efendîsî* of the capital. It is perhaps to this that we owe the use of the title *re'is efendî*, by which they were more commonly known. We know that the term *efendî* was generally applied to people of the pen. This connection seems to have already been noticed by E. Blochet (*Voyage en Orient de Carlier Pinon*, Paris 1920, p. 83).

Until the time of Sulaimân the Magnificent, the title *re'is ü-l-küttâb* (or *re'is efendî*) was not used. At least this is what we are told by Aḥmed Resmî, who quotes in this connection the *Bed'î'î ü-l-Wekâ'î* of the historian Koḍja Hüsein Efendî of Sarajevo (cf. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 186). The latter, who was himself *re'is ü-l-küttâb*, says that before Sulaimân, the official correspondence was in the hands of the *emin-i aḥkâm* or "depository of the decisions (of the Diwân)" along with the *nishāndji*. This point of view has been adopted by other historians (v. Hammer; cf. also the *Salnâme-i Neẓâret-i khâridjîye*).

There is however no agreement as to who was the first *re'is ü-l-küttâb*; it is usually said to have been Djelâl (Djelâl)-zâde Mustafâ Celebi [q. v.] (cf. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 102). This well known historian, whose genealogy is taken back to the legendary founder of Byzantium, Yanko b. Madyan, was *re'is ü-l-küttâb* in 931 (1524—1525) before becoming *nishāndji*, but the *Nukhet ü-l-Tewâriḥ* of Mehmed b. Mehmed refers to the death in 930 (1523—1524) of a *re'is ü-l-küttâb* of the name of Ḥaidar Efendî. According to other indications, it would even appear that the office goes back to Mehmed II [cf. the article NISHANDJI].

The *riyâset* or office of *re'is efendî* lasted over three centuries during which its holder changed 130 times, the average tenure of office being 2 years and 5 months, which reveals a remarkable lack of ministerial stability: some of the occupants held the office twice, thrice and even four times.

Duties of the *re'is efendî*. As secretary of state the *re'is* kept records of memoirs and reports (*telkîs* and *tahrîr*) presented to the sultân by the grand vizier acting as representative of the government and of the Diwân. These documents which were prepared by the *âmedî-i dîwân-i ḥümâyûn* or *âmedjî* (referendar or reporter of the Imperial Diwân) were brought in a bag (*kise*) kept for the purpose to the ceremonial sittings of the Diwân by the *re'is* himself who handed them to the grand vizier. After being read they were given to a special officer, the *telkîşdjî*, whose duty it was to present them to the sultân.

As chancellor the *re'is* had a kind of jurisdiction over all the civil functionaries and was the immediate

head of the department of the Imperial Diwân (*diwân-i hümayûn kalemi*).

This chancellery was divided into three offices (*oda* or *kalem*):

1. the *beylik*, the most important, saw to the despatch of imperial rescripts (*fîrmân*), orders of the viziers, and in general all ordinances (*evâmîr*) other than those of the department of finance (*defterdâr dâiresi*). This office kept copies of them as did the grand vizier also. Ordinances bearing on the back the signatures of the clerk, of the chief editor (*mümeiys*), and of the head of the office (*beylikdji*) were submitted by the latter to the *re'is* who placed his sign (*resid*) upon them and, if it was a *fîrmân*, sent it to the *nishândji* for the *tughra* [q. v.] to be placed upon it. — The *beylik* in addition retained the originals of civil and military regulations (*kânûn* or *kânûn-nâme*) (usually elaborated by the *nishândji*) as well as of treaties and capitulations (*ahd-nâme*) with foreign powers. The *re'is* had to consult these treaties, notably when certifying the *der-kenâr* or "marginal" answers put by his subordinates on the requests or notes, known as verbal (*taqrîr*), which the ambassadors addressed to the grand vizier. It is this side of his activity which, gradually becoming more and more important and absorbing, ended by making the *re'is* a Minister of Foreign Affairs.

2. office of the *tahtwîl* or "annual renewal" of the diplomas of the governors of provinces (*berât*), of the brevets of the *mollâs* or judges in towns of the first class (*tahtwîl*), of the brevets of the timariots or holders of military fiefs (*zabt fîrmânî*).

3. office of the *ru'ûs* or "provisions" of different officials, as well as of the orders for pensions from the treasury (*sergi*) or from *wakfs* (cf. the details of the organisation of this office in Mouradgea d'Ohsson, vii. 161).

The *re'is* accompanied the grand vizier to the audiences which the sultân gave him and to those which the grand vizier himself gave to ambassadors. He shared with his master the midday meal as did the *çavuş baskî* [cf. ÇAWUSH] and the two *teskere'dji*, except on Wednesdays when these two were replaced by the four judges of Istanbul.

In the official protocol the *re'is* had the same rank as the *çavuş baskî* with whom he walked in official processions, before the *defterdârs* (which showed he was of lower rank than the latter).

The *elkâb* or epistolary formula to which they were entitled will be found in Feridûn, *Münsh'e'ât*, p. 10. It is the same as for the *aghâs* of the stirrup [cf. RIK'ÂBDÂR] and the *defter emîni*. For the dress of the *re'is* see Brindisi, *Anciens Costumes Turcs*, pl. 2; Castellan, iv. 107.

According to Mouradgea d'Ohsson, the *re'is* used to act as agents for the khâns of the Crimea.

Administrative career of the *re'is*. The *re'is*, like all Ottoman officials, were chosen by the sultân or grand vizier as they pleased, but, except in case of appointment by favour, they followed a fixed line of promotion (*tavîk*) in the administration. It was in the administrative offices, i. e. among the *khodjagîân* (Persian plur. which was given as an honorific title to the principal clerks or *khodja* or *kalem gâibi'leri*) that this career was spent.

In examining the *Sefînet ül-Rû'esâ'* of Ahmed Resmî, we find that up to the *re'is* Boyalî Mehmed Efendi (*Pâshâ*) (d. 977 = 1569-1570) there is no information available about the career of the *re'is*,

but starting with him we find that the *re'is* were regularly chosen from among the former *teskere'dji* of the *wezîrs* or of the grand vizier. From *Sheikh-zâde* 'Abdî Efendi (d. in 1014 = 1605-1606) the *re'is* were mainly taken from the *wezîr mektûbdjisi* or private secretaries of the grand vizier. These secretaries were themselves at the head of an office (*oda*) which contained a very small number of officials (*khalîfe* or *kalfa*, pl. *khulefâ'*); there were only two between the years 1090 and 1100. When the number increased (at a later date there were about 30) the career of the future *re'is* was as follows: *khalîfe* in the office in question, called also *mektûbî-i şâdr-i 'âlî odası*, then *ser-khalîfe* or *bash-kalfa* "chief clerk", then *mektûbdji*. The post of *mektûbdji* was much sought after. It brought its holder into close contact with the grand vizier and it was then very easy to advance oneself. More rarely the future *re'is* rose through the similar but less important office of secretary to the lieutenant to the grand vizier or Kiahya Bey (*ketkhûda kiâtibi odası*).

The *riyâset* did not mark the end of a career but gave access to still higher posts (see art. NISHÂNDJÎ for the old rules of promotion by which the *re'is* became *nishândji*). It was one of what were known as the "six [principal] dignities", *menâsib-i sütte*, namely, the *nishândji*, *defterdâr*, *re'is ül-küttâb*, *defter emîni*, *shikk-i thâni* *defterdârî*, *shikk-i thâlith* *defterdârî* (Ahmed Râsim, *Târîkh*, p. 756).

According to the *Naşihat-nâme* (p. 39-40 of the French translation; cf. this Encyclopædia, iv. 815-816), the *re'is* was under the authority of the Grand Defterdâr (for financial matters only?).

Increasing importance of the office of *re'is*. — The growing influence of the *re'is* is explained by the increasing importance of foreign policy in Turkey (the Eastern question).

Down to the end of the xvth century the *nishândji* were certainly superior to the *re'is*: they controlled and even revised the orders and decisions of the *diwân* (*ahkâm*), but from the xvith century onwards *re'is* like Okdju-zâde Mehmed Shâh Efendi, Lâ'm-'Alî Çelebi and Hükmi Efendi shed a certain lustre on their office. From 1060 (1650) the incapacity of certain *nishândji* precipitated the decline of their office in spite of the ephemeral efforts by grand viziers like *Shehid* 'Alî Pâshâ and of the *nishândjis* appointed by him (Râshid Efendi and Selim Efendi). It was in this period that the office of *beylikdji* was created (cf. above).

The Ottoman protocol (*teshrîfât*) was nevertheless still to retain for a long time traces of the originally rather subordinate position of the *re'is*. For example they did not sit in the office of the *Diwân* itself, called *Diwân-khâne* (in the Top Kapu Sarayı or "Old Serai"), but remained seated outside of the room in a place called *re'is tahtası*, "the bench of the *re'is*", where there were also seats for certain other officials to wait upon. In the formal sittings, even in those like the distribution of pay (*ulûfe*) to the Janissaries which took place in the presence of foreign ambassadors, the part played by the *re'is* was rather limited. He carried in with slow step and the sleeves of his *üst* turned up the bag containing the *telhîs* (cf. above). He kissed the hem (*etek*) of the grand vizier's robe, placed the bag on his left, kissed the hem of his robe again and withdrew to his place. He came in again to open the bag, handed the documents to

the grand vizier, took them back from him to fold them (*baghlamak*), sealed them and gave them to the *telkhişdjî*. If he was unable to be present, the bag of the *telkhiş* was handed to the grand vizier by the *büyük teskeredjî* (*Ḳanûn-nâme* of 'Abd ül-Rahmân Pasha, p. 85, 123 etc.).

Lucas (*Second Voyage*, Paris 1712, p. 216) writes that during the audience given by the grand vizier to the French Ambassador "le Ray Affendy ou Grand Chancelier demeura debout et appuïé contre la muraille".

Things were changed at the reform of the Diwân effected at the beginning of his reign (1792) by Selim, desirous of limiting the power of the grand vizier. The old Diwân consisted of six *wazirs* of the dome (having only one consultative voice), of the Muftî (*Shaiḫ al-Islâm*) and the two *ḳazaskers*. The new Diwân was to consist of 10 members by right of office and others chosen in different ways (about 40 in all). The members by right of office were the *Kiaḫya Bey*, the *Re'is Efendi*, the Grand Defterdâr, the *Çelebi Efendi*, the *Tersâne Emini*, the *Çawuş Bashî* etc. (Zinkeisen, *Geschichte*, vii., 1863, p. 321).

The office of *re'is* tended more and more to become the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Sublime Porte, parallel to the post of *Kiaḫya Bey* (Interior).

Suppression of the dignity of *re'is*. — The title of *re'is* was suppressed by the *ḫaṭṭ-i ḥümâyûn* of Sultân Maḥmûd II addressed on Friday 23rd Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1251 (March 11, 1836) to the grand vizier Mehmed Emin Pasha. The Turkish text will be found in the *Sâlnâme* of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the French translation (or at least parts of it) was published in the *Moniteur Ottoman* of April 23, 1836 (according to A. Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, p. 38, note 1). This document at the same time created two new ministries (*nezâret*) which in memory of their origin remained to the end in the same building as the grand vizierate [cf. BÂB-I 'ÂLÎ in Suppl.]: 1. the Ministry of the Interior (originally of civil affairs or *umûr-u mülkiye*, later *dâḫiliye*) replacing the department of the *Kiaḫya Bey*, and 2. the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*ḫâridîye*) replacing that of the *re'is*. The preamble said that, abandoning the old regulations of the service, the sultân had thought it advisable to create real posts of *wazîr* (*wazâret*) and not honorary ones, but without its being necessary to give the new *wazîr* of foreign affairs the title of *pasha* [q. v.], "which is mainly a military one".

Bibliography: By far the most important source is the work known as *Sefinet ül-Rü'esâ'* which consists of: 1. Aḥmad Resmî's work (Babinger, *G. O. R.*, p. 309 sq.) which contains the biographies of 64 *re'is* down to Râghib Mehmed Efendi (1157 = 1744), and 2. its continuation by Sulaimân Fâ'îk Efendi which contains the biographies of 30 *re'is* down to Aḥmad Wâṣîf Efendi at the beginning of the 19th century. According to the preface to Sulaimân Fâ'îk's (not Fâtîk) continuation, Aḥmad Resmî had entitled his work *Ḥalîkat ül-Rü'esâ'*, in imitation of the *Ḥadîkat ül-Wuzerâ'* of 'Oṭmân-zâde Tâ'ib, but changed it at the suggestion of Râghib Pasha to *Sefinet ül-Rü'esâ'* (the references in the Catalogue of Turkish MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale by E. Blochet, ii. 158, should be corrected accordingly). The word *halîkat* apparently makes no sense, that of *ḫalîfat* which is usually

found in other works (Flügel, *Cat.*, ii. 407, N^o. 1250; Babinger; Brusalt Mehmed Tâhir, iii. 59 note), does not seem correct either. One ought undoubtedly to read *ḫalîkat* (which rhymes with the *ḥadîkat* of the prototype). The *Sefinet ül-Rü'esâ'* was published by the State Press in Istanbul in 1269.

Cf. also in addition to the references in the text: Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Etat de l'Empire Othoman*, vii., 1824, index; Joseph von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, ii., index; *Ḳanûn-nâme* of Tewḳî'î (*nishândjî*) 'Abd ül-Rahmân Pasha, written in 1087 (1676–1677) and ed. by F. Köprülü (*M. T. M.*, p. 508); Es'ad Efendi, *Teshrifât-ı Devlet-i 'Âliye*, p. 85, 123 etc.; *Sâlnâme-i Nezâret-i Ḳhâridîye*, 1st year, 1301 (1885), Imprimerie Ebüzziya, Istanbul (contains in addition a historical resumé and a chronological list of all the grand viziers and all the *re'is*); Charles Perry, *A View of the Levant, particularly of Constantinople* etc., London 1743, p. 36. — On the *ṣāhib al-diwān* or *ra'is* (!) *al-diwān*, see *Kalkashandî*, *Ṣubḥ al-'Ashā*, i. 101 sqq.; vi. 14, 17–18, 50; Massé, *Code de la Chancellerie d'Etat... d'Ibn al-Ṣayrafî*, in *B. I. F. C.*, xi. 79 sq. — Among the Saldjûks, the offices of *ṣāhib al-diwān* and *perwāna* were quite separate: cf. Houtsma, *Recueil d. Textes... Seldj.*, iii. 105. (J. DENY)

REIYO, the name given in Muslim Spain to the administrative circle (*kūra*) comprising the south of the Peninsula, the capital of which was successively Archidona (Arabic: *Urdjudhūna*) and Malaga. The usual Arabic orthography is رايو; in particular this is the form found in the *Mu'djam al-Buldān* of Yāḳūt; but some Spanish MSS. give

the true orthography رايه, more in keeping with the local pronunciation Reiyu (Raiyu) attested by Ibn Ḥawḳal. It is only, as Dozy thought, a transcription of the Latin *regio* (no doubt *Malacitana regio*); the suggestion put forward by Gayangos of a connection with the Persian town-name al-Raiy is of course untenable.

When the fiefs in the south of Spain were assigned to the former companions of Baldj b. Bishr [q. v.], the district of Reiyu was allotted to the *djund* of Jordan (*al-Urdunn*). During the Umayyad caliphate of Cordova, the *kūra* of Reiyu was bounded by those of Cabra and Algeciras in the west, by the Mediterranean in the south and by the *kūra* of Elvira in the east.

Bibliography: al-Idrîsî, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. and transl. Dozy and de Goeje, p. 174, 204 of the text, 209, 250 of the transl.; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 892 (cf. ii. 826); Ibn 'Abd al-Mu'nim al-Himyari, *al-Rawḍ al-mi'ṭār*, Spain, N^o. 81; Dozy, *Recherches* 3, i. 317–320; Alemany Bolufer, *La geografía de la Peninsula ibérica en los escritores árabes*, Granada 1921, p. 118; E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane au X^eme siècle*, Paris 1932, p. 116—118.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

RESHT, first a district, then a town and lastly the capital of the province of Gilān in Persia. As V. Barthold points out (*Gilān po rukopisi Tumanskogo*, in *Bull. de l'Inst. Cauc. d'Hist. et d'Archéol.*, Tiflis 1927, vol. vi.), our

information regarding the history and historical geography of Gilān is so far very scanty. Le Strange's remark that the position of the chief towns of Gilān cannot be exactly given is still true. The Tumanski MS. (tenth century) is the earliest to inform us that before the foundation of towns their names were already in existence as those of districts. In particular seven districts are mentioned in the eastern part of Gilān on this side of the river — Biepišh (Islām having penetrated there from the east), and eleven in the western part on the other side of the river — Biepas. Among the seven eastern districts we find one called Lāfidjān (i. e. Lāhidjān) and among the eleven western ones that of Resht. The towns of this name did not exist at this time. They are not mentioned, in fact, until the Mongol period.

General. Gilān is now divided into 19 districts (of which five are called *Hamse-ye-Tewālesh*), that of Mawāzi with Resht, capital of the province, being the most important. According to Rabino (1917), the town of Resht has a population of 30,000 and the district of Mawāzi 90,500 out of the total of 339,300 for the province. These figures must have increased by now. Resht, also called Dār ul-Marz or "frontierland", lies between two small rivers, the Siāhrūdbār or Seigālān in the east and the Gowher-rūd in the west, which unite and flow into the Bay of Enzeli (now Pehlewi), which is eight miles from the town. The bazaars occupy a considerable part of the centre of the town, which is traversed by dark and narrow streets. Only a few years ago Resht had very few broad streets and was only partly paved. Recently there have been steps taken to improve matters. The town is divided into 7 *maḥalles*: Zāhedān, Maḥalle-ye-bāzār, Khumairān, Khumairān-e-Zāhedān, Ustād Serā, Čumār Serā and Kiyāb. It has some 6,000 houses, 3,300 shops, 20 caravanserais for merchants and 25 for caravans, 40 mosques, 12 sanctuaries, 36 tekkes, 6 medreses, 35 baths, and 7 bridges (all these figures refer to the period before the War). Among the mosques only the Masdjid-i Šafi, the oldest, seems to be of any interest. Ḥasan Beg, author of the *Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh*, calls it Masdjid-i Šafi and adds that when Ismā'il Šāh fled from Ardabil to Gilān, he spent some time near this mosque. In its courtyard there is a well into which women throw silver in order that their prayers may be granted. The Imām-Zāde Saiyid Abū Dja'far is the most important sanctuary of Resht, near the governor's palace. The holy man buried there is called by 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Fūmenī Ustādh Dja'far whence the name of the quarter Ustādh Serā. The ladies of Resht have always had the reputation of being of easy virtue. According to a poet of the country, Mewlā Sa'īd Gilānī: "the young women of Resht, like intoxicated peacocks, used to go seeking a purchaser in every bazaar, holding in their hands the knot of their trousers".

There are in Resht two important clans: the Tā'ife-ye Hādjdi Samī (who came originally from Tabriz) and the Āle Umīshe (of very humble local country origin). The language of the common people of Resht is a dialect of Gileki. The upper and middle classes use Persian. Āzari-Turkish is also spoken. The inhabitants are all Šhi'a except for a few Bahā'ī. Gilān was converted to Islām only at the beginning of the tenth century by the 'Alid Imām Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Utrush after a popular

rising against the Djustānids (cf. Barthold, *Istoriko-Geografičeskii Obzor Irana*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 156). All the people of the Biepas were of the Ḥanbalī school except the chiefs of Fūmen and the inhabitants of Kūčispahān (Šhāfi's). It was only after the annexation of Gilān to the kingdom of Persia by the Šafawīs that the people of the Biepas became converted from the Sunna to the Šhi'a. According to another story however, Islām was preached in Dailam and Gilān in the year 290 (903) by the Saiyid Nāšir Kabir, one of the 'Alid pretenders to the caliphate, who belonged to the Zaidi Šhi'a, "of which he was one of the learned men and an author"; in this account the conversion to Islām is placed under the auspices of the Šhi'a (cf. *Shehriārān-e gom nām* by S. A. Kasrawī Tabrizi, Teherān 1928, i. 32). The last traces of the religion of Zoroaster have not yet disappeared from Gilān. People look for white cocks because their crowing presages good fortune; the custom is observed of lighting a fire and jumping over it (*čār šembe-ye ākher-e sāl*). On the road from Fūmen, about one mile from Resht, a place preserves the name of Atesh-kade. S. A. Kasrawī (*op. cit.*, p. 31) does not however seem certain that Zoroastrianism was widespread in Gilān. Generally speaking, the people were indifferent in matters of religion. We may note however that many trees, called saints, *pīr* or *buzurg-wār*, are objects of worship, especially on the part of women (cf. notably: Welān near the 'Arāḡ bridge; Čehel Dokhter and Aghā Bibi Zainab).

Resht is the principal export and import market for trade with Russia. Its importance as the economic centre of Gilān varies with the rise and fall in the silk-culture. Barthold thinks (*op. cit.*) that the development of urban life and industry in Gilān belongs to a period later than the tenth century. The geographers of the tenth century mention the cultivation of the silkworm and silks only in Ṭabaristān. In the xiiith century and later the silk of Gilān was particularly famous. At the end of this century, the silk of Gilān, according to Marco Polo, was sought by Genoese merchants, whose vessels first appeared in the Caspian shortly before Marco Polo wrote.

History. S. A. Kasrawī (*op. cit.*) gives a sketch of the dynasties of the Djustānids (end of the second to the beginning of the fourth century A.H.), Kangarids (beginning of the fourth to the middle of the fifth century A.H.), and Sālārids (fourth century) who, especially the first, played a certain part in the destinies of Gilān.

In Rabino's work we have a complete historical survey from the Mongol conquest (1307) to the Persian revolution. The Tumanski MS., unknown to Rabino, contains some information about the preceding period.

In it Gilān is described as a populous and wealthy country. All the work was done by women. The men had no occupation except fighting. Throughout Dailam and Gilān in every village there were one or two fights a day: every village fought with every other. Many people were often killed in a single day. These quarrels and battles went on until the men went to war or died or grew old. When they grew old they became pious and were called *muḥtasib ma'rūfker* (knowing the customs). In all the districts of Gilān, if any one insulted another or became intoxicated or committed any act that caused injury, he was punished with

40—80 beatings with a rod. They had little towns with mosques (*djāmi'*) like Gilābād, Shāl, Dulāb, Bailamān Shahr, in which there were bazaars: the merchants in them were foreigners, all the others were the pious *ma'rūfker*. In all parts the people lived on *liter* (meaning unknown), rice and fish. From Gilān were exported brushes, felts, praying-carpets and fish to all the countries of the universe.

The Tumanski MS. does not give the distances between the towns nor any form of itinerary. The only one known is that of Maḳḍisī who wrote some years later than the author of the Tumanski MS. The principal town of Gilān at this time was Dulāb. As Rabino points out, the only period of independence in the history of the district of Resht (Mawāzī) was between the beginning of the eighth century (706 = 1306—1307) and the end of the ninth (880 = 1475—1476) which was spent in fighting with neighbouring chiefs of Fūmen and Lāhidjān. The former were victorious and for a time the Biepas, including Resht, was under the Ishaḳid dynasty of Fūmen. With the coming of sultān Aḥmad Khān of Biepiṣh the Lāhidjān dynasty won the upper hand. This period lasted from 911 (1506) till 1592 i.e. till the annexation of Gilān to Persia by Shāh 'Abbās. Among the events of this period was the establishment in Gilān, of which Resht became the administrative and economic centre, of the "Muscovite Company" founded in 1557 (Anthony Jenkinson, Richard and Robert Johnson), who taking the Russian route sent ten expeditions into Persia between 1561 and 1581. It is to noteworthy that the last independent ruler of Gilān, Aḥmad Shāh, sent ambassadors to Moscow to seek help against Shāh 'Abbās and obtained promises of protection which however came to nothing. The Cossacks at the same time were plundering in Gilān and Resht and trying to gain the support of the Persian court. The most notable invasion was that of Stenka Razin who sacked Resht in 1045 (1636). On the 2nd Šafar 1082, the day of Stenka's execution, the Persians in Moscow at the time were invited to be present at it (cf. the magazine *Kāweh*, No. 12, N. S., Dec. 1, 1921). From 1722 to 1734, Resht and Gilān were occupied by the Russians (Shipov, then Matushkin) invited by the governor who was threatened by the Afghāns. In 1734, Gilān was restored to Persia after a treaty. Rabino quotes a Persian testimony in favour of the Russian occupation. For military reasons the Russians cleared the jungle round Resht.

The history of Gilān and that of Resht, which has always played a preponderant part in it, merges into the general history of Persia after its annexation. We may however touch on a few points in the very modern period short of which Rabino's work stops. During the Persian Revolution, a body of Social Democrats was sent by the Regional Committee of the Caucasus to Resht, and there helped in Feb. 1909 to overthrow the authority of the Shāh and to establish a revolutionary committee which elected as governor the Sepehdār 'Azam, who played a prominent part in the history of the period along with Serdār Asad Bakhtiyāri (cf. *Persia v borbé za nezavisimost*, by Pavlovič and Iranskii, Moscow 1925). Resht then became the base of operations of the northern revolutionary army. A few years later, during the Great War, Resht again attracted attention in connection with the movement of the *djengeli*, created by Mirzā Kūčik Khān, the object of which was to fight

against foreign occupation of Persian territory. Assisted by German (von Passchen), Turkish and Russian officers, an armed force was organised to oppose the passage of the English troops under General Dunsterville on their way to Bākū, without much success however (battle of Mendjil, June 12, 1918). The English were able to force their way through with the help of Bičērākhov's detachment of Cossacks and established a garrison in Resht. A second battle with the *djengeli* in the town itself on July 20, 1918 also ended in an English victory. On Aug. 25, peace was signed with Kūčik Khān at Enzeli. At one time, at the end of March 1918, the position of Kūčik Khān was so strong that the capture not only of Kazvin, but even of Teherān was feared. The English Vice-Consul at Resht, Mr. Maclaren, the manager of the Imperial Bank of Persia in this town, Mr. Oakshot, and Captain Noël of the Intelligence Service were taken prisoners by the *djengeli*, the latter being held for five months (cf. *The Adventures of Dunsterforce* by Maj. Gen. L. C. Dunsterville, London 1920).

Resht again became the arena of the revolutionary movement in 1920. After the capture of Bākū on April 28, 1920, by the Reds, the White Fleet sought refuge in the port of Enzeli, which was held by the English. Comrade Raskolnikov, commander of the Red Fleet in the Caspian, pursuing the Whites occupied Enzeli on May 18, 1920 and forced the English to beat a hurried retreat. The appearance of Soviet troops at Enzeli encouraged the revolutionary movement in Gilān and on June 4, a revolutionary and anti-English government of Northern Persia was proclaimed at Resht with Kūčik Khān at its head.

At the first appearance of Red forces at Enzeli and Resht, the peasants had refused to take the land which the communists proposed to take from the landowners. The peasants feared that the khāns would return and make them pay dearly for their expropriation. But at the second occupation (Oct. 1920) of Resht by the Reds the peasants greeted them frantically. Large numbers of them came among the Red soldiers and said that now they would not deliver rice to the landowners any longer and that they would seize all the harvest. The military situation was however confused. After the evacuation of Enzeli the English at first remained on in expectation of events, but they were forced to retire from Resht in June, setting fire to all their military stores. A month later they left Mendjil blowing up the bridge over the Sefid Rūd and began to return to Baghdad. In the meantime the Teherān Government had sent a military expedition against the revolutionaries in Resht. After initial successes, the Persian Cossack brigade suffered checks. It was after this that the second occupation of Resht by the Reds mentioned above took place.

On their side, the English demanded on Oct. 25, 1920 the dismissal of the Russian (White) officers, the instructors of the brigade, who were to be replaced by English. Mushir al-Dawla's government refused to agree to this and resigned on Oct. 27. It was replaced on Nov. 1 by that of Sepehdār, which acceded to the English demands, so that all the armed forces of Persia were now under English control. The latter then on Dec. 19, 1920, sent an ultimatum to the Teherān government ordering the *medjlis* to be summoned with a view

to the ratification of the Anglo-Persian treaty of Aug. 9, 1919. The English plans were however thwarted by the rapprochement between Persia and the Soviets. On May 20, 1920, Teherān notified Moscow of her recognition of the Soviet Republic of Ādharbāidjān, and her desire to enter into pourparlers with the R. S. F. S. R. Having reached Moscow at the beginning of November the Persian delegate Muṣḥawār al-Memālek opened negotiations for the conclusion of a treaty with the Soviets. On Nov. 28, Moscow asked Teherān to accept the Soviet envoy, M. Rothstein. After an attempt in Jan. 1921 to regain the position lost in the north of Persia, where the Soviets still had their troops, by inspiring the Persian note of Jan. 23, which demanded that the Soviets should withdraw their forces from Gilān, the English, in view of Moscow's firm refusal, took the first steps to remove their troops from Persia and on Febr. 26, 1921 Persia and the R. S. F. S. R. signed a treaty re-establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries. On April 25, 1921, M. Rothstein came to Teherān and in the course of the year the Soviet and English troops left Persian territory. Gilān and Resht then returned definitely to Persia. The last echoes of the revolution in Gilān were the risings of Kerbelāi Ibrāhīm and of Saiyid Djalāl in 1921 and 1922.

Bibliography: H. L. Rabino's work, *Les Provinces Caspiennes de la Perse, Le Guilan*, in *R. M. M.*, xxxii., 1915—1916, is authoritative. It contains a very complete bibliography to which we can only add, in addition to a few books and articles mentioned above in the text, a curious brochure entitled *Teswiye-ye Hukūk*, written by Hādjīdī Saiyid Maḥmūd of Resht and published in 1910. It deals with the agrarian system in Gilān. — *La domination des Dailamites* by V. Minorsky (publ. by the Société des Études Iran., N^o. 3, Paris 1932) may also be mentioned.

(B. NIKITINE)

RESMĪ, AḤMAD, Ottoman statesman and historian. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, known as Resmī, belonged to Rethymno (Turk. Resmo; hence his epithet?) in Crete and was of Greek descent (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, viii. 202). He was born in 1112 (1700) and came in 1146 (1733) to Stambul where he was educated, married a daughter of the Re'īs Efendi Ta'ūkdjī Muṣṭafā and entered the service of the Porte. He held a number of offices. In various towns (cf. *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, ii. 380 sq.) In Ṣafar 1171 (Oct. 1757) he went as Ottoman envoy to Vienna and on his return made a written report of his impressions and experiences. In Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1176 (May 1763) he was again sent to Europe, this time as ambassador to the Prussian court in Berlin. He also wrote a very full account of this mission, which early attracted attention, in the west also, for its views on Prussian policy, its description of Berlin and its inhabitants and all sorts of observations on related topics. After filling a number of other important offices he died on the 2nd Shawwāl 1197 (Aug. 31, 1783; on this date cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 309, note 2) in Stambul. His tomb is in the Selimiye quarter of Scutari.

In addition to the descriptions already mentioned of his embassies (*sefāret-nāme*'s) to Vienna and Berlin, Aḥmad Resmī wrote in connection with the Russo-Turkish war and the peace of Küçük Kainardje (1769—1774) a treatise entitled *Khulāṣet ül-l'tibār*, in which as a participator in the campaign

and eye-witness, he gave his impressions of this important period in the history of Turkey. Of especial value are his biographical collections, particularly his *Khalifet el-Rü'ṣā* (composed in 1157 = 1744) with the biographies of 64 chancellors (*re'īs efendiler*), and his *Humeilet* (*Hamilet*?) *ül-Küberā*, in which he gives the lives of the chief eunuchs of the Imperial Harem (*kizlar aghalari*). Of a similar nature is his continuation (written in 1077 = 1766) of the "deaths" (*wefayāt*) of Mehmed Emin b. Hādjīdī Mehmed called Alay-Beyl-zāde, in which he gives in twelve lists the deaths of famous men and women (cf. the accurate list of contents in J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, ix. 187 sq., N^o. 14). He also wrote several other works on geology and proverbs. Thereports of his embassies are available in numerous manuscripts (cf. the list in Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 311, to which should be added: Berlin, Staatsbibl., MS. Or. 4^o 1502, fol. 27^b to 46^b [incomplete], Paris Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Turc N^o. 510 [?], Paris, Cl. Huart Coll.), printed editions and translations, which are listed by Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 311. To these is to be added the Polish translation *Podróż Resmi Ahmed-Efendego do Polski i poselstwo jęego do Prus 1177* (according to Wāṣif, *Ta'rikh*, i. 239 sqq.) in J. J. S. Sekowski, *Collectanea z Dziejopisów Tureckich*, vol. ii., Warsaw 1825, p. 222—289.

Bibliography: *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, ii. 380 sq.; Brūsālī Mehmed Tāhir, *'Othmānī? Müellifleri*, iii. 58 sq. (with list of works); F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 309—312.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

REWĀNĪ, an Ottoman poet. His real name was Ilyās or Shudjā^c and he belonged to Adrianople. He is said to have taken his pen-name of Rewānī from the river Tandja which flowed past (*rewān*) his garden. He entered the service of Sulṭān Bāyazid II (1481—1512) in Stambul and was sent by him as administrator of the *surre*, the annual sum for the poor of Mecca and Medina, to the holy cities to distribute the money. He embezzled a part of it however and on the accusation of the Meccans his salary was stopped; a malady of the eyes, which then affected Rewānī, was described by a poet hostile to him as the just punishment of God, whereupon Rewānī answered him, also in verse, and calmly confessed: "He who has honey licks his fingers". He then fled to the court of Prince Selim in Trebizond and entered his service. But he had to disappear from here also as he had committed some indiscretion and his property was confiscated (some sources put his appointment to the *surre* at this date); he was however pardoned by Selim and henceforth served him all the more faithfully. When Selim in 918 (1512) came to Stambul to dethrone his father Bāyazid, Rewānī is said at the last decisive council of war to have thrown his turban in the air with joy and to have praised the day. After Selim's accession he was appointed superintendent of the kitchen (*maṭbakh emini*), then entrusted with the administration of the Aya Sofya and of the hot baths (*ḥabludja*) in Brusa. He built a mosque in the Kırk Çeshme quarter of Stambul which was called after him and he was buried there on his death in 930 (1523).

Rewānī left a *diwān* and a *methnewī* entitled *'Ishret-nāme* or *Kitāb-i Wasā'il*. In the still unprinted *methnewī*, which is not very long, he describes the drinking bouts of his time in all

detail (wine, flagons, cups, candles, musical instruments, cupbearers etc.) so realistically and thoroughly that from it one can reconstruct this aspect of Turkish life of the time. He describes all this after years of experience towards the end of his life — he talks of his white beard and of the autumn of his life — so that his poem is a document of social life of the highest value. Rewānī was a thorough *bon vivant* who spent most of his time in taverns and described his life of pleasure in elegant and witty verse. His poem is not at all intended to be mystical and, if it can be so taken from his own words at the end, this is only the usual attempt of the poet to protect himself from possible attacks from the devout. His was not a very high character; in addition to the embezzlement above mentioned, he is known as a plagiarist in Turkish literature (he and the poet Zāti accuse each other of plagiarism), and his chief table companion was the equally lax poet İshāk Çelebi, but shortly before his death Rewānī is said to have repented of all his sins.

His *‘İshretnâme* is the first poem of this kind in Turkish literature and the habit of writing such *sakīnâme*'s only became popular a century later. His work is therefore original, and his own invention, and his wit and graceful and elegant, but at the same time simple and clear language are praised by the Ottoman historians of literature. According to Sehi, his *‘İshretnâme* is only one part of a *Khamsa-i Rûm* and Tâhir mentions as another part of it a poem called *‘Djâmî’ al-Naşâ’ih*. Nothing further however seems to be known of this.

Bibliography: Tedhkeres: Sehi, p. 81 *sq.*; ‘Ashîk, MS. Vienna, Flügel, N^o. 1218; Kînalzâde Hasan, MS. Vienna, Flügel, N^o. 1228; Latîfî, p. 169—172; Kâfzâde, *Zubdat Arbâb al-Ma‘ârif*, MS. Vienna, Flügel, N^o. 699; Nazmî, *Nagâ’ir al-Ash‘âr*, Vienna, Flügel, N^o. 693; Hâdjîdî Khalîfâ, iii. 281, N^o. 5437; iv. 212, N^o. 8151; Sâmi, *Kâmûs al-A‘lâm*, p. 2306; Mehmed Thuraiyâ, *Sidjill-i ‘othmânî*, ii. 420; Brusali Mehmed Tâhir, *‘Othmânî Mü‘elleferi*, ii. 180; Ziyâ Pasha, *Kharâbât*, ii. 148; Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iii. 465; do., *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, i. 187—197; Gibb, *H. O. P.*, ii. 317—346 (the best compilation); Basmadjian, *Essai sur l’histoire de la littérature ottomane*, Paris and Constantinople 1910, p. 63 *sq.* — Catalogues of MSS. in Berlin, Pertsch, N^o. 27, 3 and 21; 31, 2; 41, 4; 331, 334, 356, 4; Gotha, Pertsch, N^o. 22, iii. 15b; Vienna, Flügel, i. 707, 714, 722bis; iii. 532, 536; Vienna, Consular Academy, Krafft, N^o. 214; 238, 7; 241, 1; Cairo, *Fihrist al-Kutub al-Turkiya*, Cairo 1306, p. 118.

(W. BJÖRKMAN)

RHODES, the furthest island of the Archipelago to the east, Rhodes extends from S.W. to N.E. and is about twelve miles off the south coast of Asia Minor. Its length is approximately 45 miles and its greatest breadth from 20 to 25 miles. The Island rises gradually from the sea to a central range of mountains, the highest peak of which is that of Mount Artamiti, 6,000 feet above sea-level. Its geographical situation within reasonable reach of the three Continents of the Old World explains its importance in maritime history; and its nearness to the empires of the Arabs, Egyptians and Ottomans in succession

brought it within the range of Islâmic expeditions on several occasions.

In the first century of the Hidjra, the Caliph Mu‘âwiya [q. v.] sent a fleet under the command of Djunâda b. Abî Umaiya al-Azdi to invade Rhodes. The date is variously placed in 52 and 53 (672—73) (see Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, for this variance in the sources). Little is known about this early expedition, except that the Arabs founded a short-lived settlement, which was evacuated in 60 (679—680) by the order of the second Umayyad Caliph Yazîd [q. v.]. The island was thus recovered by the Byzantine Empire in whose historical sources the Arab occupation was long remembered by the complete destruction and sale of the famous bronze “Colossus of Rhodes” to a Jewish merchant of Emesa. The metal is said to have amounted to 880 camel-loads.

In 1308 or 1310 A.D., during the reign of Andronicos II Palaeologos, Rhodes was seized by the Knights Hospitallers who had been expelled from ‘Akkâ in 1291 by Sultân Khalîl [q. v.], son of Kâlâ‘ûn. The Order of Saint John of Jerusalem now came to be known as the Knights of Rhodes, under whose rule the island became a thorn in the side of Islâm as one of the strongest outposts of Latin Christianity in the Levant. Thence the Knights played a prominent part in most of the forthcoming crusades against Turkey and Egypt, notably in the capture of Smyrna in 1344, the sack of Alexandria in 1365 and in the Crusade of Nikopolis [q. v.] in 1396. The second of these attacks determined the Egyptians to start a series of counter-crusades against Cyprus and Rhodes. Three naval expeditions in 1424, 1425 and 1426 resulted in the annexation of Cyprus as a tributary state to Egypt.

The Mamlûks then turned their plans to the conquest of Rhodes during the reign of Çakmak. In 1440, they manned a flotilla of 15 grabs with 200 regulars and several hundred volunteers. These sailed from Damietta to Cyprus for revictualing and to ‘Alâya in Asia Minor, where its Muslim Amîr reinforced them with more warriors and four galleys, then direct to Rhodes. The Knights were, however, prepared for the attack, and, after a few skirmishes, the Mamlûk fleet retreated under cover of night. In 1443, another fleet sailed from Damietta to Bairût, Tripoli, Larnaca, Limasol and Adalia to collect free provisions from subject and friendly states. Their first objective was the little island of Châteauroux or Castellorizzo, known in the contemporary Arabic sources as *Kashîl al-Rûdj*. This island belonged to the Knights, and the Egyptians had no difficulty in reducing it. Afterwards they returned to Damietta owing to the approach of winter. In 1444, a third and more elaborate expedition was launched against Rhodes. The Egyptian fleet, carrying no less than a thousand Mamlûks, sailed from Damietta to Tripoli and direct to Rhodes. This time they succeeded in landing on the Island and in setting siege to the city of Rhodes for a period of forty days, during which they pillaged all the neighbouring villages. Finally, the Knights sallied from the beleaguered town and took the offensive. Thus taken by surprise, the Egyptian army sustained considerable losses and sailed back to Damietta.

The success of the Knights in the repulse of so strong an enemy as Mamlûk Egypt may be ascribed to three main causes: first, the system

of espionage which the Order maintained in all hostile countries in order to keep their headquarters in perfect readiness for effective action at the appropriate moment; second, the great strength of the fortification of Rhodes which was made possible by its prosperity as one of the chief centres of trade in the Levant; and third, the nature of the military training of the Knights, their unity and their extraordinary valour in battle. Peace was eventually established between Egypt and Rhodes through the mediation of Jacques Cœur, the great French merchant prince of the fifteenth century, who was in favour at the court of the Sultān. The task of a decisive counter-crusade against Rhodes remained for the Ottoman Sultāns. Muḥammad II besieged the capital with some slender measure of success in 1480; but it was not till the reign of Sulaimān the Magnificent [q.v.] that the Knights were finally overthrown after one of the most heroic defences ever known. On December 24, 1522, the island became the seat of a Turkish Pasha, and remained under Ottoman sovereignty until it was captured by Italy during the war of 1912 and finally passed to Italian rule by virtue of the Treaty of Lausanne (July 24, 1923).

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moyen-âge, 2 vols., Leipzig 1885—1886. — The antiquated work of Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers de Saint-Jean*, 7 vols., Amsterdam 1732, is still of considerable value. — For Lausanne Treaty, see Turkish Republic official history, *Tarih Türkiye Cümhuriyeti* (Istanbul 1931), iv. 125—131, and *Die Welt des Islams*, x. 74.

(A. S. ATIYA)

In the year 1912, during the war between Turkey and Italy, the Italians occupied the island of Rhodes and the Southern Sporades and held them till 1923 when Turkey (treaty of Lausanne) renounced all claim to Rhodes and the islands, which are now under the sovereignty of Italy, and constitute the "Possedimento delle Isole Italiane dell'Egeo"; the principal islands are 14 in number; we give them here with their historical Turkish names which are really Greek, in brackets (with the exception of Indjirli): Rodi (Rados), Calchi (Karki and Kharki), Calino (Kalimnoz), Caso (Kashūt), Castelrosso (Kastellorizo, Meysis), Coo (Istanköy), Lero (Leros), Lisso (Lipso), Nisiro (Nisiro, Indjirli), Patmo (Patmos), Piscopi (Piskopis, Tilos, Eliyāki), Scarpanto (Kerpe), Simi (Sümbeki), Stampalia (Astropalia).

The extent of the "Possedimento" is 2,697 km. and the total population 130,855 (census of April 21, 1931) of whom 54,818 are in the island of Rhodes. The inhabitants are distributed as regards language and religion as follows: 104,485 Greek Orthodox speaking Greek, 8,276 Muslims speaking Turkish, 4,481 Jews speaking Spanish Hebrew, 8,000 Roman Catholics speaking Italian. The Muslims are in the islands of Rhodes and Coo. Like the rest of the population, the Muslims are exempted from military service; they have elementary schools, a *medrese* in Rhodes, special tribunals at Rhodes and Coo for questions of private law.

Turkish and Muḥammadan monuments. The Turks did not modify very much the topography of Rhodes; at most they did something to intensify an appearance already generally oriental; they turned the churches into mosques and built new ones; the most remarkable are the mosque of Ibrāhīm Pasha (947 = 1540—1541), the mosque of Redjeb Pasha (996 = 1587—1588), the mosque of Murād Re'is (celebrated *re'is* killed in a naval battle off Cypria in 1609), built by Abū Bakr Pasha in 1046 (1636—1637) and repaired by Murābiṭ Hasan Bey in 1212 (1717—1718), the mosque of Sultān Muṣṭafā (1178 = 1764). The mosque of Sultān Sulaimān is modern.

We may also mention the library at Rhodes which contains Arabic, Persian and Turkish MSS., founded as a *wakf* between 1791—1792 and 1799 by the Rhodian Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad Agha.

The Muslim cemeteries, which lie under the walls of the fortress, go back in part to the siege of 1522; there are many tombs of men of note who died in captivity or exile in Rhodes in the enclosure of the *tekke* of Murād Re'is; among them we may mention: Djānī Girāy Khān (d. 1636), Shāhīn Girāy Khān (killed 1640), Sa'adet Girāy Khān (d. 1695); Šāfi (the pretended son of Ḥusain, Shāh of Persia, d. 1175 = 1755—1756), the poet Hashmet (d. 1182 = 1768—1769), the grand vizier Yūsuf Pasha (killed in 1715), the general 'Abd al-Karīm Pasha (d. 1302 = 1884—1885).

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RIBA (A.), lit. increase, as a technical term, usury and interest, and in general any unjustified increase of capital for which no compensation is given. Derivatives from the same root are used in other Semitic languages to describe interest.

1. Transactions with a fixed time limit and payment of interest, as well as speculations of all kinds formed an essential element in the highly developed trading system of Mecca (cf. Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'hégire*, p. 139 sqq., 155 sqq., 213 sq.). Among the details given by the Muslim sources we may believe at least the statement that a debtor who could not repay the capital (money or goods) with the accumulated interest at the time it fell due, was given an extension of time in which to pay, but at the same time the sum due was doubled. This is clearly referred to in two passages in the *Kur'ān* (Sūra iii. 130; xxx. 39) and is in keeping with a still usual practice. As early as Sūra xxx. 39 of the third Meccan period (on the dating cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i.) the *Kur'ān* contrasts *ribā* with the obligation to pay *zakāt* but without directly forbidding it: "Whatever ye give in usury to gain interest from men's substance shall not bear interest with Allāh, but what ye give as *zakāt* in seeking the face of Allāh, these shall gain double". The express prohibition follows in Sūra iii. 130 (Medina, obviously earlier than the following passage): "Believers, devour not the *ribā* with continual doubling; fear God, perhaps it will go well with you". This prohibition had to be intensified in Sūra ii. 275-280 (evidently of the earlier Medinese period, cf. on the following passage): "Those who devour *ribā* shall only rise again as one whom Satan strikes with his touch; this because they say, 'selling is like usury'; but Allāh has permitted selling and forbidden usury. He therefore who receives a warning from his Lord and abstains shall have pardon for what is past and his affair is with Allāh; but they who relapse to usury, are the people of Hell, they shall remain in it for ever. Allāh abolishes usury and makes alms bring interest; Allāh loveth no sinful unbeliever... Believers, fear Allāh and remit the balance of the *ribā* if ye be believers. But if ye do not, be prepared for war from Allāh and his apostle. If ye repent, ye shall receive your capital without doing an injustice or suffering injustice. If any one is in difficulty, let there be a delay till he is able to pay, but it is better for you to remit if ye be wise". To evade the dogmatic difficulty of an eternal punishment for the sin of a believer, the passage in question (already presupposed in Ṭabari) has been interpreted to mean that by relapse is meant the holding lawful and not

the taking of interest; in any case the *Kur'ān* regards *ribā* as a practice of unbelievers and demands as a test of belief that it should be abandoned. It comes up again in Sūra iv. 161 (of the period between the end of the year 3 and the end of the year 5; this also gives a clue to the date of the preceding passage) in a passage which sums up the reproaches levelled against the Jews: "and because they take *ribā*, while it was forbidden them and devour uselessly the substance of the people". The fact that the principal passages against interest belong to the Medina period and that the Jews are reproached with breaking the prohibition, suggests that the Muslim prohibition of *ribā* owes less to conditions in Mecca than to the Prophet's closer acquaintance with Jewish doctrine and practice in Medina. In the later development of the teaching on the subject as we find it in tradition, Jewish influence is in any case undeniable (cf. Juynboll, *Hand-leiding*, p. 286).

2. The traditions give varying answers to the question what forms of business come under the *Kur'ānic* prohibition of *ribā*, none of which can be regarded as authentic. The ignorance of the correct interpretation is emphasised in a tendentious tradition, obviously put into circulation by interested individuals (the tradition is probably older than Lammens, *op. cit.*, p. 214, thinks); according to this view, the principal passage in Sūra ii. is the latest in the whole *Kur'ān*, which the Prophet could not expound before his death. That the rigid prohibition of usury in Muḥammadan law only developed gradually is clear from many traditions. Alongside of the view repeatedly expressed, but also challenged, that *ribā* consists only in (the increase of substance in) a business agreement with a fixed period (*naṣ'ā*, *naḡira*, *dain*) we have the still more distinct statement that there is no *ribā* if the transfer of ownership takes place immediately (*yadān bi-yad*). But even in arrangements with a time limit, a number of traditions presuppose a general ignorance of the later restrictions; for example we are told that in Baṣra under Ziyād gold was sold on credit for silver (this may have an anti-Umayyad bias — cf. below on Mu'āwiya —, but it is illuminating); but at a later date such forms of the traditions against *ribā* were to some extent dropped. What was generally understood in the earliest period as the *ribā* forbidden in the *Kur'ān*, seems only to have been interest on loans (chiefly of money and foodstuffs); anything that goes beyond this is to be regarded as a later development. The reason for such prohibitions is at different times said to be the fear of *ribā* and sometimes we have underlying the recognition that there is no tradition of the Prophet relating to this. This is also expressed in the form that nine-tenths of the permitted is renounced or that *ribā* was conceived as going as far as ten times the capital. The view which later became authoritative is laid down in a group of traditions of which one characteristic example is as follows: "gold for gold, silver for silver, wheat for wheat, barley for barley, dates for dates, salt for salt, the same thing for the same thing, like for like, measure for measure; but if these things are different, sell them as you please if it is (only) done measure for measure". Another common tradition expressly forbids the exchange of different quantities of the same thing but of different quality (cf. below).

Other traditions demand equality of quantity even in the sale of manufactured precious metals. This last case seems to have been especially discussed, and on more than one occasion Mu'āwīya appears as champion of the opposite view and practice (this again has a distinctly anti-Umayyad bias). Particularly conscientious people went even further in their limitation of ribā than the generality and would only exchange wheat for barley in equal quantities. Still stricter was the view that the exchange of even the same quantities of the same thing, especially of precious metals, was ribā. This view must be older than a difference from the usual opinion (e.g. Muslim, *Bāb bai 'al-ta'ām mithlan bi-mithl*), which is based on the secondary interpretation of an already recognised tradition, which obviously only forbade the exchange of different quantities of the same thing but of different quality (cf. above). This same general prohibition of exchange is also given for dates. The question whether one party to an agreement can voluntarily give the other a bonus, is denied for an exchange, but affirmed for a loan. The reduction of the amount of the debt if the loan is voluntarily paid before it falls due, is sometimes approved as the opposite of ribā, sometimes disapproved, sometimes forbidden as being equivalent to ribā; in any case it is clear that the practice existed. On the sale of an animal for an animal on credit, opinion is also not unanimous.

Numerous traditions forbid ribā without defining it more closely; the Prophet is said to have uttered this prohibition at his farewell pilgrimage (scarcely historical). Ribā is one of the gravest sins. Even the least of its many forms is as bad as incest and so on. All who take part in transaction involving ribā are cursed, the guilty are threatened with hell, various kind of punishment are described; in this world also gains from ribā will bring no good. In spite of all this tradition foresees that ribā will prevail.

In connection with ribā tradition mentions various antiquated forms of sale of special kinds, like *muḥābala*, *muḥābara*, *muḥābana* etc., which concern the exchange of different stages in the manufacture or development of the same thing, or of different qualities, and which are forbidden: an exception is made, obviously because of its undeniable practical and social necessity, of what is known as *'arīya* (plur. *'arāyā*), fresh dates on trees intended to be eaten, which it is permitted to exchange in small quantities for dried dates.

3. While the existence of the Qur'anic prohibition of ribā has never been doubted, the difference of opinion that finds expression in tradition regarding the relevant facts is continued in the earliest stage of development of Muḥammadan law. Unanimity prevails regarding the main lines of the limitations to be imposed upon the exchange of goods capable of ribā (*māl ribawī*); it is only permitted if transfer of ownership takes place at once and, so far as goods of the same kind are concerned, only in equal quantities. In the case of a loan it is forbidden to make a condition that a larger quantity shall be returned without regard to the kind of article. Gold and silver are generally regarded as *māl ribawī* (only quite exceptionally are coins of small denomination included). All the greater are the differences of opinion as to what things outside of the precious metals are liable to the ribā ordinances. In isolated cases one

still finds views that show themselves uninfluenced in principle by the authoritative group of traditions (cf. above), e.g. when everything realisable is subjected to the ribā ordinances (Ibn Kaisān) or all business dealings in things of the same kind (Ibn Sirin, Ḥammād) or when everything liable to *zakāt* is considered capable of ribā (Rabī'a b. 'Abd al-Rahmān). Other opinions differ in the treatment of property capable of ribā from that group of traditions, although it is not known what they understand by this; possibly if at an exchange of the same kind of thing not equality of quantity but equality of value in two quantities is demanded (Ḥasan al-Baṣrī) or equality of quantity also in the exchange of different kinds apparently within a limited circle of goods capable of ribā (Sa'īd b. Ḍjubair). The old interpretation that there is no ribā if the transfer of possession takes place at once is ascribed to 'Aṭā' and the jurists of Medina. The views of most authorities however and in particular those which survive later in the law schools assume the literal acceptance of the text of that group of traditions and differ only in its interpretation. Thus there are mentioned as precursors of the later Zāhirī doctrine: Ṭawūs, Masrūk, al-Sha'bī, Qatāda, 'Othmān al-Battī; as precursors of the Ḥanafī view: al-Zuhri, al-Ḥakam, Ḥammād (cf. however above), Sufyān al-Thawrī; as precursors of the earlier view of al-Shāfi'ī: Sa'īd b. al-Musaiyib and others; as precursors of his later view: al-Zuhri (cf. however above) and Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd. On the question whether a loan can be repaid in another kind and what is to be done if defects are revealed in an exchange of *māl ribawī* after it has changed hands, there are old differences of opinion.

4. In the above mentioned group of traditions the following goods in addition to gold and silver are expressly mentioned as bearing the prohibition of ribā at their exchange: wheat, barley, dates and salt (sometimes also raisins, butter and oil). The Zāhirīs, as a result of their refusal on principle to accept analogy (*kiyās*), assume that the prohibition applies only to the six things especially named (the other kinds are rejected as not well attested). The other schools of law, on the other hand, consider the kinds mentioned in tradition only as examples of the variety of things that come under *māl ribawī*, but differ from one another in their lists of these things. According to the Ḥanafīs and Zaidīs (also al-Awzā'ī), gold and silver represent examples of the class of things defined by weight (*maḥṣūn*) and the four other things those sold by measure (*makīl*). The Imāmi teaching is practically the same. According to the Mālikīs and Shāfi'īs, gold and silver represent the class of precious metals and the four other things the class of foodstuffs: the latter, in the Mālikī view, including actual eatables so far as they can be preserved, according to the older view of al-Shāfi'ī, provisions which are sold by weight and measure; according to his later view, which is also that of his school, foodstuffs without any qualification. The teaching of the Ḥanbalīs corresponds to that of the Ḥanafīs; as regards the "four kinds", two further opinions of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal are handed down which correspond to the two views held by al-Shāfi'ī. In these, wheat and barley are regarded as two different kinds by the Ḥanafīs, the Shāfi'īs and the better known tradition of the Ḥanbalīs (as well as Zāhirīs, Zaidīs and Imāmi's); as one kind

according to the Ḥanbalis (also according to al-Laiṭh b. Sa'd and al-Awzā'i). The Ḥanafis and the Imāmis, in contrast to the other schools, are content, in so far as it is not a question of the exchange of precious metals, with fixing the quantities, and do not demand actual change of ownership during the negotiation (*maḍjilis*). The Ṣāḥiris, in the strict interpretation of the text of one tradition, in every case demand a change of ownership in the fullest sense at once. The sale of fresh dates for dried dates is forbidden by all schools except the Ḥanafis on the authority of one tradition, the barter of *ʿarāyā* on the other hand is not permitted by the Ḥanafis, but regulated by the other schools, without any uniformity: as regards exchange of the same material in different stages of manufacture there are many differences of opinion. As regards the exchange of goods of the same kind which are not *māl ribawī*, the difference of quantity is generally permitted, postponement (*naṣīʾa*, *naṣāʾ*) of the single payment still forbidden by the Ḥanafis and Zaidis but permitted by the other schools (with differences in detail). At the sale of wares, even of those which are *māl ribawī*, for precious metal, the payment at later date (*salam*) and sale on credit (*baʿiʿ al-ʿina*) with postponement of delivery or of payment is permitted. The apparent contradiction of analogy in the *salam*, which forms a type of transaction by itself, has given rise to discussions on principle. The postponement of both sides of the transaction is regarded on the authority of a tradition as entirely forbidden in all agreements regarding sale or exchange.

5. The prohibition of ribā plays a considerable part in the system of Muḥammadan law. The structure of the greater part of the law of contract is explained by the endeavour to enforce prohibition of ribā and *maisir* (i. e. risk; q. v.) to the last detail of the law (Bergsträsser, in *Isl.*, xiv. 79). Ribā in a loan exists not only when one insists upon the repayment of a larger quantity, but if any advantage at all is demanded. Therefore even exchange (*suftadja*) is sometimes actually forbidden (as by the Shāfiʿis) because the vendor, who is regarded as the creditor, reaps the advantage of avoiding cost of transport. This did not prevent the wide spread of this arrangement in the Arabic middle ages and its influence upon European money-changing. But they were always conscious that a direct breach of the prohibition of ribā was a deadly sin. Pious Muslims to this day therefore not infrequently refuse to take bank interest. The importance of the prohibition of ribā on the one hand deeply affecting everyday life and the requirements of commerce on the other have given rise to a number of methods of evasion. Against some of these there is nothing formally to object from the standpoint of the law; they are therefore given in many lawbooks and expressly said to be permitted. The Shāfiʿis, the later Ḥanafis and the Imāmis have recognised such methods of evasion while the Mālikis, the Ḥanbalis and the Zaidis reject them. The recognition of these methods of evasion is not contrary to the strict enforcement of the prohibition in the *fiḥh*. The inner significance of decrees of the divine law naturally cannot be understood by the mind of man. This is shown in the case of ribā in the limitation to certain kinds of goods. The Ṣāḥiris are thus among the most energetic defenders of evasions of the prohibition of ribā. Their line of argument is based

not only on their formal negative rejection of deduction by analogy but also upon their positive estimation of the intention underlying the evasions. One of the oldest transactions of the kind, against which several traditions are already directed, is the double contract of sale (from one of its elements it is called *baʿiʿ al-ʿina*, credit sale *par excellence*): one sells to someone who wants to lend money at interest something against the total sum of capital and interest which are to be due at a fixed date, and at the same time buys the article back for the capital which is at once handed over. This transaction was taken over in mediæval Europe under the name of *mohatra* (from the Ar. *mukhāṭara*; cf. Juynboll, *Handleiding*, p. 289, note 1, and E. Bassi, in *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano*, v., part 2). Another method of evasion consists of handing over to the creditor the use of a thing as interest by a fictitious agreement to sell or to pledge. All these practices are still in use and in spite of the prohibition of ribā money-lending is a flourishing business in most Muslim countries (50% is often regarded as moderate interest).

Bibliography: On the traditions cf. in addition to the references in Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muḥammadan Tradition*, s. v. Usury, especially the collection of material in *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, ii., N^o. 4623 sqq., 4951 sqq. The material of tradition is dealt with from the point of view of the respective authors in Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Muḥallā*, N^o. 1478 sqq.; al-Ṣanʿānī, *Subul al-Salām*, Cairo 1345, iii. 45 sqq.; al-Shawkānī, *Nail al-Awṭār*, Cairo 1345, v. 295 sqq. — Discussion of the various views in the authors mentioned and in al-Nawawī, *al-Maḍmūʿ*, Cairo 1348, ix. 390 sqq. — A survey of the differences among the great schools is given in Ibn Hubaira, *Kitāb al-Ifṣāḥ*, Aleppo 1928, p. 164 sqq. — On ribā as a grave sin cf. Ibn Ḥadjār al-Haitamī, *Kitāb al-Zawādīr*, Bulāḳ 1284, i. 231 sqq. — European treatment generally: Goldziher, *Die Ṣāḥiriten*, p. 41 sqq.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii. 141 sq., 152 sq., 244 sq.; Amedroz, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1916, p. 299 sqq.; Ḥanafis: Bergsträsser-Schacht, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 62 sq.; Dimitroff, *Asch-Schaibānī*, in *M. S. O. S.*, xi/ii., 105 sq., 156 sqq.; Shāfiʿis: Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, p. 270 sqq.; do., *Handleiding*³, p. 285 sqq.; Sachau, *Muḥammadanisches Recht*, p. 279 sqq.; Mālikis: Guidi-Santillana, *Sommario del diritto malechita*, ii. 186 sqq., 282 sqq.; Imāmis: Querry, *Droit musulman*, i. 402 sqq. — On methods of evasion cf. Juynboll, *op. cit.*; Schacht, *Das Kitāb al-hiyāl wa 'l-makḥarīq des al-Khaṣṣāf*, chap. 2 and 3 with transl. and commentary (this text is supposed to belong to 'Irāq c. 400 A. H.). — On the practice of taking interest cf. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, and the travellers, e.g. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century*, p. 4 sq.; Polak, *Persien*, i. 345.

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

RIBĀṬ (A.), a fortified Muḥammadan monastery. Of the various explanations that have been given of this word from the root *rabāṭa*: "to bind, attach", the most reasonable is that which refers to the Ḳurʾān, viii. 62: "Prepare against them (the enemies of Allāh) all that ye possess of strength and places for horses . . ." (*min ribāṭi 'l-kḥail*). The ribāṭ is originally the place where the mounts are assembled and hobbled to

be kept in readiness for an expedition. Ribāṭ also has the closely related meanings of relay of horses for a courier, caravanserai. The word however was early applied to an establishment at once religious and military which seems quite specifically Muḥammadan.

The institution of the ribāṭ is connected with the duty of the holy war [see *ḌIḤĀD*], the defence of the lands of Islām and their extension by force of arms. The Byzantine empire was acquainted with the fortified monastery, like Mandrakion built at Carthage near the sea, mentioned by Procopius: but it seems doubtful if the monks living in it played any military part. The regular or occasional occupants of the ribāṭ are essentially fighters for the faith. The ribāṭ are primarily fortresses, places of concentration of troops at exposed points on the Muḥammadan frontier. Like western castles, they offer a refuge to the inhabitants of the surrounding country in time of danger. They serve as watch-towers from which an alarm can be given to the threatened populace and to the garrisons of the frontier and interior of the country who could support the efforts of the defenders. The structure of the ribāṭ therefore consisted of a fortified surrounding wall with living rooms, magazines of arms and storehouses for provisions and a tower for signalling. This architectural scheme, the development of which will be indicated below, was of course often very summarily treated. The ribāṭ in many cases was reduced to a watch-tower and a little fort like those the Byzantines built on their frontiers. This explains the considerable number of ribāṭs mentioned by the geographers. We are told that in Transoxiana alone there were no less than 10,000 (Ibn Khallikān, transl. de Slane, i. 159, No. 3). The coasts were also amply provided for. There were ribāṭs all along the coast of Palestine and of Africa. The fire-towers, attached to the ribāṭ or isolated, enabled messages, we are told, to be sent in one night from Alexandria to Ceuta. This is clearly an exaggeration. Nevertheless we may note a fairly rapid system of signalling and the mention of Alexandria, the pharos of which seems to have served as a ribāṭ. The Spanish coast also had its ribāṭs, as had the frontier against the Christian kingdoms, especially after the coming of the Almoravids, which saw an intensification of the *djihad*. For Sicily, Ibn Ḥawkal gives some curious information about the ribāṭs near Palermo and we know the little town of Rabato in the island of Gozo in the Maltese archipelago.

Devotion to religion stimulated individuals to multiply their foundations, notably in Ifrikiya in the vicinity of towns like Tripolis and Sfax. It was a work of piety to build a ribāṭ at one's own expense or strengthen its defences. It was equally meritorious to urge men to go there to serve the cause of Islām, to revictual the garrison, lastly and above all to go there oneself. For the coast of Palestine, al-Muḥaddasi tells us of another use of the ribāṭ equally pleasing to Allāh. Their fires were used to signal the approach of Christian vessels bringing Muslim prisoners whose exchange had been arranged. Everyone endeavoured to take part in this according to his means.

The building of the large ribāṭs and of many of the smaller ones was naturally the task of the sovereigns of the country. In Ifrikiya the first was that of Monastir [q.v.] built by the 'Abbāsīd governor Harthama b. A'yān (179 = 795). The

third (ninth) century was the golden age: the Aghlabids all along the eastern coasts multiplied ribāṭs in the strict sense and *maḥras*; this word means a fortified area containing a small garrison or a watch-tower. Monastir retained the pre-eminence which the Prophet himself is said to have foretold for it. In the xiith century the dead were brought from al-Mahdiyya to enjoy the blessing of being buried there. But the ribāṭ of Sūs founded by the Aghlabid Ziyādat Allāh in 206 (821) had assumed considerable importance. We know that Sūs was the port from which the troops embarked for the conquest of Sicily.

Compared with the east coast of Ifrikiya, which was directly threatened by attacks of the Rūm or which was the base for expeditions across the sea, the rest of the Barbary coast was less well supplied. There were however ribāṭs on the coast of the extreme Maghrib, at Nakūr and Arzila to prevent raiding by the Norman pirates, and at Salé to facilitate the war against the Barghawāta [q.v.] heretics.

If the majority of the ribāṭs were official foundations, the service done by the combatants in them does not seem to have been in any way compulsory. The men of the ribāṭ, the *murābiṭūn*, were volunteers, pious individuals who had taken a vow to devote themselves to the defence of Islām. Some may have entered the ribāṭ like a monastery, to end their days in it, but the great majority only stayed in them for longer or shorter periods, and the garrisons were changed completely several times a year. In the ribāṭ of Arzila, this change in the garrison took place with the festival of 'Ashūrā' (10th Muḥarram), the beginning of Ramaḍān and *al-Id al-Kabir*. An important fair was held on the occasion. In case of alarm the garrisons were reinforced by able-bodied men from the country round, summoned by the beating of drums (Palestine, according to al-Muḥaddasi).

Life in the ribāṭ was spent in military exercises and on guard, but also in devotional exercises. The marabouts prepared themselves for martyrdom by long prayers under the direction of a venerated *shaikh*. The traveller Ibn Ḥawkal however reveals a dark side to this edifying picture. Speaking of the ribāṭs of Palermo in the fourth (tenth) century, he tells us that "they were the rendezvous of the bad characters of the country who thus found a means of livelihood outside of regular society and at the expense of the pious and charitable".

The double character — military and religious — of the life of the marabouts found expression in the architecture of the old ribāṭs that have survived. Tunisia has preserved those of Monastir and Sūs. The first is still very imposing but the frequent restorations have complicated the original plan. The second which is simple may be taken as typical. With its high square wall flanked by semi-circular towers at the corners and the middle of the sides, it recalls the Byzantine forts of the country. The only entrance was by one of the salients in the middle of the wall. A staircase went down in the interior into the central court surrounded by covered galleries and very simple cells. The first storey, reached by two staircases, also consisted of cells on three sides of the court. Along the fourth side was a hall with a *mihṛāb*. This was the oratory of the ribāṭ. The *ḫibla* wall was pierced with embrasures. On the level of the

terraces which are above this first storey, is the door of the signal tower, cylindrical in form, which rises from the square base of a salient at one corner and dominates the fortress from a height of about 60 feet. A little dome which also rises above the terraces crowns, as in the mosque of the period, the square area in front of the *mihrāb* in the oratory.

The ribāṭ of Sūs takes us back to the heroic times when the institution had distinctly a warlike character and these frontier posts played a strategic role on the borders of the lands of Islām. It retained this character in the xith—xiith century in the extreme Maghrib where the struggle with the Christians in Spain kept alive the tradition of the *qjihād*. We know that a ribāṭ built on an island in the Lower Senegal was the starting place of the career of the Lamtūna Berbers and gave them the name of Almoravids (*al-murābiṭūn*) under which they became famous in history [see ALMORAVIDS]. The Almohads who succeeded them had also their ribāṭs, two of which at least are worth mentioning. The ribāṭ of Tāzā [q. v.] was fortified in 528 (1138) by ‘Abd al-Mu‘min at the time when he was conducting against the Almoravids a campaign which had all the appearance of a *qjihād*. The Ribāṭ al-Fath, the name of which survives in that of the town of Rabat [q. v.], was, if not the port of embarkation, at least the great camp of concentration for the armies preparing to cross to Spain. The prestige of this Almohad foundation survived the dynasty which built it. Rabat, or rather the adjoining little town of Shālla, also regarded as a ribāṭ, was the necropolis of the Marinid princes, who in being buried there hoped to share in the merit of the warriors of the faith.

In the xvth century to give warning of landings by the Christians on the coast, *maḥras* and signal towers were still being built “to serve as ribāṭs”. Ibn Marzūq, the historiographer of the Marinid Abu ‘l-Ḥasan, who tells of them, says however that these posts were occupied by paid soldiers. They were not true ribāṭs, the garrison of which consisted of volunteers. If however we find down to the xvth century, in the extreme Maghrib, a ribāṭ like that of Asfi playing a military part in the struggle with the Portuguese, in the east, in the lands where the infidels no longer threatened Islām, the institution had changed its character or rather the ascetic discipline and the pious recitations which were the regular practices in the old ribāṭs had entirely taken the place of military exercises. From the vith (xith) century or perhaps even earlier, the development of mysticism and the grouping of the Sūfis into communities gave these barracks a new *raison d’être* by making them monasteries. From Persia, where it originated, this evolution of the ribāṭs rapidly spread through the Muslim world. In the east the ribāṭ merged into the Persian *khānaqā*. Ibn Djubair (ed. Wright and de Goeje, p. 243) refers to a *khānaqā* founded by Sūfis which was also called a ribāṭ, at Rās al-‘Ain to the north of the Syrian desert. When however a writer like Ibn al-Shihna describing Aleppo seems to distinguish the *khānaqās* from the ribāṭs, the difference between them escapes us. It may be supposed that the *khawānīk* were inhabited by permanent residents who spent their whole lives there and that the ribāṭs, as before, received devout men for limited periods, but one cannot assert definitely that this was the distinction. In

any case the four ribāṭs within the city of Aleppo (one attached to a *madrasa* and the mausoleum of its founder with Qur’ān readers and Sūfis) had no longer anything of a military character. It was the same with the two ribāṭs of Mecca mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūta. In Cairo the only inscription found by Van Berchem in which a ribāṭ is mentioned is that of the convent of Malik Ashraf ‘Ināl (860 = 1455).

In Barbary, which the wave of eastern mysticism had reached in the xith—xiith century, the term ribāṭ was likewise retained but applied to the *sāwīya* [q. v.] in which ascetics gathered round a *shaikh* or his tomb. As a matter of fact Ibn Marzūq in this connection makes a distinction which nevertheless still remains obscure. Speaking of the *sāwīyas* founded by Abu ‘l-Ḥasan, his master, he tells us first that *khānaqā*, a Persian word, has the same meaning as ribāṭ and adds: “In the terminology of the *faḳīrs*, one understands by ribāṭ the act of devoting oneself to the holy war and to guarding [the frontiers]. Among the Sūfis it means on the contrary the place in which a man shuts himself up to worship the divinity”. This last use of the word seems to be the usual one in his time. The Ribāṭ al-‘Ubbād is the group of pious foundations near Tlemcen that have grown up around the tomb of the famous mystic Sidi Bū Madyan. The ribāṭ of Taskedelt to the south west of Oran is dedicated to a saint of the Banū Iznāsen; the ribāṭ of Tāferṭast on the borders of the Wādī Sbū contains the tomb mosque of two Marinid princes and apartments for *ṭulbā* (Qur’ān readers).

With this erroneous use of the old Arabic word we might connect the parallel change undergone by the word *murābiṭ* (marabout). It is applied to a saint, an individual who by his own merits or the mystic initiation which he had received or his relationship with a *wālī* [q. v.] enjoys the veneration of those around him.

In Muslim Spain, the last land of the *qjihād*, we may suppose that the ribāṭs continued to stud the successive frontiers which the “reconquista” imposed on the lands of Islām; but to be certain we must wait until the study of the texts and the enquiry being conducted by F. Hernandez and H. Terrasse into the military architecture of Muslim Spain give us precise details regarding the date of the castles and their object. The evolution in meaning of the word ribāṭ would lead one to think it had ceased to mean a fortress. Among the Arabic authors of Spain and al-Maḳḳarī as among the *faḳīrs* mentioned by Ibn Marzūq, ribāṭ is often used to mean a holy war, generally defensive, and it passed into Spanish in the form *rebato* as J. Oliver Asin has shown with the meaning of “sudden attack executed by a body of horsemen in keeping with Muslim tactics”. If the Arabic term had lost its original meaning, however, another word derived from it was commonly used in a slightly different meaning. Spain saw the *rābiṭas* multiplying and their memory is preserved in place-names in the forms Rápita, Rávita, Rábida. The word *rābiṭa* was also known in Barbary. It meant “a hermitage to which a holy man retired and where he lived surrounded by his disciples and his religious servitors” (cf. *Maḳṣad*, transl. Colin, p. 240 and the article ZĀWIYA). Everything points to its having been the same in the Peninsula. The multiplication of *rābiṭas* in Spain and their possible confusion with ribāṭs are

connected with the great movement of mystic piety which, starting in Persia, had brought about the substitution of monasteries — *khānāqā* in the east, *zāwiya* in Barbary — for the foundations, more military than religious, of the heroic age of Islām.

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RIDĀ, an Ottoman biographer of poets. Mehmed Ridā b. Mehmed, called Zehir Mār-zāde, belonged to Adrianople. Of his life we know only that he was for a time *muftī* in Uzun Köprü (near Adrianople) and died in 1082 (1671) in his native city. Besides a collection of poems (*Diwān*) Ridā wrote a *Tedhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, a biographical collection in which he dealt successfully in alphabetical order with the poets who lived in the first half of the xth century A. H., i. e. c. 1591—1640. In the introduction he dealt with eleven sultāns who wrote poetry. The book was completed in 1060 (1640) as the *ta'riḫ* shows. It has been edited by Aḥmad Djewdet Bey (*Tedhkirat-i Ridā*, Stambul 1316, 109 p. 8').

Bibliography: J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iii. 486; *Sidḥill-i 'othmānī*, ii. 397; Brūsali Mehmed Tāhir, *'Othmānī Müellifleri*, ii. 185 sq.; F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 215 sq. (FRANZ BABINGER)

RIDĀ ḲULĪ KHĀN B. MUḤAMMAD HADĪ B. ISMĀ'IL KAMĀL, Persian scholar and man of letters, "l'un des hommes les plus spirituels et les plus aimables que j'aie rencontrés dans aucune partie du monde" (Gobineau). A descendant of the poet Kamāl Khudjandī [q. v.], the grandfather of Ridā Ḳulī, chief of the notables of Čardeh Kelateh (district of Dāmghān), was put to death by the partisans of Karīm Khān Zand against whom he supported the Kādjārs (cf. *Relation de l'ambassade au Kharezm*, transl. Schefer, p. 203). His father became one of the dignitaries of the court of the Kādjārs; in 1215 (1800), while on a pilgrimage to Mashhad, he heard of the birth of a son in Teherān to whom he gave the name of the imām. Becoming an orphan in 1802, Ridā Ḳulī spent

his early years in Fārs; he was brought back from Fārs to Teherān, lived some time with relatives at Barfurush (Māzandarān), then returned to Fārs where he received his education; he then entered the service of the state under the patronage of the governor-general of Fārs. His earliest efforts in poetry were published under the pseudonym of Čākir which he soon changed to that of Hidāyat. In 1829 on the occasion of Fath 'Alī Shāh's stay in Shirāz, he composed a panegyric and other poems which gained him the royal favour; but a serious illness prevented him from leaving Shirāz. In 1838 Muḥammad Shāh showed such esteem for him that he entrusted his son 'Abbās Mirzā's education to him. The political troubles that followed the Shāh's death in 1848 sent Ridā Ḳulī into retirement. In 1851 Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh recalled him and sent him on an embassy to Khīwa. He was next appointed to the Ministry of Education, became Director of the Royal College (*dār al-funūn*), then fifteen years later, tutor (*lālā-bāshī*) to the crown prince Muẓaffar al-Dīn whom he followed to Tabriz where he spent several years. He returned to Teherān where he died in 1288 (1871).

Of his very numerous works, several are still unpublished, e.g. some treatises on theology and letters (we mention only the *Miftāḥ al-Kunūz*, a commentary on difficult verses in Khāḳānī, and the *Nizād-nāme-yi Salāṭīn-i 'adjam-nizād*, on early Persian dynasties: analysed in *J. R. A. S.*, xviii., p. 198). The bulk of his lyrical poetry (*Diwān*) is also still unpublished; it totals about 30,000 lines. Of his six *maṭnawī*'s (enumerated by himself, *Madjma' al-Fuṣṣahā'*, ii. 582) only the epic entitled *Bektāsh-nāme* (or *Gulistan-i Iram*, lith. Tabriz, 1270 = 1853) is published: it celebrates the tragic loves of the hero and the Persian poetess of Arab origin Rabī'a Kizdārī Balkhī, known as Zain al-'Arab. His other works which are published are mainly of a documentary nature and therefore very important. The *Fihris al-Tawāriḫ* ("Repertory of Chronicles", chronology, lith. in part at Tabriz) was presented to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh before the author's departure to Khwārizm (1851); the *Adjmal al-Tawāriḫ* (lith. Tabriz 1283) is a short précis of the history of Persia composed for the crown prince Muẓaffar al-Dīn; the *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, continuation of the *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā* of Mir Khwānd down to 1270 (1853) (Teherān 1270, 3 vols. fol.), is a work of considerable size, based on eastern sources (of which several are still unpublished) and on official documents, most of which are reproduced in full; in addition to the record of political events the work contains much geographical, literary and artistic information. The *Riyād al-'Arifin* ("Gardens of the Initiated"), biographies of mystical poets, with an excellent introduction on Ṣūfism, was prepared for Muḥammad Shāh (not lith. until 1305, Teherān). It is closely connected with the *Madjma' al-Fuṣṣahā'* ("Assembly of eloquent Individuals"), of first importance for the history of Persian poetry (lith. Teherān, 2 vols. fol., 1294); this last work, the author's best, contains after a general introduction on the history of Persian poetry, biographies and select pieces from all the poets (the poet-laureates form the first section); at the end is an autobiography and an anthology of the poems of Hidāyat (ii. p. 581—678; autobiography and a number of the verses reproduced by the author of the *Fārs-nāme-yi Nāṣirī*, ii. 125—

127). The researches necessary for these last two works showed Hidāyat the inadequacy of the dictionaries at his disposal; he intended to remedy this by his *Farhang-i andjuman-ārā-yi Nāsirī* (lith. Teherān 1288) which, preceded by a remarkable introduction, gives the different meanings of each Persian word, with quotations from the classical poets. The work entitled *Madāridj al-Balāgha* (lith. 1331) is a glossary of rhetorical and poetical terms with many examples taken from different poets. Lastly we owe to Hidāyat the first editions of the *Divān* of Manūchāhri (lith. Teherān 1297), of the *Kābūs-nāme* (*ibid.* 1275) and of the *Nafthāt al-Maṣdūr* (history of the fall of the Khwārizm empire) of Muḥammad Zaidari (publ. posthumously, Teherān 1308). Its autobiographical character gives the attractive "Narrative of a Journey to Khwārizm" (*Safar-nāme-yi Khwārizm*, ed. and transl. Schefer, in *P.E.L.O.V.*, Paris 1879) a special place among his works; he undertook this journey in 1851 as ambassador sent to settle the differences between the courts of Teherān and Khiwa. This journal is a valuable document for the history of the khānates and has been utilised by later Persian historians (notably Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān; q. v.); besides valuable historical, archæological and geographical matter, the book, which is written in a simple and natural style, is a contribution to the study of the manners and customs of the period (notably conditions of travel); we find in it pretty pictures of native life and charming landscapes. Several of Hidāyat's descendants have taken a prominent part in literature, politics and administration.

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(H. MASSÉ)

RIDĪYA (1236—1240 A.D.), the only woman to succeed to the throne of Dihli during the period of Muslim rule, and, with the exception of Shādjār al-Durr [q. v.] of Egypt, the only female sovereign in the history of Islām.

After the death of his eldest son, İltutmish [q. v.], despite the protests of his advisers, nominated his daughter Ridīya as his successor on the grounds of her fitness to rule. On the death of İltutmish the courtiers, disregarding the late king's wishes, raised one of his sons, Rukn al-Din Firūz, to the throne. The new king wasted his time in riotous living, all real power being in the hands of his mother, Shāh Turkān, whose cruelty disgusted the people and finally led to open revolt. Eventually in 634 (1236), despite the strong Muslim aversion to female rulers, Ridīya was proclaimed queen by the people of Dihli and a certain section of the army. Although the wazīr, Niẓām al-Mulk Muḥammad Djunaidī, refused to acknowledge her she was astute enough to crush all opposition. She appointed Khwādja Muḥaddhib al-Din Ḥusain as her wazīr and placed Malik Saif al-Din in charge of the army with the title of *kutlugh*

khān. Ikhtiyār al-Din Aitagin was made *amir-i ḥādīb*. The Turkish amirs, however, took great exception to the favours shown by the queen to an Abyssinian, Malik Djamāl al-Din Yākūt who held the position of *amir-i ākhur* (Master of the Horse). Eventually the Turkish amirs rose in revolt, put the Abyssinian to death, imprisoned the queen, and placed her half-brother, Bahram Shāh, on the throne (Ramaḍān 636 = April 1240). Malik Ikhtiyār al-Din Alṭūniya, the governor of Bhatinda, in whose custody the deposed queen had been placed by his fellow conspirators, decided to champion her cause. With this object in view he married her and marched on Dihli, but was defeated near Kaithal. On the day following this defeat both he and Ridīya were put to death.

The only original source for her reign is the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāsirī* of Minhādj al-Din [see DJUZDĀNĪ], the accounts of all later writers, such as Ibn Baṭṭūta, Firishṭa, Badā'ūnī, and the author of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* being untrustworthy. All that Minhādj al-Din relates is that she treated the *Ḥabashī* with favour, but this was enough to enable the later historians to interpret it as undue fondness on the queen's part. It was only towards the end of her reign that she laid aside her female attire and appeared in public clothed as a man and unveiled. The real cause of her downfall seems to have been the opposition of the Turkish amirs.

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RIDWĀN (RUDWĀN) b. TUTUSH, FAKHR AL-MULK (MULUK), a Saldjūk ruler in Ḥalab. Shortly before his death in Ṣafar 488 (Feb. 1095) Tutush b. Alp Arslān [q. v.] ordered his son Ridwān to go to the 'Irāk. The latter set out with a large army; on reaching the vicinity of Hit [q. v.] he heard of his father's death and returned to Ḥalab, where he was recognised by the governor Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Khwārizmī as the successor of Tutush. He then attempted to seize Sarūdj [q. v.] but Suḳmān b. Ortoḳ [q. v.] anticipated him and defended himself so energetically that Ridwān had to withdraw; on the other hand, he succeeded in taking Edessa, the citadel of which he entrusted to the lord of Antākiya, Yāghī Basān b. Muḥammad al-Turkmānī. Soon afterwards he returned to Ḥalab because the emirs who were accompanying him, his step-father Djanāh al-Dawla al-Ḥusain b. Aitegin and Yāghī Basān, quarrelled with one another; the former went to Ḥalab and the latter to Antākiya accompanied by Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Khwārizmī. Ridwān was very soon involved in a war with his brother Duḳāk, who had settled in Ḥalab after the death of Tutush and had been asked by Sawtegin, commandant of the citadel in Damascus, to take this town. He therefore left Ḥalab, evaded the pursuit of the cavalry sent after him by his brother and reached Damascus where he was welcomed and recognised as lord of the city. He was joined by his step-father Tuḡtegin [q. v.] who soon afterwards appeared in Damascus with a number of officers who had served under Tutush. After Duḳāk and Tuḡtegin had established themselves securely, they had Sawtegin put to death. But Ridwān also coveted Damascus. The city however proved to be too strongly defended, so he went to Nābulus and then to Jerusalem which had fallen into the hands of the Fātimids. There also he met with a vigorous re-

sistance; his troops scattered and there was nothing left for him but to return to Ḥalab. Yāghī Basān then went over to Duḳāk and suggested he should besiege Rīdwan in Ḥalab. The latter however appealed to Suḳmān b. Ortoḳ in Sarūdj, who at once hurried to his assistance, and when the two brothers met at Ḳinnasrīn [q. v.], Duḳāk was completely defeated and had to recognise Rīdwan as his overlord (489 = 1096 or 490 = 1097). In order to receive financial and military support from the Fātimids, Rīdwan for four weeks had prayers said for al-Musta'li, the caliph in Egypt; but on the representations of Suḳmān and Yāghī Basān, who had in the meanwhile made peace with him, he again paid homage to the 'Abbasids and asked for forgiveness from the Caliph al-Mustaẓhir in Baghdad. About the same time Djanāḥ al-Dawla left Rīdwan, settled in Ḥimṣ and improved the defences of the town. He then took up a more independent attitude to his overlord Rīdwan than before.

In June 1098 Antākiya was stormed by the Crusaders and the Muslim army of relief, which included Rīdwan, repulsed whereupon Bohemund was recognised as prince of Antākiya. As his nearest neighbour, Rīdwan was soon at war with him. In *Shā'bān* 493 (July 1100), he set out to drive the Franks from the country round Ḥalab but was defeated. He then joined forces with Djanāḥ al-Dawla; but when the Christians withdrew and Rīdwan became jealous of his ally, Djanāḥ al-Dawla returned to Ḥimṣ. Soon afterwards the Christians under Bohemund and Tancred again threatened Aleppo; on the news of the siege of Malatya [q. v.] by a Muslim army [see *DĀNISHMANDIYA*], they suddenly withdrew. Bohemund fell into an ambush and was taken prisoner, Rīdwan and Djanāḥ al-Dawla won several successes, but in the end quarrelled with one another, and a year or two later (495 = 1102 or 496 = 1103), the latter was murdered at the instigation of the Assassins of Ḥalab. In *Shā'bān* 498 (April—May 1105) Tancred, who had succeeded Bohemund as prince of Antākiya and was also count of Edessa, won a brilliant victory over Rīdwan. When Tancred besieged the fortress of Artāḥ, the governor there appealed to Rīdwan for help. The latter appeared at the head of a powerful army and the two forces met near Ḳinnasrīn. On seeing the superiority of the Muslim forces, Tancred wanted to open peace negotiations; Rīdwan for his part was not unwilling to meet him but allowed himself to be persuaded by a subordinate commander to refuse, and when the battle began, the Franks at once took to flight but returned and cut down the Muslims while they were plundering; Tancred then occupied Artāḥ. In 499 (1105—1106) the latter also took the important fortress of Afāmiya (Apamea). An Assassin named Abū Ṭāhir [cf. *ASSASSINS*] who was on good terms with Rīdwan, had disposed of the commandant there, Ḳhalaf b. Mulā'ib. One of his sons fled to Tancred and asked him to expel the supporters of Rīdwan; Tancred who had already received an appeal from the Christians of Afāmiya, laid siege to the town. He withdrew after a time but soon returned and starved the town into surrender.

When Čawali Sakawu, governor of al-Mawṣil, lost the favour of the Saldjūḳ Sultān Muḥammad b. Malikshāh [q. v.] and was replaced by Mawdūd b. Altunteḡin, he gave count Baldwin and Joscelin, who were prisoners there, their liberty on condition

that they paid a ransom, liberated Muslim prisoners and assisted him against his enemies. But when Tancred refused to restore the county of Edessa to Baldwin, hostilities broke out and the latter sought the help of Čawali. After peace had been restored between the Frankish leaders and Edessa was restored to Baldwin, Rīdwan wrote to Tancred and warned him against Čawali, who, he said, had already taken the town of Bālis, and was now threatening Ḥalab whereby he might become dangerous to Christian rule in this region. In Ṣafar 502 (Sept.—Oct. 1108) Čawali, who had joined Baldwin and Joscelin, was defeated at Tell Bāshir [q. v.]. He lost Bālis, and since he could not hold his own against Rīdwan and Mawdūd, he had to make his peace with the sultān. The Christian princes then combined to besiege Tripolis, Ṣaidā and Bairūt. Tancred took the fortresses of al-Aṭḥarib and Zardanā and when the news reached them, the Muslims abandoned Manbij and Bālis also, and Rīdwan had to purchase peace very dearly (504 = 1110—1111). When sultān Muḥammad summoned the princes, his vassals, for a vigorous attack on the Franks under the leadership of Mawdūd, the latter was appealed to for help by Rīdwan, whose lands the Christians were laying waste in revenge for the damage done by him in Syria. Mawdūd came to his assistance but when he appeared before Ḥalab, Rīdwan, who no longer needed him, shut the gates and took no part in the war against the common enemy.

Rīdwan died in the last days of *Djumādā* I 507 (Nov. 1113). As a partisan of the Ismā'ili Assassins he had a bad reputation; he even had two of his brothers, 'Alī Ṭalib and Bahramshāh, assassinated. Ibn al-Aṭhir (x. 349) also says that his manner of life was by no means laudable (*kānat umūr Rīdwan ghair maḥmūda*).

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RIFĀ'A BEY AL-ṬAḤṬAWĪ, a famous writer of the last century and one of the principal creators of the modern Arabic "Renaissance". He was born at Taḥta in upper Egypt in 1801. His parents, although of noble descent, were poor. When quite young, he devoted himself to the study of the *Ḳur'ān*; when a young man, he went to al-Azhar where he studied seriously under the direction of Shaikh Ḥassān al-ʿAṭṭār.

On leaving al-Azhar in 1824, he was appointed pay-master of the Egyptian army. At this period the celebrated Muḥammad (Mehermet) 'Alī was ruling Egypt. The latter at the instigation of the French scholar Jomard sent to Paris in 1826 a group of students to learn French and study modern sciences. They were put under charge of Rifā'a. In Paris the latter made the acquaintance

of Oriental scholars like Jaubert, Jomard, Sylvestre de Sacy and Caussin de Perceval. He made rapid progress and soon had a deep knowledge of the French language. From his stay in Paris dates a lively and interesting account entitled *Takhlīṣ al-Ibriz* (Bulāk 1323) in which every line reveals a charming naïveté, and the enthusiasm aroused in this oriental mind by the manifold aspects and lights and shades of French life and culture (cf. Carra de Vaux, *Penseurs*, v. 237 sq.). On his return to Egypt (1832) he was attached as interpreter and professor of French to the school of Medicine directed by Dr. Clot Bey and also entrusted with the editorship of the *Informations égyptiennes* which later became the *Journal Officiel*. In 1833 he was transferred to the School of Artillery and in 1835 appointed Director of the School of Foreign Languages (originally the "Translation Office"). He remained in this post until the accession of Abbās I. Unfortunately this ruler did not continue the brilliant work of his predecessor: the School of Languages was closed and its Director sent — a disgrace barely concealed — to the Sūdān to organise the High School at Khartūm.

On the death of 'Abbās, Rifā'a returned to Egypt. Sa'id Pasha appointed him Director of the Military School, for a very brief period, however, for the School in its turn was closed and Rifā'a found himself unemployed.

In the reign of Ismā'il in 1863, the School was reopened and our author again became Director of the "Translation Office". In 1870, he became editor in chief of the educational review *Rawḍat al-Madāris* (fortnightly) and died in 1873.

Rifā'a Bey was one of the most important Arabic writers of the sixteenth century and his name is closely associated with the brilliant revival of literary and scientific activity in the modern east. An enquiring spirit of unusual intelligence, he left behind him a considerable amount of work in all fields: history, geography, grammar, law, literature, medicine etc.; details will be found in Sarkis, *Dictionnaire bibliographique*, p. 942—947. We may note here only his translations of Télémaque, of Malte-Brun's, *Geography* and the French *Code Civil*.

To appreciate the magnitude of the part he played, it must be remembered that at the dawn of the last century, the Arab world was in a state of semi-torpor and separated from European learning by a dense barrier: it was with difficulty that al-Azhar shed a dim light on the darkness that covered this period.

As a result of his works, his activity and the phalanx of experts and translators which he gave the country, Rifā'a accomplished the miracle of popularising European science, of opening the east to modern ideas, enlightening the minds of his contemporaries, awakening dormant energies and preparing the future.

We can measure the effort if we reflect that he and his pupils translated into Arabic and Turkish nearly 2,000 works.

On the other hand by expanding the framework of the old classical language and by vivifying it and enriching it with a mass of new words, he enabled Arab thought to adapt itself to progress and to extend its light over modern Islām.

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(MAURICE CHEMAUL)

AL-RIFĀ'Ī, AḤMAD B. 'ALĪ ABU 'L-'ABBĀS, founder of the Rifā'ī *ṭarīqa*, died 22nd Dju-mādā I, 578 (Sept. 23, 1183) at Umm 'Abida, in the district of Wāsiṭ. The date of his birth is given by some authorities as Muḥarram 500 (Sept. 1106), but others say Radjab 512 (Oct.—Nov. 1118), at Qaryat Ḥasan, a village in the district of Baṣra. These places being in the region called al-Baṭā'ih [q. v.], he has the further *nisba* al-Baṭā'ihī; al-Rifā'ī is usually explained as referring to an ancestor Rifā'a, but by some is supposed to be a tribal name. This ancestor Rifā'a is said to have migrated from Mecca to Seville in Spain in 317, whence Aḥmad's grandfather came to Baṣra in 450. Hence he is also called al-Maghribī.

Ibn Kḥallikān's notice of him is meagre; more is given in Dhahabī's *Ta'rikh al-Islām* (Bodleian MS.), taken from a collection of his *Manāḥib* by Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Aḥmad b. Sulaimān al-Ḥammāmī recited by him to a disciple in 680. This work does not appear in the lists of treatises on the same subject furnished by Abu 'l-Hudā Efendi al-Rāfi' al-Khālidi al-Ṣaiyādī in his works *Tawwīr al-Aḥṣār* (Cairo 1306) and *Kilādat al-Djawāhir* (Bairūt 1301), the latter of which is a copious biography, frequently citing *Tiryaq al-Muḥibbin* by Taqī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Wāsiṭī (d. 744; known to Ḥājjdī Khālifa), *Umm al-Barāhīn* by Qasim b. al-Ḥājjdī, *al-Nafḥa al-Miskīya* by 'Izz al-Dīn al-Fārūṭhī (d. 694), and others. Al-Ḥammāmī's statements are cited from one Ya'qūb b. Kurāz, who acted as *mu'adhdhin* for al-Rifā'ī. Great caution is required in the use of such materials.

Whereas according to some accounts he was a posthumous child, the majority date his father's death 519 in Baghdād, when Aḥmad was seven years old. He was then brought up by his maternal uncle Maṣṣūr al-Baṭā'ihī, resident at Nahr Daqlā in the neighbourhood of Baṣra. This Maṣṣūr (of whom there is a notice in Shā'ranī's *Lawāḥih al-Anwār*, i. 178) is represented as the head of a religious community, called by Aḥmad (if he is correctly reported by his grandson, *Kalā'id*, p. 88) al-Rifā'iya; he sent his nephew to Wāsiṭ to study under a Shāfi'ī doctor Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Alī al-Wāsiṭī and a maternal uncle Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī. His studies lasted till his 27th year, when he received an *idjāza* from Abu 'l-Faḍl, and the *khirka* from his uncle Maṣṣūr, who bade him establish himself in Umm 'Abida, where (it would seem) his mother's family had property, and where her father Yaḥyā al-Nājjidjārī al-Anṣārī was buried. In the following year (540) Maṣṣūr died and bequeathed the headship of his community (*mash'yakha*) to Aḥmad to the exclusion of his own son.

His activities appears to have been confined to

Umm 'Abida and neighbouring villages, whose names are unknown to the geographers; even Umm 'Abida is not mentioned by Yāqūt, though found in one copy of the *Marāsid al-Iṭīlā'*. This fact renders incredible the huge figures cited by Abu 'l-Hudā for the number of his disciples (*murīdīn*) and even deputies (*khulafā'*), the princely style and the colossal buildings in which he entertained them. Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzi in *Mir'āt al-Zamān* (Chicago, 1907, p. 236) says that one of their *shaiḫs* told him he had seen some 100,000 persons with al-Rifā'ī on a night of Sha'bān. In *Shadjarāt al-Dhahab* the experience is said to have been Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzi's own, though this person was born 581, three years after al-Rifā'ī's death. In *Tanwir al-Absār* (p. 7, 8) his grandfather as well as himself is credited with the assertion.

His followers do not attribute to him any treatises, but Abu 'l-Hudā produces 1. two discourses (*maḍālīs*) delivered by him in 577 (3rd Radjab) and 578 respectively; 2. a whole *diwān* of odes; 3. a collection of prayers (*ad'iya*), devotional exercises (*awrād*), and incantations (*aḥzāb*); 4. a great number of casual utterances, sometimes nearly of the length of sermons, swollen by frequent repetitions. Since in 1, 2 and 4 he claims descent from 'Alī and Fāṭima, and to be the substitute (*nawīb*) for the Prophet on earth, whereas his biographers insist on his humility, and disclaiming such titles as *kuṭb*, *ghawth*, or even *shaiḫh*, the genuineness of these documents is questionable.

In *Shadjarāt al-Dhahab* (iv. 260) it is asserted that the marvellous performances associated with the Rifā'īs, such as sitting in heated ovens, riding lions, etc. (described by Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. 305) were unknown to the founder, and introduced after the Mongol invasion; in any case they were no invention of his, since the like are recorded by Tanukhī in the fourth century A.H. The anecdotes produced by Dhahabī (repeated by Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, iv. 40) imply a doctrine similar to the Indian *ahimsā*, unwillingness to kill or give pain to living creatures, even lice and locusts. He is also said to have inculcated poverty, abstinence and non-resistance to injury. Thus *Mir'āt al-Zamān* records how he allowed his wife to be-labour him with a poker, though his friends collected 500 dinārs to enable him to divorce her by returning her marriage gift. (The sum mentioned is inconsistent with his supposed poverty).

Inconsistent accounts are given of his relations with his contemporary 'Abd al-Qādir al-Gilānī. In *Bahdjat al-Asrār* it is recorded by apparently faultless *isnāds* on the authority of two nephews of al-Rifā'ī, and a man who visited him at Umm 'Abida in 576 that when 'Abd al-Qādir in Baghdad declared that his foot was on the neck of every saint, al-Rifā'ī was heard to say at Umm 'Abida "and on mine". Hence some make him a disciple of 'Abd al-Qādir. On the other hand, Abu 'l-Hudā's authorities make 'Abd al-Qādir one of those who witnessed in Medina in the year 555 the unique miracle of the Prophet holding out his hand from the tomb for al-Rifā'ī to kiss; further, in the list of his predecessors in the discourse of 578 al-Rifā'ī mentions Maṣṣūr, but not 'Abd al-Qādir. It is probable therefore that the two worked independently.

Details of his family are quoted from the work of al-Fārūthī, grandson of a disciple named 'Umar. According to him, al-Rifā'ī married first Maṣṣūr's

niece Khadīdja; after her death, her sister Rabi'a; after her death Nafisa, daughter of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsimiya. There were many daughters; also three sons, who all died before their father. He was succeeded in the headship of his order by a sister's son, 'Alī b. 'Uthmān.

Bibliography: The sources of this account have been cited above.

(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

RIḤĀ, the name of two towns.

1. The Arabs called the Jericho of the Bible Riḥā or Ariḥā (Clermont-Ganneau, in *J.A.*, 1877, i. 498). The town, which was 12 *mīl* E. of Jerusalem, was reckoned sometimes to the *Djund* of Filastīn (Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 913, e.g.) and sometimes to the district of al-Balkā' (Ya'qūbī, in *B.G.A.*, vii. 113); sometimes however it was called the capital of the province of Jordan (al-Urdunn) or of Ghawr, the broad low lying valley of the Jordan (Nahr al-Urdunn) from which it was 10 *mīl* distant (Yāqūt, i. 227). As a result of its warm moist climate and the rich irrigation of its fields the country round the town produced a subtropical vegetation; among its products are mentioned, some already known in ancient times, dates and bananas, fragrant flowers, indigo (prepared from the *wasmo* plant), sugar-cane, which yielded the best Ghawr sugar. Not far from the town were the only sulphur mines in Palestine (Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Re naud, p. 236). There were however many snakes and scorpions there and large numbers of fleas. From the flesh of the snakes called *tiriyākiya* found there was made the antidote called "Jerusalem *tiriyāk*" (Ἰερουσαλὴμ φάρμακον).

In the Kur'ān, Ariḥā is the town of the giants captured by Joshua; there was shown the tomb of Moses and the place where, according to the Christians, their saviour was baptised. The eponymous founder of the town (Ariḥā) was said to have been a grandson of Arphakshad, grandson of Noah. The town was particularly prosperous during the Crusades but then began to decline and was in ruins in the xiith century. The modern Eriḥā in the Wādī el-Kelt occupies the site of the town of the Crusaders; it is about 800 feet below the level of the Mediterranean.

Bibliography: On the ancient city excavated in 1907—1909 by Sellin and again by Garstang (in the N. W. of Eriḥā near 'Ain al-Sultān) and the ancient Hierikūs: E. Sellin and C. Watzinger, *Jericho, die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, XXII. *Wiss. Veröff. der D.O.G.*, 1913; C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Jericho*, in *Klio*, xiv., 1914, p. 264; J. Garstang, *The Date of the Destruction of Jericho*, in *P.E.F.Q.S.*, lix., 1927, p. 96—100, 168; *Jericho*, in *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1930, p. 18; Beer, art. *Jericho*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, vol. ix., col. 922—928; P. Thomsen, art. *Jericho*, in *Reallexikon d. Vorgesch.*, vi., 1930, p. 153—157; C. Watzinger, *Zur Chronologie der Schichten von Jericho*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, N.F., v., 1926, p. 131—136; W. J. Phythian-Adams, *ibid.*, p. 34—47; on the Arab Riḥā: al-Istakhri, in *B.G.A.*, i. 56, 58; Ibn Hawkal, in *B.G.A.*, ii. 111, 113; al-Makḥḥī, in *B.G.A.*, iii. 179 sq.; al-Ya'qūbī, *Tarikh*, ed. Houtsma, p. 113; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 200, 227; ii. 884; iii. 823, 913; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāsid al-Iṭīlā'*, ed. Juynboll, i. 52, 496; ii. 322, 362; al-Idrisī, ed. Gildemeister, in *Z.D.P.V.*, viii. 3; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Re naud,

p. 48, 236; Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, p. 15, 18, 28—32, 53, 288, 381, 396 sq.

2. A little town in the district of Ḥalab. According to Yāqūt it stood in a wooded, well watered area "on the slopes of the Djabal Lubnān". By this term the Arabs meant not only the Lebanon but also its northern continuation as far as the Orontes (Lammens, *Notes sur le Liban*, ii. 6; *M.F.O.B.*, i., 1906, p. 271). But in the present case the heights to the east of the Orontes are certainly wrongly included in the term. Rihā on the contrary is on the northern edge of the Djabal Banī 'Ulaim (Ibn al-Shihna, Bairūt, p. 102, 130), the modern Djebel Arba'in, a part of the Djebel Rihā or Djebel al-Zāwiye (cf. the map Djebel Rihā or Djebel iz-Zāwiye by Rob. Garrett and F. A. Norris in *Public. of the Princeton Univ. Arch. Exp. to Syria*, div. ii., sect. B, part iii., 1909).

M. Hartmann suggested that the name Rihā was concealed in the name of *ῥῶμα Μαγαταρῆχων* in the district of Apameia in an inscription of Concordia at Aquileia (*C.I.G.*, v. 8732 = *I.G.*, xiv. 2334), and that this corresponds to the Mughāra about 6 miles south of Rihā, while Dussaud (*Topographie de la Syrie*, 204 sq., 212 sq.) wishes to identify it with Rihā itself. Hartmann wrote as follows in support of his view (*Z.D.P.V.*, xxii. 145, note 3): "As in the case of Jericho, the form Arihā may have been current alongside of Rihā; in favour of this is the fact that Yāqūt, ii. 885, expressly protests against the spelling Arihā for the little town in the district of Ḥalab: it should not be written with *alif*, while both forms were usual for the town in the Ghawr". This supposition is certainly correct; for Ibn al-Shihna twice writes Arihā (p. 130 with the variant Rihā) and J. B. L. J. Rousseau (*Liste alphabétique...*, in *Recueil de voyages et de mémoires*, ii., Paris 1825, p. 215a) also knows of Arihā (Erihā) alongside of Rihā as the name of the place and of the *nāhiya* (cf. also the *Sālnāme of Ḥalab* for the year 1286, p. 118). But the identification of Magarataricha with Mughāra or with Rihā cannot however be maintained for the former is already found in the year 472 (1079) in Kamāl al-Dīn (*Zubdat Ḥalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*, Paris, Bib. Nat., MS. Arab. N°. 1666, fol. 101r) as "Ma'aratārikh in the district of Kafartāb" (E. Honigmann, in *Syria*, x., 1929, p. 282; xii., 1931, p. 99) and is still found as Ma'rtārikh about 20 miles south of Rihā (du Mesnil du Buisson, in *Syria*, xii. 99 sq., with sketch map).

The identification of Rihā with the *Rugia* or *Chastel Rouge* of the Franks is also untenable; as Dussaud (*Topogr. de la Syrie*, p. 167, 174, 176, 213) rightly points out that this should rather be identified with al-Rūdj of the Arabs.

There is a place noted for its ruins of antiquity called Ruwaiha ("little Rihā") about 8 miles S. E. of Rihā.

Rihā is very frequently mentioned in modern travel literature as it was on the main road from Ḥalab to Hamā (Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii. 1502; Dussaud, *Topogr. de la Syrie*, p. 183), over which Nāsiri-Khusraw (before 1047) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1326) travelled in their day. The town is therefore mentioned by Belon du Mans (1548), Pietro Della Valle (1616), Wansleb (1671), Pococke (1737), Drummond (1754), C. Niebuhr (1778),

Seetzen (1806—1807), Burckhardt (1810—1812) and many others.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 885; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāsid al-Iṭīlā'*, ed. Juynboll, i. 496; Ibn al-Shihna, *al-Durr al-muntakhab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*, Bairūt 1909, p. 102, 130; Rich. Pococke, *Description of the East*, London 1745, ii., p. 31; Alex. Drummond, *Travels through different cities of Germany, Italy, Greece and several parts of Asia*, London 1754, p. 228, 290 (*Rhia*; on the *Map of part of Syria*, at p. 205, which is the anonymous map, referred to by Dussaud, *Topogr.*, p. viii., note 1: *Raia*); Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern*, Copenhagen 1778, ii., pl. iii. (*Rähä*); J. B. L. J. Rousseau, *Description du Pachalik de Haleb, in Fundgruben des Orients*, iv., Vienna 1814, p. 11 sq.; do., *Liste alphabétique...*, in *Recueil de voyages et de mémoires*, Paris 1825, p. 207—217; de Corancez, *Itinéraire d'une partie peu connue de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1816, p. 36: Rihā east (!) of Sarmin; Burckhardt, *Reisen in Syrien, Palästina und der Gegend des Berges Sinai*, ed. by W. Gesenius, i., Weimar 1828, p. 225, note 1 (*Rieha*); William M. Thomson, *Bibliotheca sacra*, v., New York 1848, p. 672; Seiff, *Ein Ritt durch das Innere Syriens*, in *Z. G. Erdk.*, viii., 1873, p. 23; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, p. 520 sq.; M. Hartmann, in *Z.D.P.V.*, xxii., 1899, p. 145; Dussaud, *Topographie de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, p. vi., note 2, viii., note 1, p. 174, 176, 183, 205 sqq., 212 sq., 243.

(E. HONIGMANN)

RİK'Ā. [See ARABIA, i. 387a.]

RİKÂB (A., Turkish pronunciation: *rikiab* and *rekiap*, "stirrup") in Persian and Turkish usage at Muḥammadan courts: "the sovereign himself or his presence, the foot of the throne" (metonymy like those of *khidmet* in Saldjūk usage: *hazret* or *ḥadret*, *khān-i pay* etc.).

In Turkish (Ottoman, Altai, Čaghatai) the stirrup was called *üzengi* (*özeni*), older form *üzengü*, *özengü* (*Kudatghu Bilig*; Baṭṭāl, ed. Kāzān, p. 49). This word passed into certain foreign languages without the initial vowel: Ar. Syr. *sangiyya* and *zangawa* "stirrup, ladder or other means of assistance in mounting a horse" (Freitag, Cuche, Kazimirski, Boethor, Bēlot, Berggren; *sangiyya* is disputed by Dozy); Bulgarian *sengiya* (alongside of *uzengiya* and *yuzengiya*, with a final -ya quite independent of that of the Arabic) "stirrup". In Turkish also there are traces of its use without the initial vowel: Čaghatai *zengü* "ladder, steps" (Pavet de Courteille; cf. the Arabic *sullam* "steps, stirrup, mounting stone"), *zengü kūrīsi* (old Turkish and Persian usage; cf. RİKÂBDĀR). These comparisons show that at first a distinction was not always made between the stirrup and the mounting-stone (Ar. *ḥadjar al-rukūb*, Turk. *binek taş*), Persian from the Ottoman usage *seng-i rikiāb*, as in the *Tārīkh-i Wāṣif*, Bulāk 1246, i. 179). (In spite of these semantic coincidences and correspondences like Turk. *sengin* "rich" for Persian *sengin* "heavy, precious", the resemblance of *seng* and [ü] *sengi* may be only accidental).

The figurative expression *rikiāb-i humāyūn* (Turk. pronunciation: *rikiāb-i hūmāyūn*), or (more rarely) *rikiāb-i shāhāne* or simply *rikiāb* is already found in Persian of the Saldjūkid period applied to the sultān himself or his entourage in the field or

travelling. For example one said that so-and-so was "in the service of the imperial stirrup" (Houtsma, *Recueil... seldjoudides*, iv. 37; iii. 18) or "in the service of the parasol (*çatr*) of the imperial stirrup" (*ibid.*, iv. 7). In modern Persian one says "to be at the stirrup of a prince" for "to be attached to his court" (Kazimirski, *Dialogues*, p. 493 and 482—483).

In Turkish usage the same expressions were applied to:

1. The imperial cavalcade and the procession formed on this occasion. However, in order to avoid confusion with other uses of the word rikāb, there was also used, especially in the reigns of Mahmūd II and 'Abd al-Medjīd, the Turkish word *binîş* which was applied to all public appearances of the sultān, whether on horseback or in a boat (Mouradgēa d'Ohsson, vii. 141, 144; Jouanin and van Gaver, *Turquie*, p. 377 note; Andreossy, *Constantinople et le Bosphore*, p. 33, 494). The prince's procession was also called *mawkib* (*mewkib-i hümāyūn*) (Houtsma, iii. 18; on these words in Ottoman and Egyptian usage, cf. J. Deny, *Sommaire des Archives du Caire*, p. 104 and 564). Cf. also the name of *rikāb solaghī* given to the eight *solak* lieutenants who walked by the sultān's stirrup in the great procession (Mouradgēa d'Ohsson, vii. 25, 317).

2. The audience given by the sultān (*resm-i rikāb* or simply *rikāb*), whether or not he was in procession. The grand vizier himself could only be introduced to the sultān's presence by the latter's formal order and his admission was called *rikāb*. There were ordinary *rikāb* and ceremonial *rikāb* (Mouradgēa d'Ohsson, vii. 133 sqq.). Cf. details of the *bairam rikābī teshrifatī* in *Aṭā Tārīkhī*, i. 23; cf. Zenker, *Dict.*, i. 468; Aḥmad Rāsim, *Tārīkh*, iv. 1014.

3. The service of the sultān or simply his presence (Sękowski, *Collectanea*, Warsaw 1824, ii. 24). The presence was not necessarily immediate. Thus the expression *rikāb-i hümāyūnde* (in the locative) "with the sultān" was used in speaking of the troops (*kapu-kulu*) of the capital ('Abd al-Rahmān Sheref, *Tārīkh*, p. 292) or of the grand vizier in so far as he was endowed with the full powers of the sultān (*M. T. M.*, p. 528). Similarly the words *rikāb-i hümāyūne* (in the dative) were used for petitions (*arzūkhā*) addressed to the sultān (Meninski, *Thesaurus*; "Sulaimān's Canon" or *Naṣīhat-nāme*, p. 151), whence the expression *ma'rūzāt-i rikābiye* applied to these petitions.

It is from this connection that we have the use of the words *rikāb-i hümāyūn* or *rikāb* in the sense of *interim* or *substitute*. When the grand vizier moved from place to place, the government was thought to go with him and there was appointed "to the sovereign a substitute for the grand vizier who was called *rikāb k̄ā'immaḳāmī*" (Bianchi, *Dict.*, 1st ed.; Perry, *A view of the Levant*, London 1743, p. 37). The other chief dignitaries of the Sublime Porte had also their substitutes "of the imperial stirrup".

Rikāb aghalarī or *aghayān-i rikāb-i hümāyūn* or *üzengi aghalarī*. — These names were applied to a certain number of important officers or dignitaries of the palace (from 4 to 11 according to the different sources). They were the *mir-alem* or "standard-bearer", the two *mir-akhur* (*imbrohör*) or "squies", the *ḳapudjular kiahyaşī* or "chief usher" and other dignitaries with different offices

(cf. Luṭfi Pasha, *Āṣef-nāme*, in *Türk. Bibliothek*, xii. 18 and 21 of the Turk. text ed. by Tschudi; Beauvoisins, *Notice sur la Cour du Grand Seigneur*, 1809, p. 54; Mouradgēa d'Ohsson, vii. 14; v. Hammer, *Staatsverf.*, ii. 61, with references to Castellan and 'Ali; esp. *M. T. M.*, p. 526, for the *kānūn* or "usages" regarding the aghas of the stirrup; Feridūn, *Münshēāt*, p. 10, for the *elḳāb* or protocol relating to them). The following is a translation of the passage in the *Āṣef-nāme* which is a comparatively old text (Luṭfi Pasha died in 1539): "The *defierdārs* of the finances have precedence (*taṣaddur*) over the *sandjak beyi* and the *üzengi aghalarī*. The principal (*bash olan*) of these is the agha of the Janissaries, next comes the *mir-alem*, then the *ḳapudju bashī*, after him the *mir-akhur*, then the *çaklırdjī-bashī*, the *çeshnegir-bashī* and the *bölük aghalarī*" (starting with the agha of the Janissaries, we have here then an enumeration of the *üzengi aghalarī*).

Considering the authority of these sources, we must conclude that the variations are the results of changes which actually took place, which leads us to conclude that the tradition of the palace left the sultān a certain freedom in this respect. We know moreover that admission to the rikāb was in general subject to the *istizān* or "approval, pleasure" of the sultān.

The most important function, at least in principle, of the aghas of the stirrup was exercised when the sultān mounted his horse: the grand *mir-akhur* held the inner stirrup (*iç rikāb*), the *bash-ḳapudju-bashī* agha, the outer stirrup (*dış rikāb*); the *mir-alem* held the bridle and the *çeshnegir-bashī* assisted the sultān by holding him under the arm or "under the armpit" (*koltuğa girmek*). The *ḳapudjubashī* or "chamberlains" stood all around and the *akhur khalifesi* (*kalfasī*) held the horse's head (*M. T. M.*, p. 526).

On the functions of the chamberlains, who to the number of 150, headed by the *bash-ḳapudju-bashī*, already mentioned, were in the service of the stirrup, and for other details see Mouradgēa d'Ohsson, vii. 18 and especially *M. T. M.*, *loc. cit.* Their duties were to take to the province important firmāns and to carry out various confidential missions.

Sometimes epithets rhyming in *-āb* were added to the word *rikāb* in the language of the court: e.g. *rikāb-i ḳamertāb* "stirrup shining like the moon" (*Tārīkh-i Wāṣif*, i. 105); cf. also the epithets: *ḳiāmyāb*, *gerdūn ājenāb*, *dewlet-intisāb* (Meninski, *Thesaurus*).

The tribute which the Woiwods of Wallachia and Moldavia sent to the sultān in their own name, supplementary to that (*djīziye*) paid by their subjects, was known as *rikābiye* and *idiye* (Aḥmad Rāsim, i. 380; cf. Saineanu, *Influenta orientala*, Bucarest 1900, i. 249).

Bibliography: Cf. the works quoted in the text. (J. DENY)

RIKĀBDĀR or **RIKĪDĀR**, a Persian derivative from the preceding (Turkish pronunciation *rikāb-dār*, *rekiabdar*, *rekeptar* and *rikiptar*), properly "one put in charge of the stirrup, one who holds the stirrup, when his master mounts" (cf. French *estafier*, Ital. *staffiere*, Russ. *striemiennoy*, English groom of stirrup, words formed from *staffa*, *striemia*, stirrup = French *estrieu*, mod. *étrier*). In fact, remembering that the word rikāb has been given or has assumed a wider meaning [see the article],

rikābdār meant "a kind of squire, groom or riding attendant who had charge of the care and maintenance of harness and saddlery and of everything required for mounting on horseback". The pronunciation with an *i* in the second syllable (*rikibdar* or *rekibdar*) used alike in Egypt (Dozy; Spiro, p. 198) and in Turkey (Moldavian-Wallachian *rechiptar* or *richiptar* in Saineanu, ii. 99) is due to a (Persian) corruption analogous to that found in the words *silīḥdār* for *silāḥdār* and *i'timīd* for *i'timād* (cf. the Turkish translation of the *Burhān-i kātib*, p. 405). In Arabic we find the forms *rikābī* and *ṣāhib al-rikāb*. (Below we leave out of account the use of *rikābdār* in the sense of cup-bearer, derived from *rikāb* "cup" [used for drinking the "stirrup-cup"?]. If this explanation is correct, the two *rikābdār* may very well be the same).

Maḳḳārī mentions a personage who was *ṣāhib al-rikāb* already to the first Umayyad caliph of Spain (138—172 = 756—788; cf. *Analectes*, i. 605, reference given by Dozy). In Egypt at the court of the Fātimids, there were over 2,000 *rikābī* or *ṣibyan al-rikāb al-khāṣṣ*, so called "on account of their costume (*zaiy*)", whose duties were the same as those of the *silāḥdār* and *teberdār* of the time of Kaḳashandī (*Subḥ*, iii. 482).

As to the Persian form *rikābdār*, it must have been in use among the Saldjūks for we have to admit by analogy that it was from them that the Aiyūbids and later the Mamlūks borrowed the term, like many others of the same kind.

In Persia itself, the term *rikābdār* was replaced by its (Turkish) synonym *üzengi* (or *zengü*) *kurtisi* (cf. Chardin, 1711 ed., vi. 112; Père Raph. du Mans, *État de la Perse*, p. 24). According to the *Burhān-i kātib*, the *rikābdār* were replaced by the *djelowdār* (from *djelow*, bridle), but it should be noted that the office of the latter was contemporary with and independent of that of *üzengi kurtisi*.

In Egypt the *rikābdār*s of the Mamlūks, also called *rikābī*, were members of the *rikāb-khāna*, like the other "men of the sword" (*arḥāb al-suyūf*), such as the *sandjaqdār*, *mahmūdār*, *ḥara-ghulām* and *ghulām-mamlūk*. The *rikāb-khāna* (the *khānāt al-surūdī* of the Fātimids) was the depot for harness and in general for all the material required for horses and stables. The heads of this service were called *nihtar* (cf. the Ottoman *mehter* whose duties were different and humbler). The *rikābdār*s were under the command of the *emūr dḡāndār*, "Marshal of the Court" (cf. the *ḡapudḡular kiahyasī* of the Ottoman court). Cf. Kaḳashandī, iv. 12, 20; Ḳhalīl al-Zāhiri, p. 124; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Syrie*, p. liii., lix.

The word *rikābdār* is found in the *1001 Nights*, where it is translated "palefrenier" by E. Gauttier, vi. 168 and "groom" by Burton, x. 365, note 2. From the context we might also suggest "riding attendant". Boethor gives (for Syria?) *r-k-bdār* under the French "écuyer (qui enseigne à monter à cheval)" and *r-kkib al-khail* under "groom (celui qui monte à cheval)". The synonymous expression *ṣāhib al-rikāb*, in the sense of "good squire, one who mounts a horse well", is found in the romance of 'Antara. In contemporary Egyptian usage *rikib-dār* or *rakbdār* means "jockey, groom" (Spiro, Habelche). (According to the *Burhān-i kātib* [Turk. transl.], the *rikābdār* of Egypt were replaced by the *sarrāḡī* "saddler" mentioned by Volney and others).

Turkish usage. — In Turkey the office of *rikābdār* must have been taken over directly from the Saldjūks but instead of becoming assimilated to that of humble grooms or *rikābī*, as in Egypt, it became an important dignity at the sultān's court reserved for a single officer. It is in the reign of Orkhan (1326—1360) that we find the first Ottoman *rikābdār*: he was called Koḡia Elyas Agha ('*Aḡa Tārikhi*, i. 94). It was however only under Selim I (1512—1520) that the duties of the *rikābdār* were defined. According to the organisation at this time, the *rikābdār agha* was a *khāṣṣ-odalī*, i. e. he was one of the *khāṣṣ-oda* (and not *odasī*) or "company of the corps (Mouradgea d'Ohsson); chambrée suprême (Castellan); innerste Kammer (v. Hammer)" which was the first of the six groups of officers of the household (*iç* or *enderün*) of the Serail and consisted of the fixed number of 40 officers or pages including in theory the sultān himself. It had been formed by Sultān Selim to guard the relic of the Prophet's mantle (*khirḡa-i se'adet*) brought back after the conquest of Egypt ('*Aḡa*, i. 208; for details of the organisation see *ibid.*, and Mouradgea d'Ohsson, vii. 34 sqq.). The *rikābdār* was the third of these officers in order of precedence (following the *silīḥdār* and the *ḡohadār* and preceding the *dūlbend aghasī*) and an officer passed in this order from one office to another. The four officers just mentioned were the only *khāṣṣ-odalī* who had the right to wear the turban.

According to the usual definition repeated everywhere, the chief duty of the *rikābdār agha* was to hold the sultān's stirrup. It may have been so at first, but none of the documents available show the *rikābdār* performing this duty in practice. Indeed we have seen [cf. RIKĀB] who were the "aghas of the stirrup" entrusted with this duty. Now in spite of his name, the *rikābdār* was not one of these. The Arabic version of the *Aṣaf-nāme* (Bairūt, p. 9, note 7) and the German translation (*Türk. Bibl.*, No. 12 [1910], p. 17, note 1) have therefore confused *rikābdār agha* and *rikāb aghasī*, which has given rise to an erroneous interpretation of the whole passage [cf. the corrected translation in the article RIKĀB].

On the other hand, western writers of the xvth century mention as the third officer of the household (*iḡoghlan*) after the *silīḥdār* and *ḡohadār* a "cup-bearer"! Theodore Spandone (Spandouyn Cantacazin) calls him *sharabdār* (cf. Garzoni, 1573) and Leunclavius *kūpdār* "bearer of the (water-)jar", a name also found in Lonicer (p. 69). This water-carrier was given other names later. D'Ohsson (pl. 158) and the '*Aḡa Tārikhi* (i. 282) speak of a *ḡos-bekī* or "keeper of the ḡoz, probably for the Arabic-Persian *kūṣ(e)* or water-jar". Wearing a *berata*, he carried a ewer (*mashrapa*) of warm water at the end of a stick. V. Hammer calls this official *mataradḡī* or bearer of the gourd (*matara* for *maḡhara*).

The use of warm water is easily explained by the fact that, as an author writing in 1631 tells us, the third gentleman of the sultān's chamber "carried him 'sherbet' to drink, and water to wash with" (De Stochove, *Voyage du Levant*, Brussels 1662, p. 84: Ischioptar, for *rikābdār*?; cf. Baudier who writes: *rechiptar*).

On the other hand, there was an officer whose duty it was to carry a stool (*iskemle*) plated with silver which the sultān used in mounting his horse when he did not prefer the assistance of a mute

who went on his hands and knees on the ground (Castellan, *Mœurs* . . . , iii. 139; 'Aṭā, *loc. cit.*; d'Ohsson, pl. 157). He was the *iskemle aghası* or *iskemledjiler başı*, chosen from among the oldest grooms (*kapudju eskisi*). Wearing a *dolama* and a *keçe*, he rode like the water-carrier on horseback in processions (*rikâb*). Probably through some confusion Castellan calls him *rikâbdâr*, but adds that in his time the *rikâbdâr* was chosen not from among the *khâşş-odalı*, but from the *çawuş* (mistake for *kapudju*?). Nor must we confuse, as Saineanu (*Influența orientala*, ii. 104, s.v. *schemniaga*) does, the *iskemle* (or *iskemni*) *aghası* with the special commissioner of this name who was charged, along with the *sandjak aghası*, to install on the throne (*scann*) the new *hospodars* of Moldavia and Wallachia (cf. *Mélanges Iorga*, 1933, p. 202). There were also *iskemle aghası* similar to those of the sultān in certain provinces ([Rousseau], *Description du pachalik de Bagdad*, Paris 1809, p. 27).

Among the special duties of the *rikâbdâr*, we shall only mention the custody and care of the harness etc. of the sultān (as among the Mamlûks) and his *pabuç* or shoes and *özme* or boots (*Ḳanûn* of Sulaimân or *Naşihat-nâme*, p. 132).

It should be noted that, according to the 'Aṭā *Târîkhi* (i. 208), the services of the *rikâbdâr* like those of the *çohadârs* were only required on gala days (*ciyâm-i resmîye*). This practice is said to have been introduced under Muṣṭafâ III (1757—1774) out of consideration for the age of these concerned for they were generally over 60 and had spent 40 years in the service of the court (*odjak yolu*). According to the same work, these duties were reduced to very little. During the ceremonies (*selâmlik*) of the Prophet's birthday (*mewlid* or *mewlûd*), the two *bairams* and at the *binîsh* or ceremonial appearances of the sultān, the *rikâbdâr* sat opposite the sultān in the imperial barge with the *silihdâr*, *khâşş-oda başı* and the two *çohadârs*.

From all this we may conclude that if there really was a *rikâbdâr* in the time of Orkhan he performed not only the duties of a squire but also those of a "cup-bearer" and we know that in Persian *rikâbdâr* means "cup-bearer". In time, the *rikâbdâr* becoming a more and more important personage, these duties were divided between two special officers: on the one hand, the *köz-beḳçi* and similar officers, and on the other, the *iskemle aghası*.

The *rikâbdâr agha*, like the *çohadârs*, received a daily salary or *ulûfe* of 35 aspers (*aḳçe*) while the *silihdâr* drew 45 (Hezârfenn, MS. A. F. T. of the Bibliothèque Nationale, fol. 18^b). Like the *çohadârs* they had in their service two *lâlas* of the *khâşş-oda*, a *çarâkollukçu*, a *baltaçji* with tasselled caps (*zülüflü*), two *şofalıs*, a *heibedji* and two *yedekçis*. The *rikâbdârs* who did not attain the rank of *silihdâr* were put on the retired list (became *çirak*) with a pension of 60—100,000 piastres. In the absence of the *çohadâr*, the *rikâbdâr* performed the duties of the *silihdâr*. On the quarters in the palace occupied by the *rikâbdâr*, cf. 'Aṭā, i. 312, 20.

The four chief officers of the *khâşş-oda*, including the *rikâbdâr*, were often called by the name — not official, however — of *koltuḳ wezirleri* or "viziers of the armpit" because they had the privilege of touching the sultān, particularly of giving him their hand or taking him by the arm during a walk and they frequently attained the rank of

wezir (Cantemir, *Hist. Emp. Ott.*, Paris 1743, iv. 119—121). The *rikâb aghaları* [cf. RIKÂB] were also *koltuḳ wezirleri*.

The same four officers were also called 'arḡ *aghaları* because they had the right to present ('arḡ) to the sultān any petition which reached them, like the master of petitions (Rycaut, Bk. i, p. 97 of the French transl.; Castellan, iii. 185). According to Aḥmad Râsim (ii. 639), in processions, the *iskemle aghası* had the task of returning to those concerned petitions which were not granted.

The *rikâbdârs* were abolished by Maḥmûd II, probably about the same time as the *köz-beḳçi* (in 1248 = 1832—1833; cf. Luṭfi, iv. 68) and the *silihdâr* (in 1246; cf. Luṭfi, iv. 61); cf. v. Hammer, *Hist.*, xvii. 191.

Bibliography: See the works already quoted above of which the most important is the 'Aṭā *Târîkhi*. See also Aḥmad Râsim, *Târîkhi*, i. 186, 479; ii. 526; Hammer, *Hist.*, vii. 15 for references not used here. (J. DENY)

RISÂLA. [See RASÛL.]

RIYÂDÎ, Ottoman biographer of poets. Mollâ Mehmed, known as Riyâdî, was the son of a certain Muṣṭafâ Efendi of Birge (S.E. of Smyrna) and was born in 980 (1572). He was first of all employed as a *miiderris*, later became *kaḳdî* of Aleppo and died on 9th Şafar 1054 (April 17, 1644) (according to J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vi. 44 in Cairo). He was known as *al-Aşanım*, the "dumb". His chief work is his *Riyâd al-Shu'arâ*, a biographical dictionary of poets containing 384 names. It is known to have been finished by 1018 (1609). He also wrote an abbreviated translation into Turkish of the *Wafayât al-A'yân* of Ibn Khallikân. The lexicon has not yet been published but is accessible in a number of manuscripts, a list of which is given by F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 178 (add: Stambul, Lâlâ Ismâ'il, N^o. 314). On a German translation of an extract from it by V. v. Rosenzweig-Schwannau, cf. *Z. D. M. G.*, xx. (1866), p. 439, N^o. 3 (filling 20 pages).

Bibliography: Rîdâ, *Tedhkire*, p. 38 sq.; *Sidjill-i 'othmânî*, ii. 425; J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iii. 367; Brûsalî Mehmed Tâhir, 'Othmânî Mî'ellîfleri, ii. 183 sq. (with references); F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 177 sq. (FRANZ BABINGER)

RIYÂH, an Arab tribe, the most powerful of those that, regarding themselves as descended from Hilâl [q. v.], left Upper Egypt and invaded Barbary in the middle of the vth (xth) century. Their chief at that time was Münis b. Yahyâ of the family of Mirdâs. The Zirid emir al-Mu'izz [q. v.], who did not foresee the disastrous consequences of the entry of the Arabs into Ifriḳiya, tried to come to an arrangement with him and to win over the Riyâh. The latter were the first to lay his country waste. But thanks to the protection of the chiefs of the Riyâh, to whom he had married his daughters, al-Mu'izz himself succeeded in escaping from Ḳairawân and reaching al-Mahdiya [q. v.].

At the first partition of Ifriḳiya which followed the invasion, the Riyâh were naturally the best served. They obtained the greater part of the plains, which the Berbers had abandoned to seek shelter among the mountains; they had thrust their relatives, the Athbidj, towards the east. They held Bedja which the caliph in Cairo had allotted to them in anticipation. The people of Gabes took

the oath of loyalty to Mūnis. "It was", says Ibn Khaldūn, "the first real conquest of the Arabs". The *Djāmi*^c, a family related to the Riyāḥ, made Gabes a regular little capital, which they adorned with their buildings. Lastly, a chief of the main tribe, Muḥriz b. Ziyād, made himself a fortress in al-Mu'allaka (a Roman circus?), among the ruins of Carthage. The powerful lords of al-Mu'allaka, however, supported the policy of the Zirids of al-Mahdiyya, and joined them in their resistance to the Almohads.

This resistance did not long impede the expeditions sent by the Maghribis against Ifrikiya in anarchy. Defeated by 'Abd al-Mu'min in 546, 555, 583 (1152, 1160 and 1187), the Arabs were ordered to supply contingents for the holy war in Spain. 'Abd al-Mu'min, leaving a section of the Riyāḥ in Ifrikiya under command of 'Asākīr b. Sultān, took the others to the Maghrib with their chief, 'Asākīr's brother Mas'ūd, known as *al-bulṭ* ("the axe"; cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, i. 111). He settled them in the Moroccan plains to the north of Bū Regreg. This control was little in keeping with the traditions of the Riyāḥ; Mas'ūd fled to Ifrikiya and there gave his support to the Banū Ghāniya [q. v.] who were trying to revive for their own advantage the Almoravid power.

We know how the trouble stirred up by the Banū Ghāniya led to the Almohad caliph's appointing a governor of Ifrikiya invested with very extensive powers, Abū Muḥammad of the Ḥafṣid [q. v.] family. This governor naturally attacked the Riyāḥ and in order to be rid of them, encouraged the settlement in the country of the Sulaim Arabs hitherto quartered in Tripolitania. Under the pressure of the Sulaim, the Riyāḥ, the principal family of whom at this time was the Dawāwida, migrated to the plains of Constantine where they were henceforth to remain.

In their new home the position of the Riyāḥ remained a very strong one. They had rights over all the centre of the modern department of Constantine, approximately from the region of Guelma to that of Bougie. In the Zāb [q. v.] they were on terms — which were sometimes friendly but more often hostile — with the Banū Moznī of Biskra, who ruled this Ḥafṣid province. This is how the Banū Moznī had to fight against that curious movement, at once religious and social, stirred up by the Riyāḥid marabout Sa'ada. The Dawāwida, and in particular their most powerful family, the Awlād Muḥammad, held winter lands and enjoyed revenues paid by the people of the *ḥṣūr* in the Sahara region of the Wādī Righ.

During the whole of the xivth century, the two chief branches of the main tribe, the Awlād Muḥammad and the Awlād Sibā', were actively engaged in the politics of the Ḥafṣid princes and the 'Abd al-Wādids of Tlemcen, in the enterprises of the pretenders who threatened their dynasties. The power of the Riyāḥ of central Barbary lasted till the xvth and xviith centuries. According to Bernardino of Mendoza, they had in 1536 10,000 horsemen and large numbers of foot. The xviiith century saw them assisting the Turkish Bey of Constantine, to whom they were connected by marriage and the independent sultāns of Tuggurt. In 1844, Carette and Warnier noted that the name Dawāwida was still synonymous with "noble Arabs".

Another group of the Riyāḥ played a notable part in the history of the Zenāta states. In the

extreme Maghrib, bodies of them transported by the Almohads to the plains of the coast faithfully served this dynasty, by trying to check the advance of the Marinids [q. v.]. Defeated near the Wādī Sbū in 614 (1217), the Riyāḥ were mercilessly punished by the victorious Marinids. Decimated and weakened, and driven northwards, they submitted to the humiliation of paying an annual tribute. Their name no longer figures on the map of modern Morocco except at a place near the road from al-Ḳsār to Tangiers.

Finally, at the other end of Barbary, in their first home, the name survives in the nomenclature of the tribes. The Tunisian caidate of the Riyāḥ lies between Tebursuk and the hills which surround the Gulf of Tunis.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, I, 19 sqq.; transl. i. 34 sqq. and *passim*; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, ed. Dozy, i. 300 sqq.; transl. E. Fagnan, i. 433 sqq.; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ix. 387 sqq.; transl. E. Fagnan (*Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*), p. 456 sqq.; Elie de la Primaudaie, *Documents inédits sur l'histoire de l'occupation espagnole en Afrique*, in *R. Afr.*, 1877; Féraud, *Le Sahara de Constantine*, Algiers 1887; do., *Histoire des villes de la province de Constantine*, Bordj bou Arreridj, in *Recueil de la Société archéologique de Constantine*, xv.; Carette and Warnier, *Notice, in Établissements français*, 1844; Bouaziz ben Gana, *Le cheikh el-Arab*, Algiers 1930; Michaud-Bellaire et Salmon, *Tribus arabes de la vallée de l'Oued Lekous*, in *Archives marocaines*, iv. 58—59; G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie*, see index and genealogical table ii.

(GEORGES MARÇAIS)

RIYĀL (A.), *riyāl firandīr*, from the Spanish real (de plata), the name given in the Muslim world to the large European silver coins which formed the international currencies of the xviith and xviiith century; the most important was the Spanish dollar (peso; properly 8 reals) but the name was also given to the Dutch, German and Austrian dollar, the French écu and Italian scudo. In the late xviiith and xixth century the Austrian Maria Theresia dollar took the place of all its rivals and it still circulates to the present day around the Red Sea. The name *riyāl* survived with it.

In the currencies of the modern Muslim kingdoms of the 'Irāk and the Ḥidjāz *riyāl* is the name of the largest silver coin, the standard being that of the Maria Theresia dollar. A *riyāl* was also issued by the sultān of Zanzibar in 1880. In modern Persia *riyāl* is a money of account: originally (1930) 20 *riyāls* = £ 1 stg. but by the system finally adopted in 1933, 100 *dīnārs* = 1 *riyāl* = 1 *pahlavi* = £ 1 stg. (J. ALLAN)

RIYALA or **RIYALA BEY**, abbreviation of *riyala-i ḥimāyīn kapudānī* "captain of the imperial [galley-] royal" from the Italian *riale* (secondary form from *reale*, abbrev. from *galea reale*, "the royal galley"), a general officer of the Ottoman navy who commanded the galley of the same name, later "rear-admiral". There was also a popular pronunciation *iryala* with the prosthetic *i* frequent in Turkish in loan-words with an initial *r* (cf. Hindoglu, p. 113 under "contre-amiral" and p. 457 under "réale"; the form *iryala* is found as early as Ewliyā Čelebi, viii. 466, 11). The Italian pronunciation *riale* is attested in the *Itinéraire*

de Jérôme Maurand d'Antibes à Constantinople (1544), ed. by Léon Dorez, Paris 1901 (we also find there exceptionally *rialle*, *reale* and *realle*). For the pronunciation we may compare the Turkish *riyala* with the Turkish *riyal*, Ar. *riyāl*, for the Spanish *real* (*del plata*), name of a coin [cf. RİYĀL]; cf. the French "gros royal", Turk. *grush*, *krush*, *gurush*, mod. *kurus*, "piastre, formerly: écu" [cf. GHRUSH]. Here also we find the prosthetic form *iryal* (Hindoglu, p. 200, s. v. "écu"; Aucher gives *riyal*, under "réal"). In the west, the Turkish word *riyala* was sometimes transcribed *reala*, no doubt regarded as more correct (Herbette, *Une Ambassade turque sous le Directoire*, Paris 1902, p. 238). We cannot see whence comes the spelling with an aspirated *h* (*rihala*), even in Arabic orthography, which we find in Garcin de Tassy, *Mémoire sur les noms propres... mus.*, p. 87 and in Jal under *réala* (we have perhaps a graphical reaction against the hiatus).

The rank of *riyala*, as well as those of *kapudana* and *patrona* to be discussed later, was at first known among the Turks only as applied to officers of the navies of Christendom (cf. e.g. Ewliya Çelebi and the Ottoman historians like Na'imā and others). These ranks came into use among the Turkish sailors, at first unofficially, in the time of Sultān Mehmed IV, 1648—1687 (cf. below in connection with *patrona*). D'Ohsson, undoubtedly by confusion, says that they were used in the time of Mehmed II (1451—1481). We do not however find these titles of foreign origin in the *Tuhfet ül-Kibār* of Hādīdjī Khalīfa (1656) nor in Hezārfenn (d. 1691). It was, it appears, under 'Abd al-Hamid I (1774—1789) that they were officially adopted (Mehmed Shükri, *Esfār-i bahriye-i 'othmāniye* [1306 = 1890], i. 145).

We are well informed about the hierarchy of the naval high command at this period, thanks to the *Teshrifāt-i kadime*, a work of Şahhāflar-Şeikhhi-zāde Es'ad Mehmed Efendi (d. 1848). On p. 102 sqq. we have a list of the old establishment which combined the non sea-going officers of which we shall be content to give a list here, and the sea-going officers who will be dealt with in more detail because the *riyala* was one of them and bore like them a name taken from the Venetians.

a. General officers of the Admiralty (*tersâne-i 'amire*).

(All three seem to have had, but perhaps only from the beginning of the sixteenth century, the right to the title of *pasha*).

1. The *kapudan-pasha* [q. v.] having the rank of *wezir* (*dewletlū*). He was the Capitan del Mar (*kapudan-ı deryā*) or, as was also said, the *kapudan* par excellence. The name *kapudan* from the Venetian *capitan(o)* and its modernised form, probably under the influence of English, *kapitan*, was further applied to any commander of a ship, small or large, foreign or Turkish. (The vowel *u* in the second syllable is due to the influence of the neighbouring labial *p* and Trévoux's Dictionary gives the intermediate form "capoutan" under *capitan-bacha*; cf. also *Relation des 2 rebellions arrivées à Constantinople en 1730 et 1731*, The Hague 1737, p. 23).

2. *Tersâne-i 'amire emini agha* (*se'adellū*) "Intendant de l'Arsenal" (d'Ohsson), Germ. "Intendant des Arsenals" (Hammer), Engl. "Intendant of the Marine" (Perry). He took the place of the Grand

Admiral in his absence. From 1246 onwards: *müdir*.

3. *Tersâne-i 'amire ketkhüdāsī* (*kiahyaşī*) *agha* "Intendant des galères", "Lieutenant of the Arsenal", "Sachwalter des Arsenals". He was particularly concerned with the police of the Admiralty.

b. Admirals with the title of *bey*.

(Except the 4th, these officers were sea-going admirals and took the name, of Venetian origin, of the vessels they commanded. The name might have the addition of *hümāyūn* "imperial" in a Persian construction whence the official barbarisms: *bashtarda-i hümāyūn*, *kapudana-i hümāyūn*, etc. The full titles in theory were: *bashtarda-i hümāyūn kapudanī*, *kapudana-i hümāyūn kapudanī* etc.

1. *Bashtarda*, *bashtarda*, *bashtarda-i hümāyūn* — Ital. *bastarda*, Fr. *bastarde* or *bâtardelle*. This was not the largest unit of the fleet. In Turkish as in Venetian usage the *bastarda* was a galley larger than the *galea sensile* (Turk. *kađırğa* or *çektiri*), but smaller than the *galeazza* or *gallias* (Turk. *mauna*) and had a very rounded poop "like a water-melon" (*karpus kılılı*). Among the Turks it contained 26—36 *oturak* or benches of 5—7 rowers. The one which had the *Kapudan Pasha* on board was called (*kapudan-*) *pasha bashtardasī* and had 26—36 *oturak*. It was distinguished by the three lanterns (*fener*) attached to the poop in addition to that on the main mast (*Tuhf.*, fol. 69; *Djewdet Pasha Tārīkh-i*, 1309, p. 131). As it flew the flag of the Grand Admiral, it was sometimes (Meninski, *Thesaurus*, i. 663; Barbier de Meynard) called "Captain" but we shall see that among the Turks this name was given to another vessel. Chance has willed it that the first syllable in the word *bashtarda* means in Turkish "head, chief" but it is difficult to say that the Ottomans gave first place to this ship simply as a result of a popular etymology. The disappearance of the ship propelled by oars resulted in the abolition of the *bashtarda*. Officially disused in 1764, according to d'Ohsson, it was still used from time to time on certain ceremonial occasions. The sailing-ship (*kalyun*, "galleon") which became the flagship of the *kapudan-pasha*, was commanded by the "Flag-Captain" who, according to d'Ohsson, was called in Turkish *süvari kapudanī* "captain of the ship-commanders" and, according to von Hammer (*Staatsverf.*, ii. 493), *sandjak kapudanī*, Germ. "Flaggenkapitän", cf. Engl. "flag captain". Es'ad Mehmed Efendi calls this officer, probably by an archaism, *bashtarda-i hümāyūn-i pasha* "(commander of) the imperial *bashtarda* of the (*kapudan*) *pasha*".

2. *Kapudana bey*. *Kapudana* comes from the Venetian (*galea* or *nave*) *capitana* "galley or ship carrying the leader of a naval expedition, flagship" (Jal). In France it was called "la capitaine" or "capitainesse" but these terms disappeared in 1669 with the office of general of the galleys, and in the French navy pride of place was given to the *Réale* [see below]. On the *kapudana* which took part in the naval battle of Çeshme (1770) cf. Jaubert, *Grammaire*, appendice, p. 3. *Kapudana* and *kapudan* have often been confused (Hammer, *Staatsverf.*, ii. 291; Blochet, *Voyage de Carlier de Pinon*, p. 128; Douin, *Navarin*, p. 250, 276, 295, 311). We find the full title of *kapudana-i hümāyūn kapudanī*, e.g. in a letter from Mehmed 'Alī Pasha (of Egypt) to the grand vizier of the

29th Ramaḍān 1231 (July 1, 1821), register, N^o. 4, p. 71.

3. *Patrona bey*. Patrona comes from the Venetian (galea or nave) patrona or padrona, Fr. la patronne "galley carrying the lieutenant-general or the next in command to the chief of the squadron" (Jal). The earliest mention of an officer of this rank known to us is connected with the years 1676—1685 (cf. *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, i. 112, *infra*). Patrona K̲halil, a janissary, leader of the rebels who deposed Aḥmad III in 1730, owed his epithet to the fact that he had been *lewend* on board the *Patrona* (*Relation des 2 rebellions*, p. 8; Engl. transl. in Charles Perry, *A View of the Levant*, London 1743, p. 64). — We also find the forms applied, it is true, to Christian ships: *patorna*, *patorona*, *batorna*, and even *botorna* (Ewliyā Ćelebi, viii. 579, 12; i. 104, 7; viii. 447, *infra*; p. 446, 10; Hasan Agha, *Djāvāhīr al-Tawārikh*, MS. Bibl. Paris, S. T. 506, fol. 160^v—161). All these pronunciations show that the word was already well known, but was finding difficulty in being acclimatised in a correct form.

4. *Liman reʿisi* "captain (admiral) of the port" of Constantinople, Germ. "Kapitän des Hafens". He was also commander of the mid-shipmen (*mandeġġi*).

5. *Riyala bey*. Riyala comes from the Venetian (galea or nave) reale "galley which carried the king or princes" (the same name was often also applied as an epithet to vessels belonging to the king, i. e. to the state, in contrast to privately owned ships). For the lexicology of this borrowing from the Italian see the beginning of the article.

At the battle of Lepanto, Don John of Austria, Captain of the League, sailed in a Reale. A Patrona Reale went astern of the Reale of the Prince and of the Capitana of the "General Capitan dell' Armata" of Venice. Except for these two ships, none of the 202 vessels of the allies was given the name of Reale (Contarini, *Historia delle cose . . . della guerra mossa da Selim Ottomano a' Veneziani*, Venice 1572, fol. 36^v *sqq.*). In France the Reale also went in front of the Patrone and was the first ship of the navy, intended to carry the king, princes, the admiral of France or in their absence the general of the galleys (Jal). At the conquest of Cyprus, in 1570, Contarini (Venice 1595) gives for 185 Christian ships: 18 *capitana*, 7 *padrona* and 1 *bastardella* (no Reale); for the 276 Turkish ships: 1 *real* (sic) and 29 *capitana* (these terms do not correspond exactly to those of Turkish usage of that time).

It is not explained how the title of Reale came to descend among the Turks until it was applied to the ship of the admiral of lowest rank. We may suppose that they were misled by the second meaning of the word Reale [cf. above] or that they confused him with the English "rear-admiral".

Marsigli (*Stato Militare* . . ., 1732, i. 146) mentions the Turkish "commandante nella Reale" as having a higher rank than the *gardyan bashī* who was in turn superior to the captain of an ordinary galley. According to Esʿad Efendi, the *riyale* came before the *kaḫyunlar kiatibi*.

All the officers here mentioned from the *kapudan paṣha* to the *riyala*, were *sāhib deinek*, i. e. they had the right to carry, in imitation of their Venetian colleagues, a commander's baton or cane, *deinek*, also called *şadeḫkāri ʿaṣā* (Esʿad Efendi, p. 109, 7) because it was encrusted with mother of pearl

of different colours [cf. below]. It was what the Venetians called the *giannetta* or *cana* (*canna*), from *canna d'India*, "Indian cane", often taken in the sense of "bamboo" from which we also have the English word "cane". They alone wore small turbans and fur-trimmed robes (cf. d'Ohsson, pl. 228).

When under ʿAbd al-Ḥamid I [q. v.] or later under his successor Selim III, the naval hierarchy was organised and to some extent modernised, three grades of admiral were instituted (independent of the *kapudan paṣha*, who was the Grand Admiral or "amiralissimo"). They were:

1. the *kapudana bey* "Admiral". Mehmed Shukri regards his rank as equivalent to the more modern one of *şūrā-i bahriye reʿisi* "president of the Higher Council of the Navy". He had a fixed monthly salary of 4,500 piastres (1 piastre = 3 frs.) and in addition received pay for 1,000 men (on which he was liable to make various grants) but with the obligation to give to the *kapudan-paṣha* spices or *djāʿize* to the value of 4,000 piastres. He carried a green cane and had the right to have a pennon below the flag on the main mast (that of the *kapudan-paṣha* was above).

2. *Patrona bey* "vice-admiral" (Mehmed Shukri), modern Turkish *vis amiral* but we also find the French equivalent of "guidon" (Sāmi Bey: Tinghir-Sinapien). Salary: 3,500 piastres. Pay of 800 men. *Djāʿize* to the *kapudan-paṣha* of 3,000 piastres. Blue cane. Flag on the fore-mast.

3. *Riyala bey* "rear-admiral" (Mehmed Shukri). Salary: 3,000 piastres. Pay of 700 men. *Djāʿize* to the *kapudan-paṣha*: 2,500 piastres. Blue cane. Flag on the mizen-mast.

It may be noted that in theory there was only one officer of each of these ranks at one time.

All three took part in the battle of Navarino in 1827 (Douin, *Navarin*, p. 250 and *passim*). They were under the command of Tāhir Paṣha who had the rank of *mirmirān*. He was himself patrona but this does not mean duplicating the office of the patrona who was subordinate to him because the commanders-in-chief of the fleet (*serʿ-asker* or *bash-bogh*) were chosen without regard to rank. Hızır-Elyas (*Enderūn Tārihi*, p. 481) mentions a *liman reʿisi* with the rank of *patrona* in 1826.

The flag-commander of the *kapudan-paṣha* retained his functions but seems to have occupied a position on the edge of the hierarchy which the presence of the Grand Admiral on board sometimes made unenviable (v. Hammer, *Staatsverf.*, ii. 293).

We do not know at what period these ranks were replaced by the more modern terms of *müşir*, *feriḫ* and *liwā*. The equations of rank varied considerably. The *riyala* is regarded as *mīr alay*, *mirmirān*, *liwā*, *feriḫ* and even *birindji ferik*. It is probable that it was necessary to choose a grade between these. At Sebastopol in 1854, the Turkish fleet was commanded by a *patrona*, Aḥmad Paṣha (cf. Aḥmad Rāsim, *Tārikh*, iv. 2015).

In Egypt under the Khedives there was for a time a *riyala paṣha* in command of the fleet.

Bibliography: Only d'Ohsson gives definite information about the officers mentioned above. Bk. viii. of vol. vii. (p. 420—438) (*Tableau de l'Empire Othoman*), devoted to the Navy will be read with interest. Cf. also Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, second ed., Paris 1853, i. 484

(important); Jouannin, *Turquie*, p. 436. — A good history of the Turkish navy has still to be written. The archives of the Arsenal of Kāsim Pasha in Istanbul would probably supply valuable information to any one who has the courage to undertake the task. (J. DENY)

ROKAIYA, daughter of Muḥammad. That he had four daughters by Khadīja is repeated by all authorities, but there is no agreement regarding their order, which clearly shows that they aroused little interest in the early period. It is further suspicious that practically the same story is told of two of them, Rokaiya and Umm Kulthūm. They are both said to have married sons of Muḥammad's uncle Abū Lahab [q. v.] but were forced by their father to divorce them when Muḥammad began his career as a prophet. Still more suspicious is the circumstance that it is told of both that the marriages had not been completed when the divorces took place (*lam yakun dakhala bihā*) although some time must have passed before there was a breach between Abū Lahab and his nephew. If we wish to save the tradition, we must assume that the sisters, like 'Ā'isha at a later date, were betrothed to Abū Lahab's sons and that the divorce took place before the wedding was carried through. It is however more probable that this story is an invention in order to keep the holy family pure from any contamination by relatives of the Prophet's arch-enemy [see also UMM KULTHUM], but the difficulties which this involved were not clearly seen. After the divorce the fair Rokaiya was married by 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and went with him and other Muslims to Abyssinia, from which they returned after a time. They then went with the Prophet and other Muslims to Madina. But when Muḥammad was preparing for his raiding expedition to Badr, Rokaiya fell ill and died before her father returned home victorious. After several miscarriages she presented 'Uthmān with a son who however lost his life as the result of an accident (a cock pecked him on the face).

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 121, 208 sq., 241; Wākidi, transl. v. Wellhausen, p. 66, 71, 83; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, viii. 24; Lammens, *Fāṭima et les filles de Mahomet*, 1912, p. 3 sqq. (FR. BUHL)

RONDA (Ar. RUNDĀ), ethn. al-Rundi, a town in the south of Spain to the north of Algeciras and west of Malaga, 2,400 feet above sea-level in the centre of a vast mountainous amphitheatre at the edge of a rocky plateau which ends in precipitous walls on the western side and is cut in two by the great natural cleft of the Tajo 500 feet in depth, at the bottom of which runs the torrent here known as Guadalevín (*Wādī al-Laban*) and later known as Guadiaro (*Wādī Aro*). Its peculiar position makes it an almost impregnable natural fortress. At the present day the town is the capital of a *partido judicial* of the province of Malaga; it has a population of nearly 21,000 souls.

The Muslim town of Ronda, which succeeded the ancient Roman and Visigothic Arunda, was from the viith to the xvth centuries always reckoned one of the most important strongholds of Andalusia. Under the Umayyads [q. v.] it was the capital of the *kūra* of Tākoronnā [q. v.]. A number of descriptions of it, unfortunately very brief, have been preserved by the Arab geographers; al-Idrisi

however does not mention it. We still see there several remains of the Muslim period, such as a remarkable gate in the suburb of San Francisco. The cathedral of Santa Maria La Mayor has taken the place of the great mosque; the ancient citadel or Alcazaba of the Naṣrid period was destroyed in 1808.

The principal fortress of the district of Tākoronnā was for a long period Bobastro [q. v.] which was the headquarters of the rebel 'Omar b. Ḥafṣūn [q. v.]. On the fall of the Umayyad caliphate of Spain, Ronda became the capital of a little independent state in the hands of the Berber Banū Ifrān; among these rulers were Abū Nūr Hilāl b. Abī Kurra b. Dūnās who was proclaimed in 431 (1039) and died in 449 (1058) after having been the prisoner of his redoubtable neighbour, the king of Seville, al-Mu'taḍid [q. v.] Ibn 'Abbād, and his son Abū Naṣr Fatūh, who after having held out for some months at the capital of his principality was killed at the instigation of the 'Abbādid ruler, who annexed his state in 450 (1059). Ronda then became the residence of a prince of Seville until a son of al-Mu'tamid [q. v.], al-Rāḍī, had to surrender it to the Almoravid forces under Garrūr in 1091.

Ronda played an unimportant part under the Almoravids and Almohads. In the Naṣrid period [q. v.] it was for some time the appanage of the vizier and family of the Banu 'l-Hakīm and was directly concerned in the internecine fighting of this period. It was taken by the Catholic Kings after a siege of 20 days on May 20, 1485.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 825; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. and transl. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 166—236; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihla*, ed. and transl. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iv. 363; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Mi'yār al-Ikhtiyār*, Fās 1325, p. 34—35; do., *Kitāb A'māl al-'Alām*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934, Index; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-'Tib (Analectes)*, Leyden, Index; Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*, new ed., Index. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ROSETTA (Arabic Raṣhid), a town in Egypt, situated at 31° 24' N., 30° 24' E., on the Western bank of the Rosetta branch of the Nile (the ancient Bolbitine) about ten miles above its mouth, which is known as al-Armūsiya and is dangerous to enter. Till the ixth century A. D., ships sailed direct to Fūwa; but owing to the excessive depositing of the silt in this region, Rosetta began to take its place during the reign of al-Mutawakkil. In the xiiith century, however, Abu 'l-Fidā' remarks that it was still smaller than Fūwa; and, in the xivth, Ibn Duḳmāk (v. 114) says that it was exclusively inhabited by garrison troops (*ahl ḥādhihi 'l-madīna kulluhum murābiṭūn*). After the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517 A. D. and the decay of European trade through Alexandria, Rosetta became an important centre for maritime trade with Constantinople and the Aegean territory of the Turkish Empire. The Viceroy 'Alī Pasha, in 915 (1509), restored its old *khāns* (warehouses) and *funduqs* (hostelries), built new ones, and cleared the silt from its docks. The town continued to flourish until Muḥammad 'Alī [q. v.] reconstructed the Maḥmūdiyya Canal for navigation between Alexandria and the Nile, and thus diverted the course of trade from Rosetta which declined rapidly to a mere fishing town with but few minor local industries such as rough cotton weaving, rice pro-

duction and oil manufacture. Its population in 1907 was only 16,660.

The topography of the town is largely medieval in character and it still retains many noble buildings which mark its past prosperity. Its streets and lanes are both narrow and circuitous with only one large fish market. Till modern times its wall was maintained for defence against Arab raids. At the mouth of the River, near Kōm al-Afrāh, two castles guarded the waterway entrance to Rosetta in the past. Vansleb, who saw these castles in May 1672, describes them thus: "one stands at the East-side of the River, and the other on the West. That which is about a mile and a half from Rosetta is square, encompassed about with strong Walls, built according to the old Model, having four Towers. One hundred fourscore and four *Janissaries* are in the Garison... The other Castle is but a Mosque, before it stands seven Pieces of Artillery on the Guard: Here commands also an *Aga* over a Company of *Moors*, who examine all that go in, or out of the City" (*State of Egypt*, London 1678, p. 105).

In history, only few events may be gleaned about Rosetta. In 132 (749—750) it was the scene of a serious but abortive Coptic revolt; in 307 (920) the 'Abbāsid fleet of Tarsūs under the admiral Shaml routed the North African fleet of 'Obaid Allāh al-Mahdī [q. v.] commanded by a certain Sulaimān in the waters of Rosetta; in 1218 (1803) it witnessed al-Bardīsi's victory over the combined sea and land forces of the Ottoman Porte; and in 1222 (1807) it was seized by the English who came to help al-Alfi and his Mamlūk successors. It must also be remembered that in 1799 A.D. in the neighbourhood of the town, Boussard, an officer of the French Expedition, discovered the famous Rosetta Stone now in the British Museum.

Bibliography: See works already mentioned in articles on other Egyptian towns.

(A. S. ATIYA)

RU'BA B. AL-'ADJDJĀDĪ AL-TAMĪMĪ, an Arab poet. The name Ru'ba is more frequent among men from eastern Arabia than is generally supposed. Arabic philologists give many explanations of this peculiar name; I am however certain that it is the Persian word *rūbāh* meaning "fox". Al-Āmidī in the *Kitāb al-Mu'talif wa 'l-Mukhtalif* mentions three poets of this name (p. 121—122), but only Ru'ba b. al-'Adjdjādī of the tribe of the Banū Malik b. Sa'd b. Zaid Manāt b. Tamīm became celebrated as a poet of *radjaz*-verses, in which genre he surpassed both his father and the latter's rival Abu 'l-Nadīm al-'Idjlī. Of his life very little is known. Like his father he spent most of his life in the desert (*bādīya*) and only came into the towns when he sought presents for his panegyrics from the great. Born about 65 (685), in his middle years he went about with the armies which were spreading the power of Islām. His earliest productions are certainly lost, but we have a panegyric (N^o. 22) on al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad al-Thakāfī, the conqueror of Sind, on his return from India in 94 (713). As in the following year al-Ḳāsim was thrown into prison and murdered, the date of this poem is fairly certain. Our poet then travelled in Eastern Persia, either as a soldier or a merchant, and a further poem by him (N^o. 26) is dedicated to another governor of Sind, 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḳais al-Dhibī who was there about 10 years later.

Whether he was in Ḳhurāsān during the troubles that broke out after the death of Ḳutaiba b. Muslim (96 = 715) is not clear, but several poems are dedicated to individuals who took part in the fighting there. His poem attacking al-Muhallab (N^o. 27) shows that he was against the Yamanīs as do his poems in praise of Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik who conquered Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and killed him (102 = 720). But he must have again been in eastern Arabia or the 'Irāk, as is shown by his poems on Ḳhālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḳasrī, Abān b. al-Walid al-Badjalī and al-Muhādjir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kilābī. At a later date, he dedicated poems to men who were active in Persia like Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath al-Ḳhuzā'ī who was in Kirmān in 129 (747) and particularly Naṣr b. Saiyār, who failed to put down the rising of Abū Muslim and died in 131 (749). A poem (N^o. 41) is dedicated to the last Umayyad caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad of whom he still hopes that he will conquer all his enemies.

As he had in this way shown his attachment to the Umayyads, it is no matter for surprise that Ru'ba did not feel his life safe when he was summoned before Abū Muslim. Of the audience we only know that Abū Muslim showed himself a connoisseur of Arabic. Two poems in praise of Abū Muslim are to be found in Geyer's *Nachträge* (Diilams 4 and 6). Several other poems in praise of members of the new dynasty have survived; one (N^o. 55) is dedicated to Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Ṣaffāh and two to his uncle Sulaimān b. 'Alī (Nrs. 45 and 47), and the latest poems of Ru'ba are in praise of al-Manṣūr, who succeeded his brother as Caliph in 136 (754) (N^o. 14 and Diilamb 8). He was then an old man and is said to have died in 145 (762).

All Ru'ba's poems are in the *radjaz* metre; the few verses in other metres ascribed to him I have found to be by other poets and wrongly attributed to him. He had learned the art from his father, whom he even accuses of having taken credit for his poems when Ru'ba began to write, and we actually have a poem by Ru'ba against his father (N^o. 37). From his father he also inherited a fondness for unusual words and his poems are among the most difficult in the Arabic language, as they are full of words which are never or only very rarely found in other poets. One even suspects that for the sake of effect the poet coined new words which did not previously exist. He is fonder than any other poet of a kind of alliteration or, to be more accurate, an accumulation of a number of forms from the same verbal root. No one can make this sort of thing beautiful and Ru'ba's poems have probably survived only because the lexicographers found them a rich quarry for unknown words. A proof of this is the number of lines from his poems which are quoted in the great dictionaries, and in the *Lisān al-'Arab*, for example, run to several thousands.

It is no wonder then that the learned men of al-Baṣra and, less often, of al-Kūfa visited him to increase their knowledge of the *luḡha* until he became tired of them. We even find that Ibn Ḳhālawaihi in his *I'rāb thalāthīn Sūra* quotes Ru'ba for readings of the Ḳur'ān which have no other justification than that they are different from the known readings. Ru'ba simply claimed to know better.

Ru'ba had two sons, 'Abd Allāh to whom two poems are dedicated (20 and 56), and 'Uḡba who

also wrote poems in the same metre as his father (Djāhīz, *Bayān*, i. 23; Ibn Kūtaiba, *Shi‘r*; Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, p. 218 and 366; Ibn Rashīk, *Umda*, i. 136).

Ru³ba's poems were collected by several scholars, among them Abū ‘Amr al-Shaibānī, Ibn al-‘Arābi and al-Sukkari, of whom the two last named are probably represented by the surviving manuscripts (cf. *Diagrams* 40—44). The contents of these manuscripts have been edited by Ahlwardt (Berlin 1903), unfortunately without the commentary which is absolutely necessary for the poems of Ru³ba, and in the alphabetical order of the rhymes which makes it difficult to recognise the original arrangement of the collection. As this edition was incomplete, Geyer in 1908 published in a collection of several *radjās* poets eleven further poems with the commentary under the title *Altarabische Dijamben*. Ahlwardt had in his editions of other poets added a collection of verses which he had found in various works quoted as by Ru³ba. This collection was extended by Geyer in his *Beiträge zum Dīwān des Ru³bah* (S. B. Ak. Wien, vol. clxiii., 1910). Even then there remain lines attributed to Ru³ba which have escaped both editors, while many lines are not by Ru³ba but belong to other poets. Confusion seems to have begun at quite an early date between the poems of Ru³ba and those of his father al-‘Adjdjādī. Ahlwardt also published a complete German translation of the whole *Dīwān* in rhyme. The value of this translation is unfortunately small as it is really only a paraphrase and does not help us with the difficulties of the Arabic text.

Bibliography: Biographical notices on Ru³ba are found in *Djumahī*, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Hell, p. 147 (where unfortunately the MSS. have a lacuna); Ibn Kūtaiba, *Kitāb al-Shi‘r*, ed. de Goeje, p. 376—381; Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, p. 219; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xxi. 84—91; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Cairo 1310, i. 187. — Lines by Ru³ba are quoted in large numbers in all the large dictionaries.

(F. KRENKOW)

RUBĀ‘Ī, quatrain (plural *rubā‘īyāt*, from the Arabic *rubā‘ī*, “quadripartite”). Its fundamental characteristics have already been defined (cf. the article ‘ARUD, i., p. 470b; on p. 468b sq. are given the forms of Arabic popular songs in quatrains). It consists of two distichs (*bait*) or four hemistichs (*miṣrā‘*) rhyming together with the exception of the third (*aaba*), the third being called *khaṣī* (“castrated”); the two hemistichs of the first *bait* (*muṣarra‘*) must rhyme. The rubā‘ī in which the four hemistichs have the same rhyme is found particularly among the old poets (cf. ‘Unsurī’s *Dīwān*). The rubā‘ī lends itself to every kind of inspiration. According to one theorist, the first three hemistichs serve as an introduction to the fourth which ought to be sublime (*buland*), subtle (*laṭīf*) or epigrammatic (*īz*). According to E. G. Browne (*Lit. Hist. of Persia*, i. 472), the rubā‘ī is “almost certainly the oldest product of the poetical genius of Persia”. The Persian philologists attribute the invention of this metre to a child playing at nuts with its playmates: one of the nuts having fallen out of the hole by a rebound then fallen back rolling, the child called out *ghaltān ghaltān hamī rawād tā bun-i gaw*, “rolling, rolling it goes to the bottom of the hole”. According to the *Tadhkira* of Dawlatshāh (ed. Browne, p. 30), the child was the son of the emir Yaḳūb b. Laith

the Saffarid and the officials of the court recognised in this hemistich a variety of *hazaj*: “they added a second hemistich (*miṣrā‘*) to it with the same scansion, then a second line (*bait*) which they called *dū-baitī* (“poem in two verses”); but some scholars, considering that it consisted of four hemistichs (*miṣrā‘*) adopted the name rubā‘ī and Rūdakī was the first to excel in it” (it should be noted that Asadī’s dictionary *Lughat-i Fārs*, ed. Horn, quotes two rubā‘ī by poets at least as old: Abu ‘l-Mu‘aiyad, p. 68 and Shāhid, p. 112). The anecdote is again found in a work written in 1220 (nearly three centuries before Dawlatshāh), the *Mu‘djam fi Ma‘ayiri Ash‘ari* ‘l-‘Adjam of Shams-i Kāis (ed. Mirzā Muḥammad and Browne, p. 88): one holiday, in a street of Ghaznī, the poet Rūdakī (“at least I believe so”, says the author) was watching some children playing at nuts: a boy of ten to fifteen improvised the same hemistich in the same conditions. “These words seemed to the poet to be a suitable metre, a pleasing poetical form; he consulted the rules of prosody and recognised in it one of the derivatives of the *hazaj*; ... on account of the high place which it held in his eyes, Rūdakī confined himself to two lines (*bait*) for each poem; ... as the inventor of the metre was a young and innocent boy (*tar*), Rūdakī called the metre *tarāna*” (cf. Horn, *Grundr. der neu-persischen Etymol.*, No. 382 and n. 3: Nizāmī’s hemistich is no doubt quoted from the *Farhang-i Djahāngīrī*: *har tarāna tarāna-i migoft*, “every young man was singing verses”). The *Haft Kulzum* describes *tarāna* as the rubā‘ī of which the four hemistichs (*miṣrā‘*) have the same rhyme (which is at least disputable). According to Shams-i Kāis (*op. cit.*, p. 90), “the connoisseurs of poems set to music (*malhūnāt*) called *tarāna* the rubā‘ī set to music and *dū-baitī* the rubā‘ī without music, because it had no more than two lines; the arabicised Persians (*mustarība*) called the rubā‘ī the *dū-bait*, because in Arabic the *hazaj* has four *maṣ‘ūlun* [while in Persian it has eight]; each line of this [Persian] metre makes two Arabic lines [in other words: a Persian *miṣrā‘* is equal to an Arabic *bait*]. From the fact that the metrical change used in this metre did not exist in Arabic poetry, Arabic was not written in this metre, but now the modern poets use it freely. Arabic rubā‘ī have become common in Arab lands”. On this point in his *Dumyat al-Kaṣr* (Aleppo 1349, p. 174), al-Bākhārī (xith century; q. v.) says that his father repeated several Arabic rubā‘ī to him; these may be reckoned among the earliest in this language. In the Saldjūk period the vogue of the rubā‘ī seems to have reached its height. Rawandī (*Rāhat al-Ṣudūr*, ed. Muḥammad Iḳbāl, p. 344) says à propos of a man of letters of Hamadhān: “He was called Nadjm (al-Dīn) Dūbaitī; he possessed wealth which he lavished on men of talent; with an inkwell and a pen he put into writing all rubā‘ī that he found; he left neither property nor furniture; ... his heirs shared 50 *mann* of manuscripts containing *dū-baitīs*”. No Persian metre admits of so many variations. Indeed, the theorists number 24 types of rubā‘ī derived, half from the *hazaj-i akhram*, half from the *hazaj-i akhrab* (the latter more pleasing to the ear, according to Shams-i Kāis). The Khurāsānian philologist Ḥasan Kāttān divides these two series into two trees (*shadja*) which figure in the treatises on prosody (Shams-i Kāis, p. 92; Blochmann, *Prosody of the Persians*, p. 68).

and which clearly show the variations (*azāhif*) of the *hasadī muthamman sālim* (*maf'ā'ilun*, 8 times). Four different metres may figure in the four hemistichs of rubā'ī. Shams-i Kāis thus explains the mechanism of this poetical form: "The beginning of the hemistichs of the *dū-baitī* is *maf'ūlu* (called *akhrab*) or *maf'ūlun* (called *akhrām*). When the first foot is *maf'ūlu*, the second becomes *maf'ā'ilun* (*sālim*) or *maf'ā'ilun* (*makbūd*) or *maf'ā'ilu* (*makfūf*); when the first foot is *maf'ūlun*, the second becomes *maf'ūlun* or *maf'ūlu* or *fā'ilun* (this last *ashtar*). When the second foot is *maf'ā'ilun* or *maf'ūlun*, the third becomes *maf'ūlun* or *maf'ūlu*; when the second foot is *maf'ā'ilun* or *fā'ilun* or *maf'ūlu*, the third becomes *maf'ā'ilun* or *maf'ā'ilu*. The (last) foot which follows *maf'ā'ilun* or *maf'ūlun* becomes *fa'* (*abtar*) or even *fā'* (*azall*); that which follows *maf'ā'ilu* or *maf'ūlu* becomes *fa'ul* (*ahtam*) or even *fa'al* (*madjībūb*). Further, according to Shams-i Kāis, some poets have written *muḥaṭṭa'āt* (pieces of several lines) in this metre, e.g. Abū Ṭāhir Khatūnī (from whom he quotes a passage); Farrukhī also deliberately composed a *ḥaṣīda* [q. v.] in the *dū-baitī* metre, sometimes retaining the same rhyme in the two hemistichs so that several rubā'ī can be taken from it. It may be recalled that the formula *lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata illā bi'llāh* (*maf'ūlu maf'ā'ilu maf'ā'ilun fā'*) was used as *miṣrā'* in certain quatrains (quoted by Agha Aḥmad 'Alī, *Risāla-i Tarāna*, ed. Blochmann, 1867, p. 9). Most Persian poets composed rubā'ī in the metres mentioned. Some owe their fame to this metre: Abū Sa'īd [q. v.]: 'Umar-i Khayyām; Bābā Afḍal al-Dīn Kashānī (ed. Sa'īd Nafīsī, Teherān 1311 = 1933). A collection of them is attributed to Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (Stambul 1312, 400 p.). On the other hand, the name rubā'ī is wrongly but traditionally given to the quatrains of Bābā Ṭāhir [q. v.] in *hasadī nusaddas mahdūf* (*maf'ā'ilun maf'ā'ilun fā'ilun*) and other quatrains in dialect (*fahlawiyāt*; cf. H. Kohi Kirmānī, *Tarānakā-yi millī*, Teherān 1310); these are really *kaḥās*. On the quatrain in Arabic, cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v. *dū-bait*; Ben Cheneb, *Tuḥfat al-Adab fī Miṣnān Ash'ār al-'Arab* (Algiers 1928, p. 113-117); in Turkish: Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i., p. 88; in Hindustānī: Garcin de Tassy, *Litt. hindouie*, 2nd ed., i., p. 36-37 and his edition of the *Diwān* of Wālī (*passim*).

Bibliography: In addition to the reference already given: Shams-i Kāis (*op. cit.*, p. 338); Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et Prosodie*, 2nd ed. 1873, p. 339 *sqq.*; Rückert, *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser*, 1874, p. 65.

(HENRI MASSÉ)

RŪDAKĪ, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH DĪ'FAR B. MUḤAMMAD B. ḤAKĪM B. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ĀDAM, a native of Rūdak in the vicinity of Samarkand...; he is said to have been the first good poet in the Persian language...; according to al-Bal'ami, vizier of Ismā'il b. Aḥmad, emir of Khurāsān, he had no equal among either Arabs or Persians; he died at Rūdak in 329 (940-941) (Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, in *G. M. S.*, fol. 262; similar text in E. G. Browne, *Hand-List of Muhammadan MSS. in the University of Cambridge*, No. 701). To be more accurate, Rūdakī was born and died at Bannudj (Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, s. v.) near Rūdak. Some writers wrongly say that his *takhalluṣ* came from his skill in playing the lute (*rūd*, *rūdak*). In any case the pronunciation Rūdagī should be

abandoned. We know few details of his life. From scattered allusions in his poems, it seems that Rūdakī left his native village to go to Bukhārā to the Sāmānīd amir Naṣr b. Aḥmad, whose panegyrist he became. Later he accompanied the amir to Bādghīs and Herāt. There is located the incident, recounted by several biographers, of the courtiers desirous of returning to Bukhārā to spend the winter there begging Rūdakī to use his influence with the amir Naṣr; the poet composed his famous poem ("The scent of the river Mūlyān" etc.) which decided the prince to return at once; richly rewarded, Rūdakī returned to Samarkand, travelling sumptuously. Two verses attributed to Rūdakī refer to journeys to Sarakhs and to Nishāpūr. The poets Adīb Ṣabīr and Sūzānī allude to a certain 'Aiyār, the favourite slave of Rūdakī. The biographers say that he was born blind, but a number of his verses which describe in glowing colours the beauties of the sensual world (quoted in Nafīsī, p. 550 *sqq.*), prove that he lost his sight at an advanced age; it has been supposed that the blindness was caused either by a clumsy oculist or was a reprisal on the protégés of the vizier Bal'ami. Rūdakī, banished from the Sāmānīd court on the dismissal of the vizier (326), is said to have retired to his native village; from this period (his three last years) date the verses in which he regrets his youth and his brilliant past (Nafīsī, p. 561). In his earlier days, according to his biographers and the allusions of later poets, his talents had considerably enriched him. Following Abū Sa'īd Idrīsī (d. 405), author of a history of Samarkand, Sam'ānī says that Rūdakī was buried at Bannudj, "behind the garden of the village"; he adds that pilgrimage used to be made to it (which proves his fame after death). According to some writers, Rūdakī wrote 1,300,000 *bait* six *mathnawī* (the *Farhang-i Dīhāngīrī* mentions one of them: *Dawrān-i āftāb*) in addition to his *diwān* of lyrics; on the other hand, Tha'ālībī, Firdawsī and others agree in saying that he put the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [q. v.] into verse from a translation into Persian prose by order of the Sāmānīd emir Naṣr. Of his works only a few fragments remain. E. Denison Ross (*J. R. A. S.*, 1924, p. 609 *sqq.*) has shown that the edition of the *Diwān* of Rūdakī (Teherān 1315) consists chiefly of the poems of Kaṭrān of Tabriz [q. v.] who lived a century later. Does this confusion come from the name Naṣr, borne by the patron of both poets and figuring in their panegyrics? E. D. Ross agrees that this attribution took place early to supply the loss of the poems of Rūdakī, whose fame had remained. Ḥasan Rāzī b. Luṭf Allāh in his *tadhkira* entitled *Maikhāna* (finished in 1040) says he had examined some twenty copies of Rūdakī's *Diwān* and only attributed a dozen *ḥaṣīdas* and 20 quatrains after collation to Rūdakī, the remainder to Kaṭrān. In all, according to Ross, we may attribute to Rūdakī the authorship of the following: 1. the isolated verses quoted in the *Lughat-i Furs* of Asadī (ed. Horn, p. 18-19); 2. six distichs from the translation of the *Kalīla* quoted in the *Tuḥfat al-Mulūk* (*J. R. A. S.*, 1924, p. 638); 3. four pieces quoted by Baiḥakī (*J. R. A. S.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 639); 4. the 29 quotations in Shams-i Kāis (*Mu'djam*, ed. Mirzā Muḥammad and Browne, index); 5. the famous ode on the river Mūlyān (Nizāmī 'Arūdī, *Čahār Maḥala*, transl. Browne, p. 33); 6. the *ḥaṣīda*, No. 6 in Ethé's collection (*Rūdagī, der*

Sāmānīdendichter, in *N.G.W. Gött.*, 1873, p. 696), a poem of poignant melancholy, in which we find the name of the *rāwī* of Rūdakī (cf. *J.R.A.S.*, p. 635, and Jackson, p. 42); 7. the eleven quotations in 'Awfi's *Lubāb al-Albāb* (ed. Browne, index); 8. the very beautiful bacchic poem of 94 *bait* (recognised as authentic by E. D. Ross and Mirzā Muḥammad Kaẓwīnī, publ. in *J.R.A.S.*, 1926, p. 213 *sqq.*). Some have said that Rūdakī is the oldest poet of Irān, although we know of precursors at least half a century earlier. His biographers say that he knew the *Qur'ān* by heart and wrote verses in his eighth year. In any case, his knowledge of the language is evident from the many quotations from him in the Persian lexicographers (the *Lughat-i Furs* quotes him oftener than any other poet). Hādījī Khalīfa credits him with a philological work (*Taḍj al-Maṣādir fī 'l-Lughat al-Furs*). One of his verses shows his acquaintance with Arabic poetry. Shams-i Kāis (*Muḍjam*, p. 88) makes him the inventor of the *rubā'ī* [q. v.] but does not assert it definitely. Rūdakī holds a place of honour in the panegyric (the genre of Persian poetry of which the oldest examples have survived). Later poets recognise him as a master of it (Nafīsī, p. 597 *sqq.*); he is distinguished for his sincerity and dignity. In the *ghazal* [q. v.] 'Unṣurī asserts his superiority. He was an innovator and excelled in bacchic poetry, notably in the already mentioned poem (Nº. 8), a subject later taken up by Minūchīrī [q. v.]. He is remarkable for his original similes and paints nature vividly in various aspects. There are a number of proverbs (Nafīsī, p. 612) in the verses attributed to him; other lines are pithy expressions of a moral character. Some later poets inserted verses by Rūdakī among their own (Nafīsī, p. 616). Mu'izzī [q. v.] even tried to imitate the famous poem on the Mūlyān (Nº. 5), according to Nizāmī 'Arūdī who, quoting the later piece, proclaims the superiority of Rūdakī (*Čahār Maḳāla*, transl. Browne, p. 35–36); at a later date on the other hand, this poem is vigorously criticised by Dawlatshāh (cf. E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, ii., p. 16) which clearly shows the evolution of literary taste.

Bibliography. — In addition to the references already given: Nizāmī 'Arūdī, *Čahār Maḳāla*, transl. Browne, p. 113–114; Ridā Kulī Khān, *Madjma' al-Fuṣṣṭāḥ*, i. 236 *sqq.*; Sa'id Nafīsī, *Aḥwāl wa-Aḥbār-i Rūdakī*, Teherān 1310; A. W. Jackson, *Early Persian Poetry*, p. 32 *sqq.*; E. G. Browne, *A Lit. Hist. of Persia*, index; do., *The Sources of Dawlatshāh... with an Excursus on Bārbad and Rudagī*, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1899, p. 37 *sqq.*; *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii., index.

(HENRI MASSÉ)

RÜDHRAWAR, a district in al-Djibāl (Media) south of Mount Alwand, halfway between Hamadhān and Nihāwand. According to Ibn al-Faḳīh, it was a valley in the district of Nihāwand, which was three farsakhs in length and formed one of the most pleasing spots in the Sāsānīan empire with its 93 villages all linked up one another by an uninterrupted stretch of orchards and perennial streams. The principal product was a world renowned saffron which was exported through Nihāwand and also through Hamadhān. There also grew there as a result of the mild climate in the shelter of the mountains on the north, grapes, pomegranates, walnuts, almonds, apples, pears and other fruits. According to al-Iṣṭakhrī,

the pulpit mosque of the district was in Karadj, known as Karadj Rūdhrawar to distinguish it from the same place near Iṣpahān, Karadj Abī Dulaf.

Barkiyārūk in 495 (1101–1102) went from Rūdhrawar via Mardj Karātegin to Sāwa (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xi. 137). Hamd Allāh al-Mustawfi calls the district Rūdārūd with the towns of Sirkān and Tuwī. On modern maps we still find Sirkān at the southern base of the Alwand, and Tuwī after which the district is now called, a little farther south.

Not far from the village of Rūdhrawar, i.e. presumably of Karadj, was a village called Muḥkān (al-Saiyid al-Murtaḍā, *Taḍj al-Arūs*, Cairo 1307, vii. 178; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, v. 552).

The present ruins of Rūdlāwar (De Morgan, *Mission en Perse*, ii. 136) are certainly those of Karadj, capital of Rūdhrawar (Le Strange, *East Caliph.*, p. 197, note 1).

Bibliography: al-Iṣṭakhrī, in *B. G. A.*, i. 197, 199; Ibn Hawḳal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 258, 262; al-Maḳdisī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 51, 386, 393 *sq.*; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *B. G. A.*, v. 209, 236; Yāḳūt, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 832; Hamd Allāh al-Mustawfi, Bombay 1311, p. 152 *sq.*; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905 (1930), p. 197; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen*, iv., Leipzig 1921, p. 502–504; v., 1925, p. 519, 552; vii., 1929, p. 927, 941.

(E. HONIGMANN)

AL-RÜDHRAWARĪ ZAḤĪR AL-DĪN ABŪ SHUDJĀ' MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤUSAIN B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. IBRĀHĪM, an 'Abbāsīd vizier. Al-Rūdhrawarī was born in al-Ahwāz in 437 (1045–1046); his father Abū Ya'la al-Ḥusain, who had died just as he was about to take over the vizierate to which he had been appointed by the Caliph al-Kā'im [q. v.] (460 = 1067–1068), was a native of Rūdhrawar, a little town near Hamadhān. He studied in Bagdhād under the direction of Shaikh Abū Ishāḳ al-Shirāzī and in 471 (1078–1079) was appointed vizier by the Caliph al-Muḳtaḍī but dismissed after a short period of office. After the fall of 'Amīd al-Dawla b. Djahīr [see IBN DJAHIR 2.] al-Muḳtaḍī again gave him the vizierate in Shaḥbān 476 (Dec. 1083–Jan. 1084), and this time he held office for several years. In Ṣafar or Rabi' I, 484 (April or May 1091) he was dismissed at the instigation of the Saldjūḳ sultān Malikshāh [q. v.] and retired to Rūdhrawar. From there he went in 487 (1094) on the pilgrimage to Mecca; in the vicinity of al-Rabadha however, the caravan was attacked by Beduins and al-Rūdhrawarī is said to have been the only one who escaped. He then settled in Medīna where he lived till his death in the middle of Djumādā II, 488 (June 1095). He was buried on the Baḳī' al-Ḡharḳad near the tomb of Ibrāhīm, the son of the Prophet.

Al-Rūdhrawarī is praised by eastern historians not only for his piety and devotion to duty, but also for his eloquence and poetical gifts. He wrote among other works a continuation of the *Taḍārīb al-Umam* of Ibn Miskawaih [q. v.] (*Dhail Kitāb Taḍārīb al-Umam*) containing the years 368–389 (979–999), edited and translated by Amedroz and Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate*, Oxford 1920–1921.

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Slane, iii. 288 sqq.); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), x. 39, 74 sq., 78, 84, 94, 106, 111, 123 sq., 156, 171, 221; Ibn al-Ṭīṭakā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 400—403.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

RUDJŪC (A.), return in the neo-Platonic sense, forms the main subject of the apocryphal "Theology of Aristotle". The question deals mainly with the individual souls who have descended or fallen into this earthly world of bodies but are purified by knowledge and who return to their original home, the spiritual world, either in an ecstatic condition or after separation from their bodies by death. *Marājī* is used alongside of *rudjū*; the verbal forms from *radja'a* are frequently employed; connected with these we find a number of expressions, sometimes related in meaning and sometimes giving a closer definition. The Arabic translators of the "Theology" took their terminology in part from the Qur'ān and sacred tradition; we must however here confine ourselves to the neo-Platonic meaning and its reception into Islām.

In a certain sense the doctrine of return is a counterpart of the theory of emanation [cf. the article **FAID** in the Supplement]. Everything comes from God and returns to him! Logos and (soul) mythos are, however, more interwoven here than in the doctrine of *faid*. There is a general presupposition of the purely spiritual substantiality of the intelligent soul (*nafs nāṭika*) and of its immortality, which has not only a philosophical foundation but is supported by appeal to the age-old cult of tombs and ancestors (see "Theology", ed. Dieterici, p. 7 sq.). Orphic-Pythagorean traditions and views of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle are combined and harmonised.

Let us begin with an outline from the "Theology" (p. 4—8 and *passim*). The human, i.e. intelligent soul does not feel at home in its association with an earthly body. Lying in the filth of matter it longs for return to its pure origin. It was once a part of the elevated world soul produced by God through the intermediary of the intellect ('*akl*'). So long as it was in the world-soul its place was in the centre of the all. The world-soul has a two-fold countenance: on the one side directed upwards, it looks to the '*akl*' and by it to God; on the other it turns to the corporeal world which emanated from it and is guided by it (cf. "Theology", p. 20). In so far as the world-soul has caused the corporeal world, it knows its product, but as a spiritual being, it always remains within itself. It is however possible that parts of the all-soul may turn more deeply to the earthly, form an idea of it and demand to be united with it. This is the cause of the descent or fall of the individual souls (*hubūt*; also *nuzūl*, *tanāzul*, *tanazzul* etc. = Greek *κἀσθός*). But as every individual soul partakes of spiritual being and immortal life it can never fall completely (cf. p. 132): in part it remains with itself in the upper world, in part it combines with the corporeal world and in part it wanders to and fro. Such migrations of the soul are naturally to be interpreted in the spiritual sense, i.e. independently of time and space.

The descent of the individual souls differs very much in degree. The deeper a soul sinks into matter, the more it forgets its heavenly origin. If it gives way to its passions and desires, it cannot rise again to its origin, and even after the separation from the body by death, only with great difficulty.

But the souls that turn away through asceticism from the sensual world, prepare themselves by good deeds and — this is the most important — purify and perfect themselves by love and knowledge, can, either in ecstasy ("Theology", p. 8; cf. thereon Massignon, *Textes inédits*, p. 131 sq.) or after death raise themselves to their origin (*su'ūd*, *nuhūd*, *irtifā'*, *tarakki'* = Greek *ἄνοδος*), where they see the '*akl*' and through it God himself in light and beauty. Plato had already spoken of this elevation (e.g. *Republic*, vii., p. 517 B: τὴν εἰς τὸν νοῦτον τόπον τῆς ψυχῆς ἄνοδον). According to the "Theology", p. 9 sqq., Herakleitos, Empedocles and Pythagoras also urged the soul to this ascent; the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* add Ptolemy, the astronomer, and interpret the ascension of Christ and Muḥammad's journey to heaven (*mi'rādī*) in a spiritual sense. Muslim philosophers and mystics did the same.

After what has been said, it is evident that the elevation (*su'ūd*) of the soul to its origin (*ila' l-aṣl*) can be called a return. It is more closely defined as a return to its interior, to its own being (*ilā dhātihi*). It is an entering into the self, a becoming conscious of one's own self; not a losing of being, not a destruction. The speculative mystics in Islām went a great deal farther in this direction.

According to the "Theology" (p. 18 sqq.), the return to the origin or being can only be a state (*ḥāl*) of the soul, not of the mind. The '*akl*' always remains by itself and therefore never needs to return to itself; thinking, thinker and thought are always one in its being. When in the *Liber de causis* (ed. Bardenheuer, § 6, cf. § 14) a return to its being is predicated of the '*akl*', this can only be interpreted as an uninterrupted self-consciousness.

So far the doctrine of the fall and return of the soul can be presented as fairly uniform. It shows a pessimistic conception of the life of the soul in combination with the body. But it also finds an optimistic interpretation ("Theology", p. 10 sq.). With Plotinus it is observed that Plato talks another language in the *Timaeus* (cf. p. 28 sqq.) from that of the *Phaedo*, *Phaedrus* and *Republic*. According to the *Timaeus*, God created this beautiful world and equipped it in his great goodness with mind ('*akl*') and life (= soul). Not only has he sent the all-soul into the world but also our (part-)souls so that the world may be as perfect as possible. If the individual soul can only conceive the sensual world correctly, i.e. as the image of the intelligible world, its combination with the physical world will not be a misfortune for it. Both worlds have come from God, the pure good. The only question is, what is the purpose of the soul in this world.

To this the "Theology" answers (p. 43 sq.) that the union of the soul with a body is not a final aim for the individual soul. In any case, union with the world soul and the contemplation of the '*akl*' and of God gives it a higher bliss for which it longs; but first of all it has to prepare itself for this. It has a divine task. If it descends into the corporeal world, it receives strength from above to form and guide a body. Provided it does not sink too low, it derives advantage and knowledge from it. Its previously dormant strength and the nature of this now become known to it. This is its very purpose, that it should come to know itself and its origin. The journey through the corporeal world is for it a course of training. Therefore (p. 80) the individual soul should not be blamed for leaving the spiritual world and coming into this world to

adorn it and to reveal its own nature. After it completes its work it returns to its origin.

Both expositions of the fate of the soul, pessimistic and optimistic, have influenced Muslim thinkers. With the gnostics, the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* and many mystics, pessimism predominates, while from Fārābī onwards the philosophers are more inclined to optimism. It is to be noted that the terminology of the "Theology" was only partially adopted. Rudjūʿ, for example, is found only when from the context neo-Platonic influence can be deduced; but it did not become a proper technical term. In place of rudjūʿ and *marǧʿi* we usually find *maʿād* and *ʿawd* which are explained as return in the neo-Platonic sense.

That the teaching of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* turns almost entirely on the spiritual substantiality of the soul and its immortality is well known. Goldziher has often and expressly pointed this out (e.g. *Vorlesungen*, p. 31, 163 and *Koranauslegung*, p. 183 sqq.). The third part of their encyclopædia is wholly devoted to the soul (on *maʿād*, especially *rasūʾil* 32 and 38 sq., Bombay ed.). The 38th treatise is entitled: *Fi 'l-Ba'ith wa 'l-Nashūr wa 'l-Ḳiyāma*; these are three synonyms for resurrection, here interpreted in a spiritual sense. But in other parts of this work also (i. 3; ii. 27—29; iv. 43 sq.), there is much to the point. The famous passage in the "Theology" on the Plotinian ecstasy (i. 3, p. 69) is quoted, and the pseudo-Aristotelian "Book of the Apple" modelled on the *Phædo* of Plato is mentioned (iv. 2, p. 119 sq.). The value of life in the world is, it is true, sometimes recognised but the misery of the wandering soul is more strongly emphasised. It is frequently pointed out that the weak souls cannot help themselves, that they require advice and instruction from prophets and philosophers in a community of life and belief so that they may be put upon the right path of return. The principal thing is the gnosis, for what food and drink are to the body, knowledge and wisdom (*ʿilm* and *ḥikma*) are to the soul (ii. 27, p. 313 sq.). Like the physician Rāzī and the philosopher Kindī the *Ikhwān* chose the Socrates of Hellenistic tradition as their first leader; he is however not the only one. The individual souls require many philosophers and prophets and also living guides (generally a late Hellenistic principle). With their help the good, wise soul advances to union with the world soul and through this with the *ʿaḳl* and God. The union of the individual soul with the world-soul, is the minor resurrection (*ḳiyāma*); the major resurrection takes place when the world soul separates itself entirely from matter and returns to the higher world of the spirits and of God (cf. Tj. de Boer, *Wijsbegeerte in den Islam*, Haarlem 1921, p. 77 sqq., esp. p. 98 sqq.).

The doctrine of the *maʿād* became more complicated after the theory propounded by Fārābī and more clearly developed by Ibn Sīnā of the ten spirits of the spheres (*uḳūl*). The individual souls endowed with intelligence, according to this, do not descend from the world-soul as parts of it, but they are, like the bodies of the earthly world, products of the last spirit in the series of emanation, i. e. of the *ʿaḳl faʿāl*. The purified soul longs for this spirit and its return is in the first place to it. Its longing goes further, to come as near as possible to God and to become like him, so far as it is possible for man. The philosophers are distinguished

from the speculative mystics by the fact that from Fārābī to Ibn Rushd the first question they put is: How is the union (*ittiṣāl*) of our soul with its origin (the *ʿaḳl faʿāl*) possible? The mystics, on the other hand, however differently their inner states and stations are described, desire nothing else than becoming one with God himself (*ittiḥād*).

According to Fārābī, the soul finds its return by the way of right knowledge and pious acts, but knowledge is esteemed more highly than deeds. Deeds remain in the world but knowledge enters into the spirit [cf. the article 'AMAL in the Supplement].

With the doctrine of the ecstatic conditions of the soul Fārābī combines in exemplary fashion his prophetology, especially in the "Model State", a copy of Plato's republic, but interpreted in the cosmopolitan spirit of the Stoics. This turns upon the harmony of religion and philosophy. The agreement is based on the fact that they both come from the same source: the difference is explained by the fact that the souls of the prophets and philosophers take up different attitudes. In their ascent in the ecstatic condition to the *ʿaḳl faʿāl* the soul of the prophet receives revealed truth through its imagination, while the soul of the philosopher receives illuminating wisdom through its intellect. But the truth is one and the same, so the philosophers down to Ibn Rushd and Ibn Sabʿīn (viith — xiiith century), teach, and many mystics are of the same opinion. Cf. Fārābī, *Abhandlungen* ed. Dieterici, p. 69 sqq. and *Musterstaat*, p. 46 sqq.

According to Ibn Sīnā's "Division of the Sciences of the Mind" (*Iḳṣām al-ʿUlūm al-ʿaḳliyya* in *Tisʿ Rasāʾil*, Constantinople, p. 76 sqq.), metaphysics (with Aristotle here called Theology) presents in its fundamental parts (*uṣūl*) among other things the theory of emanation, but on the other hand deals with the doctrine (*ʿilm*) of *maʿād* along with prophetology as derived or applied parts (*furūʿ*). This means that the theory of *faḳīd* possesses a higher place than the doctrine of the return.

Ibn Sīnā here again supports Fārābī. More definitely than the latter he adopts the neo-Platonic doctrine of the spirituality and immortality of the soul. This is not merely the form of its body, as Aristotle taught, of course inconsistently, but a spiritual and therefore indestructible substance. Against Plato and Pythagoras it is asserted that it has no pre-existence in the world-soul and does not migrate from one body to another. The *ʿaḳl faʿāl* gives (presumably from an inexhaustible supply) a suitable soul to each body that is sufficiently prepared for it. In a sense one can say that it has come into existence, but it will never perish. Fārābī was, as Ibn Ṭufail (*Ḥayy*, ed. Gauthier, p. 11) remarks, somewhat undecided in his opinion on the return of all souls, even of the wicked, Ibn Sīnā, on the other hand, not; but both interpreted the rewards and punishments in the next world in a spiritual sense, as was also the case with the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*. It is also to be noted that Ibn Sīnā, especially in his mystical writings, uses terms of a more Ṣūfī character than Fārābī.

Ḡhazālī took over from the philosophers just mentioned the doctrine of the spirituality and immortality of the soul, without however, at least in his principal works, drawing from this its logical spiritual deductions regarding the next world. In his *Tahāfut* (ed. Bouyges, p. 344 sqq.) he defends

the orthodox doctrine of the resurrection of the bodies on the last day, while in his esoteric writings he speaks in allegory after the Sūfī fashion (cf. Ibn Rushd, in *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, p. 580 sqq.). Ibn Rushd therefore accuses him of contradiction, defends the philosophers and observes that the Sūfis believe in a spiritual return (*ma'ād rūḥānī*) and are still regarded as good Muslims. But what is the personal opinion of this philosopher? It looks as if he hesitated to come out with his real opinion. It must therefore be sought in his larger works on metaphysics and psychology which have not yet been sufficiently investigated. But it is often very difficult to say where the commentator on Aristotle stops and the philosopher begins. This much may safely be said that Ibn Rushd more than Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā regards the soul as the form of its body. With this its spiritual substantiality and individual immortality would disappear.

Bibliography: given in the article: cf. also Asín Palacios, *Abenmasarra y su escuela*, Madrid 1914, esp. p. 40 sqq., 110 sqq.; do., *La Escatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, Madrid 1919, p. 58 sqq.; I. Madkour, *La place d'al-Fārābī dans l'école philosophique musulmane*, Paris 1934, esp. p. 122 sqq. and 181 sqq.; see also art. TAŞAWWUF, *infra*, vol. iv., esp. p. 739 sq. (TJ. DE BOER)

RŪH. [See NAFS.]

RŪḤ B. ḤĀTIM B. QABĪṢA, governor of Ifrīkiya, was appointed to this high office by the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd in 171 (787). Under al-Manṣūr he had been *ḥāḍib*, then governor of al-Basra; then he was appointed by al-Mahdī successively governor of al-Kufa, Sind, Ṭabaristān and Palestine. He must have been advanced in years when Hārūn al-Rashīd sent him to Ifrīkiya in the year after his accession to the throne. He belonged to the family of al-Muhallab, which had already sent two governors to the same province and was to supply two more after him. "It seems that at this period the caliph thought of entrusting the affairs of Ifrīkiya to a vassal family" (Vonderheyden). The governorship of the Muhallabids which preceded that of the Aghlabids, was very successful. The rebel Berbers appeared to be finally overcome and the Khāridjī agitation was suppressed; so satisfactory was the position that Rūḥ b. Ḥātim when he arrived at Kairawān in Rajab 171 (Dec. 787—Jan. 788) had no serious difficulties to face. Besides, he had brought with him new contingents of the *ḡund*, 500 horsemen, who were joined soon after by 1,500 others brought by his son Qabīṣa. For the three years of his governorship, the country was peaceful. Rūḥ even succeeded in concluding a peace with 'Abd al-Wahhāb [q. v.], the Rustamid *imām* of Ṭāhert. The authors who are our authorities upon him, notably Abu 'l-'Arab and Ibn 'Idhārī, make special mention of his generosity, his stoicism in face of adversity and of his skill in disarming his opponents.

As he was showing signs of senility, the postmaster and a *qā'id* of the province requested the caliph to appoint a successor to him secretly, who could take his place if necessary. Following their advice, Hārūn al-Rashīd appointed Naṣr b. Ḥabīb. Rūḥ b. Ḥātim died on 19th Ramaḍān 174 (Feb. 3, 791), and his son Qabīṣa was formally recognised as his successor in the great mosque of Kairawān. But the postmaster and the *qā'id*

informed Naṣr, the governor designate, and Qabīṣa had to give way to him.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-'Arab and Muḥammad al-Khushanī, *Classes des savants de l'Ifrīkiya*, ed. and transl. Ben Cheneb, *passim*; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, i. 74–75; transl. E. Fagnan, i. 100–101; al-Nuwairī (appendix to Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, i. 387–388); Vonderheyden, *La Berbérie orientale sous la dynastie des Benoû 'l-Aghlab*, p. 8–9. (G. MARÇAIS)

AL-RUHĀ'. [See ORFA.]

RŪḤĪ, is the *makhlaṣ* of the historian, whose work was until 1925 known only from the references in 'Alī's [q. v.] *Kūnh ūl-Akhbār* and in Münedj-djimbashī [q. v.]. J. H. Mordtmann (*M. O. G.* ii, 129 sqq.) was the first to identify by conclusive arguments several manuscripts of the anonymous original work. They tell us practically nothing about the personality of the author and it is only a hypothesis (cf. F. Babinger *Die frühosmanischen Jahrbücher des Urudsch*, Hanover 1925, p. xiii.) that connects the historian Rūḥī with a certain Rūḥī Fāḍil Efendi who, like Muḥyī al-Dīn Ḍijāmālī (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 72 sqq.), was a son of Zebbīllī 'Alī Efendi, distinguished himself as a poet and died young, in 927 (1528) it is said. As he is also called Rūḥī Edrenevī, i. e. Rūḥī of Adrianople, this hypothesis may be correct. But elsewhere (cf. Sehi, *Tedhkire*, p. 127), this Rūḥī Fāḍil Efendi is said to have been born and to have died in Stambul.

The history of Rūḥī entitled *Tewārikh-i 'Alī 'Othmān* is written in a simple style and divided into two parts (*ḥisim*). The author calls the first *mebādī*, i. e. beginnings, the second *meṭālib*, i. e. elucidations. The first part falls into two sections of a general nature, the second contains eight chapters each of which describes the reign of one sultān. The chronicle was written in the reign of Bayazid II (1481–1512) and ends in 917 (beg. March 31, 1511). Rūḥī's work has not been further investigated nor is there a critical edition of the text, which could easily be prepared from existing old and good manuscripts (Berlin, Oxford, Algiers; cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 43). It is clear however that Luṭfī Pasha's [q. v.] Chronicle is dependent on that of Rūḥī.

Bibliography: *Isl.*, xiii., 159; *M. O. G.*, ii. 129 sqq. (J. H. Mordtmann); F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 42 sq. — In addition to Sehi, the following mention men named Rūḥī: Laṭīfī, *Tedhkire*, p. 172 and Mehmed Thureiyā, *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, ii. 421. Cf. Brūsālī Mehmed Ṭāhir, *'Othmānī Miw'ellifleri*, iii. 54.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

RUKN AL-DAWLA, ABŪ 'ALĪ AL-ḤASAN B. BŪYE, second in age of the three brothers that founded the Būyid dynasty [q. v.]. His fortunes followed those of the elder brother 'Alī (later 'Imād al-Dawla [q. v.]) up to the latter's occupation of Fārs in 322 (934); Rukn was then given the governorship of Kāzarūn and other districts. But shortly afterwards he was forced by the 'Abbāsīd general Yāqūt, at whose expense the Būyid conquest of Fārs had been made, to seek refuge with his brother; and when Yāqūt was in turn defeated by the Ziyārid Mardāwīdj [q. v.], the Būyids' former overlord against whom they had revolted, 'Imād, who then found it advisable to conciliate Mardāwīdj, sent Rukn to

him as a hostage. On Mardāwīd's assassination in the following year (323 = 935), Rukn escaped and rejoined 'Imād, by whom he was supplied with troops to dispute the possession of the Djbāl with Mardāwīd's brother and successor, Washmgīr. Rukn succeeded at the outset in taking Isfahān; but the first round of his contest with Washmgīr ended in Rukn's ejection from that city in 327 (939), when he again fled to Fārs.

In the next year Rukn's help was sought by his younger brother al-Ḥusain (later Mu'izz al-Dawla [q. v.]), who had meanwhile set himself up in Khūzistān, against the Barīdis [q. v.]; whereupon Rukn, being now possessed of no territory, attempted to take Wāsiṭ but was obliged to retire when the caliph al-Rādi [q. v.] and the amīr Badjkam [q. v.] opposed him. Almost immediately afterwards, however, he succeeded in recovering Isfahān, owing to Washmgīr's championship of Mākān b. Kākūy in a quarrel with the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad [q. v.]; and when the latter ruler died in 331 (943), Rukn, who had meanwhile supported the Sāmānid cause, was able to drive Washmgīr as well from al-Raiy, of which he had momentarily regained possession on the retirement of the Sāmānid general Ibn Muḥtādī.

With al-Raiy Rukn gained control of the whole Djbāl; and but for two short intervals (of about a year in each case) retained it for the rest of his days. Up to 344 (955—956), however, his position was highly precarious. For not only Washmgīr, but also the Sāmānids continued to challenge it. It was only by playing them off against each other and sowing dissensions between the Sāmānid princes and the officers they sent against him that Rukn was able to maintain it. Even so (as indicated above) he was driven from al-Raiy, and his representatives were expelled from most parts of the province, once in 333 (944—945) and again in 339 (950—951), in each case by Sāmānid forces. Indeed he was obliged in the end to become the Sāmānids' tributary (at least two agreements for the payment of tribute being recorded); it was on this basis that he first made peace with them in 344 (955—956) as again in 361 (971—972). In the course of his long contest with Washmgīr, who, until he was killed in an accident in 357 (968) never ceased to intrigue with the Sāmānids against him, Rukn on several occasions invaded Ṭabaristān and Gurgān, but was unable to incorporate these provinces permanently in his dominions. And though in 337 (948—949), after he had defeated an attempt on al-Raiy made by the Sālārid Marzubān b. Muḥammad, whom he took prisoner, he gained control of southern Ādharbāidjān, his ejection two years later from al-Raiy itself [see above] naturally cost him this as well.

Rukn received his *laḡab* simultaneously with his brothers in 334 (945—946), on Mu'izz's entry into Baghdad; and on 'Imād's death in 338 (949), succeeded him as head of the family and *amīr al-umarā'* (though this title was also held by Mu'izz). The last two years of his life were rendered unhappy — so much so that he never recovered from the shock induced by the news — owing to the conduct of his son, 'Aḍud al-Dawla [q. v.], in taking advantage of an appeal for help sent by Bakhtiyār [q. v.] (son of Mu'izz and his successor in the rule of al-'Irāḡ), to imprison the latter, and, in conjunction with Rukn's own *wazīr*

Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Ibn al-'Amīd [q. v.], who had been sent likewise with a force to Bakhtiyār's aid, to seize that province for himself. And though 'Aḍud obeyed his command to release Bakhtiyār and return to his government in Fārs, Rukn was only with difficulty persuaded to visit 'Aḍud in 365 (975—976) at Isfahān, in order to ensure that by receiving a confirmation of his appointment as heir, he should succeed without dispute. Rukn died at al-Raiy in Muḥarram of the next year (September 976).

Rukn al-Dawla was fortunate in his employment of the remarkable *wazīr* Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-'Amīd [q. v.] from 329 (941) for thirty years until his death in 359 (970), though, as that minister himself complained (see Miskawaih), he was prevented by the prince's lack of royal blood and of culture from governing properly. Rukn (so he said) was in fact no more than a predatory soldier, who could secure the allegiance of his supporters only by means of largesse, and was not able to forgo revenue in the expectation of subsequently increasing its yield. On the other hand he is said to have been just and humane towards his troops and his subjects, and gave proof — especially in connection with the episode of 'Aḍud al-Dawla mentioned above — of a tender sense of honour.

Bibliography: Miskawaih, *Taḍjārīb al-Umam*; Ibn al-Aṭḥir, *Kāmil*, viii.; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, transl. de Slane, i. 407; Mir Khwānd, *Rauḍat al-Ṣafā'* (in Wilken, *Mirchond's Geschichte der Sultane aus dem Geschlechte Bujeh*); Khwānd Amir, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* (in Ranking, *History of the Minor Dynasties of Persia*); Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, iv.

(HAROLD BOWEN)

RUKN AL-DĪN, SULAIMĀN II B. KĪLĪDĪ ARSLĀN II, a Salḡuḡ ruler in Asia Minor. His father KĪlĪdĪ Arslān b. Mas'ūd [q. v.] in his old age divided his kingdom among his many sons. The consequence of this was that the latter set up as independent rulers and began to fight with one another so that at his death in Sha'bān 588 (Aug. 1192) complete anarchy reigned. In the course of time however, Rukn al-Dīn brought the whole kingdom under his sway. Kuṭb al-Dīn Malikshāh who had received Siwās and Aḡsarā, began by attacking his brother Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, lord of Ḳaisariya. The latter was killed and Ḳaisariya passed to Kuṭb al-Dīn. On the latter's death Rukn al-Dīn who ruled in Tokat (Dūḡāt), attacked Siwās and took possession of it. He next seized the two towns of Aḡsarā and Ḳaisariya. After some time, he turned against his other brother Ghīyāth al-Dīn Kaikhusrāw in Ḳonya and laid siege to him. The latter had to give in and ceded his territory to his brother. In Ramaḍān 597 (June—July 1201) Malatya which belonged to Mu'izz al-Dīn Ḳaisarshāh b. KĪlĪdĪ Arslān was captured. Erzerūm was the next to pass to Rukn al-Dīn. When the latter's troops approached, the governor there, 'Alā' al-Dīn b. Malikshāh, the last of the Ṣaltuḡid dynasty, began negotiations by which the town was surrendered to Rukn al-Dīn who gave it to his brother Ṭuḡhrīlshāh. Another brother, Muḥyi al-Dīn, who had obtained Angora when the kingdom was divided, long resisted Rukn al-Dīn's lust for conquest, and only after a three years' siege found himself forced to capitulate when supplies were completely cut off, but was promised suitable compensation. Rukn al-Dīn promised him

a fortress in a remote part, but laid an ambush for him in which he was attacked and killed as he left the town. Soon afterwards however, Rukn al-Dīn fell ill and died before the news of his brother's murder reached him. He was succeeded by his son Kāẓim Arslān III [q. v.]. Ibn al-Aṭhīr (xii. 128) gives the date of his death as the 6th Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 600 (July 6, 1204); according to another statement (xii. 59) however, the surrender of Angora and the death of Rukn al-Dīn did not take place ill 601 (1204—1205).

Ibn al-Aṭhīr describes Rukn al-Dīn as a strong and vigorous ruler; he is said to have held certain heretical views (*madḥhab al-falāsifa*) on religious matters which, however, he concealed from fear of his subjects.

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RUKN AL-DĪN. [See BAIBARS I, BARKIYĀRŪK, TUḠHRĪL-BEG, KĪLĪD ARSLĀN.]

RUKNĀBĀD (or ĀB-I RUKNĪ: the water of Rukn al-Dawla), a canal (*kanāt*) which runs from a mountain (called Kulāi'a: P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, ii. 48, N^o. 7) about six miles from Shīrāz. Enlarged by a secondary canal, it follows for a part of the way the road from Isfahān to Shīrāz. Its waters reach as far as the vicinity of the town towards the cemetery in which Ḥāfiẓ is buried, when they are not entirely absorbed for irrigation purposes. According to Ḥasan Faṣā'ī (*Fārs-nāme-i Nāṣirī*, part ii., p. 20), "all the waters of the plain of Shīrāz come by subterranean channels except the water from the spring of Djušk... The best waters are those of the Zangī and Ruknī canals... The Kanāt-i Ruknī (i. e. Ruknābād) was made in 338 (949—950), one and a half farsakhs N. E. of Shīrāz by Rukn al-Dawla Ḥasan the Dailamī [cf. BŪYIDS]; its waters rise in the ravine of Tang-i Allāh Akbar a mile north of Shīrāz; it waters the plain of al-Muṣallā [q. v.]". In the fourteenth century, Ruknābād is mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi Ḳazwīnī (*Nuḥat al-Kulūb*, transl. Le Strange, in *G.M.S.*, p. 113: "The water comes from subterranean canals and the best is that of Ruknābād"). But it is to the poets that this canal really owes its fame. In the xiiith century Sa'dī declares himself charmed by the land of Shīrāz and the waters of Ruknābād (*Kulliyāt*, Calcutta 1791, fol. 299b, l. 4). In the following century 'Ubaid-i Zakānī sings: "The zephyr which blows from al-Muṣallā and the wave of Ruknābād remove from the stranger the memory of his native land" (text quoted by E. G. Browne, who finds in it an echo of Sa'dī, *Persian Lit. under Tartar Dominion*, p. 238). Ḥāfiẓ in particular immortalised Ruknābād in his verses: "Pour out, cup-bearer, the wine that is left, for in Paradise thou shalt find neither the stream of Ruknābād nor the promenade of al-Muṣallā" (ed. Khalkhali, Teherān 1306, N^o. 3, v. 2); "Shīrāz and the wave of Ruknī and the sweet breeze of the zephyr, blame them not, for they are the pride of the universe" (*ibid.*, N^o. 35, v. 7); "The zephyr which blows from al-Muṣallā and the wave of Ruknābād will never allow me to depart" (*ibid.*, N^o. 168,

v. 9); "May God a hundred times preserve our Ruknābād, for its limpid waters give a life as long as that of Khidr" [q. v.] (*ibid.*, N^o. 277, v. 2), and in a piece which may be apocryphal (*ibid.*, part 2, N^o. 71): "The water of Ruknī, like sugar, rises in al-Tang (-i Allāh Akbar)". According to later writers, Ruknābād, which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa called a great water-course (*al-nahr al-kabīr*), gradually dried up. Among the notable travellers of the xviiith century, Chardin, almost alone in mentioning it, saw only a large stream and gives Ruknābād the fanciful meaning "Ruknenabat, veine ou filet de sucre" (*Voyages*, ed. Langlès, viii. 241). At the end of the xviiith century, W. Franklin praises the sweetness and clearness of the waters of this little stream to which the natives attribute medicinal qualities. At the beginning of the xixth century Scott Waring notes that its breadth was nowhere more than six feet. Ker Porter observes that the canal has become choked up through neglect. The *Kulthūm naneh* deplores the disappearance of the groves that surrounded it. At a later date we have the same observation by Gobineau ("Cette onde poétique ne m'apparut que sous l'aspect d'un trou bourbeux"), Curzon ("a tiny channel filled with running water") and Sykes ("a diminutive stream").

The *Fārs-nāme-i Nāṣirī* mentions a second Ruknābād in Fārs: "The source of the warm stream of Ruknābād is part of the district of Bikhe-i Fāl (Lāristān); it is over a farsakh north of the village of Ruknābād; having a bad flavour and an unpleasant smell, it is of no use for agriculture; it cooks in a few minutes eggs put into it; one can only bathe in it at some distance from the spring" (ii. 318 middle and 288).

Bibliography: — In addition to the references in the text: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Defrémery-Sanguinetti, Paris 1873—1879, ii. 53 and 87; Abu 'l-Abbās Aḥmad b. Abi 'l-Ḳhair Zarkūb Shīrāzī (xivth century), *Shīrās-nāmeḥ*, Teheran 1305—1310, p. 23—24 (panegyric in a precious style); Zain al-Ābidin Shīrwanī (xixth century), *Riyāḍ al-Siyāḥa*, p. 336, u. l. and *Būstān al-Siyāḥa*, p. 326 middle (short notices); *Kitāb-i Kulthūm naneh*, transl. Thonneller, *Le livre des dames de la Perse*, Paris 1881, p. 120; transl. Atkinson, *Customs and Manners of the Women of Persia*, London 1832, p. 77; L. Dubeux, *La Perse*, Paris 1841, p. 34; W. Franklin, *Voyage du Bengal en Perse*, transl. Langlès, Paris, year vi., i. 107; Scott Waring, *A tour to Sheeraz*, London 1807, p. 40; Morier, *A second journey through Persia*, London 1818, p. 69; Ouseley, *Travels*, London 1819, i. 318 and ii. 7; Porter, *Travels*, London 1821, i. 686 and 695; de Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1922, i. 199; H. Brugsch, *Reise... nach Persien*, Leipzig 1862, ii. 166; Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892, ii. 93 and 96; E. G. Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, London 1893, index; P. M. Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, London 1902, p. 323; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 250 (on the water supply of Shīrāz); Jackson, *Persia past and present*, New York 1906, p. 323. (H. MASSÉ)

RŪM, the name in Persian and Turkish for the Byzantine empire. Rūm means the land of the Rhomaeans (Ρωμαῖοι) or Byzantines although in Central Asia Rūm is also used for the Roman empire. In course of time the conception

became narrower. While Rūm still is the old name for Ǵonya (q. v. and RŪM-SALDŪǴS), in the early Ottoman period Rūm comprises the district of Amasia [q. v.] and Siwās [q. v.] while Anatolia included the so-called province with the capital Kūtāhiya [q. v.] (cf. *Isl.*, x., 1920, p. 144, note 1). From the earlier name Rūm for old Hellas (cf. *Iskandar-i Rūmī*, i. e. Alexander the Great), Eastern Roman and Byzantine, it was applied in Turkey to designate the modern Greeks (also *Urūm*) in contrast to the ancient Greeks who were called *Yūnāniyān* or Ionians. Rūm also sometimes meant Turkey in general; cf. the expression *Rūm Pādī-shāhī* for the sūltān. *Rūmī* later was used in a derogatory sense. *Rūm Meshreb* was said of the Greek character, faithless, unreliable, flattering.

Cf. also ERZERUM (i. e. *Erd-i Rūm*) and RUMELIA. (FRANZ BABINGER)

RŪM ǴAL'A, a fortress in Northern Syria. According to Arnold Nöldeke's description, it is situated "on a steeply sloping tongue of rock, lying along the right bank of the Euphrates, which bars the direct road to the Euphrates from the west for its tributary the Merziman as it breaks through the edge of the plateau, so that it is forced to make a curve northwards around this tongue. The connection between this tongue of rock, some 1,300 feet long and about half as broad, and the plateau which rises above it is broken by a ditch made by man about 100 feet deep. The walls of the citadel with towers and salients follow the outlines of the rock along its edge at an average height of 150 feet above the level of the Euphrates, while the ridge extending along the middle of the longer axis rises 100 to 120 feet higher" (A. Nöldeke, in *Petermanns Mitteil.*, 1920 p. 53 sq., where the main road up to the citadel, the buildings etc. are also described).

The unusual position of the fortress on a high cliff suggests that it corresponds to the tower of Shitamrat "hovering like a cloud in the sky" which Salmanassar III took in 855 B. C. (F. Honigmann, art. *Syria*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, iv., A, col. 1569, 1592).

While Th. Nöldeke (*N. G. W. Gött.*, 1876, p. 12, note 2) wished to distinguish Rūm Ǵal'a clearly from *Ōrīma* and identify with the former place the modern Orum, Hōrum on the Euphrates, above Balkīs, Urima is now generally identified with Rūm Ǵal'a (Marmier, B. Moritz, Cumont, Dussaud etc.). The name of the old bishopric of Urima last appears in Matt'ēos of Edessa (ed. Watarshapat 1898, p. 323): in 561 A. M. (1112—1113 A. D.) the Armenian Kogh Wasil returned to Tancred of Antioch the lands of Harsn Msur, *Thorēsh* and Uremn, which he had taken from the Franks. The first two are Hīsn Maṣūr and Trūsh (Turūsh) and Uremn is Ūrima (*Hist. or. des croisad.*, *Docum. armén.*, i. 102; J. Markwart, *Südarmerien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, p. 182, note 1 of p. 177). The Syriac chronicles record (Mich. Syr., iii. 199; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 279) that Kōgh Basil or after his death Kurtig, who acted as governor for his widow, held the towns of Kaishūm, Ra'bān, Bēthēsēnē and Ǵal'a Rhōmaitā. It is very probable that the latter, the Syriac for Rūm Ǵal'a, here corresponds to the Uremn of the Armenians, which is later in Armenian always called Hromklay and by similar names.

Rūm Ǵal'a later belonged to the county of Edessa. The metropolitan Abu 'l-Faraj b. Shum-

mānā of Edessa, who after the second capture and destruction of this town by the Turks (1146) escaped to Samosata, was imprisoned for three years in Rūm Ǵal'a by Joscelin; he then wrote several *mēmūrē* "with an account of the events" which caused his imprisonment (Mich. Syr., iii. 277b; Baumstark, *Gesch. der syr. Literatur*, Bonn 1922, p. 293).

At the request of an Armenian of Ǵal'a Rhōmaitā named Michael in 1148 Beatrix, widow of Joscelin II of Edessa, and her son demanded that the Armenian Catholicos Grigor III Pahlavuni should move his residence to the "fortress of the Romans" (Arm. Hromklay) which belonged to their territory, the former county of Edessa (the capital of which since the fall of al-Ruhā' in 1145 had been Tall Bāshir). The Catholicos had lived since 1125 in Cowk' ("little lake"), i. e. the fortress of Ǵal'at Šōf in the Djabal Sawī (Šōf) to which Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-'Aīnī fled in 803 (1400—1401) from Timurlenk (Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Égypte*, 11/ii., 1840, p. 227), and recently visited by Haussknecht, as is evident from Armenian sources which mention the "little castle of Cowk' in the region of Tluk'" (Dalūk, Τελούχ) (Papken G. W. Güleserean, *Cowk', Cowk'-Tluk' and Hrom-Glay, eine historisch-topographische Studie* [Armen.], Vienna 1903, p. 33—44; Markwart, *Südarmerien*, p. 18 sq., still wrongly identified Cowk' with Göldjūk). The Catholicos obeyed the summons and in 1150 purchased the fortress of Rūm Ǵal'a from the Franks but is said to have shown ingratitude to Michael for he deprived him of all his possessions and drove him out of the country (Mich. Syr., iii. 297; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 317). The Armenian Catholicoi after that lived in the fortress from 1147/1148 till 1293 (*Chronique du royaume de la Petite Arménie*, in *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, *Docum. arm.*, i. 618, under the year 590 A. M. = 1141—1142 A. D.).

Grigor's successor, the poet Nersēs IV Shnorhali, "the graceful" (patriarch 1166—1173), was called Klayec'i from his place of residence. In May 1170 and March 1172 negotiations concerning a church union took place between him, Theorianos as ambassador of the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenos, and the bishop Iwannis (Elias) of Kaishūm and the monk Theodoros Bar Wabhūn as delegates of the Jacobite patriarch Michael the Great, who had remained in the monastery of Mar Bar Šawmā (ἐν τινὶ καστολλιῷ αὐτοῦ λεγομένῳ ὁ ἄγιος Βαλοσαμῶν), in Rūm Ǵal'a (Syr. Ǵal'a Rhōmaitā or Hēsōā dhe-Rōmāyē, Greek Ῥωμαίων Κουλά) and in Kaisūm (Syr. Kaishūm, Greek Κεσσόβιον) (Migne, *Patr. Graec.*, cxxxiii., col. 114—298; Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, ed. Abbeloos, Lamy, i. 549—551 expanded in Mich. Syr., iii. 334—336).

After the death of Nerses (Aug. 8, 1173) his younger nephew was proclaimed Catholicos in Rūm Ǵal'a. His older nephew however induced his brother-in-law Mleh of Cilicia to obtain from Nūr al-Dīn a charter, on the authority on which he threw his cousin into prison and had himself installed as Catholicos on Sept. 5, 1173 (Mich. Syr., iii. 353 sq.). As Grigor IV Tēta (Degha, "the child") he was Catholicos from 1173—1193, the son of prince Wasil of Gerger, who was brother to Nerses Shnorhali. Under him in 1179 took place the synod of Hromklay, at which Nerses of Lampron delivered a famous speech in which he recommended the adoption of the Chalcedonian creed (Mansi, xxii.,

col. 197—206). But the proposed union of the churches fell through because Manuel Comnenos died on Sept. 24, 1180. In the same year Theodoros Bar Wabhūn, who had seceded from his teacher and godfather Michael the Great and was seeking assistance everywhere to oust him from the patriarchate, came to the Catholicos in Rūm Ǵal'a, who welcomed him kindly and sent him to Cilicia to Leon II (Syr. Lebḥōn; Armen. Lewon) of Little Armenia; the latter made him patriarch (1180—1193) of his whole kingdom (Mich. Syr., iii. 386 sq.; Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, i., col. 583—585; J. Gerber, *Zwei Briefe Barwabhuns*, Halle [diss.] 1911, p. 3—9).

When the emperor Frederick Barbarossa was on his way through Asia Minor, in 585 (1189—1190) the Armenian *šāhib* of Ǵal'a al-Rūm (i. e. Grigor IV) sent a letter to Saladin to ask for help; in the following year he (al-Ǵaghikūs) again sent a letter to him (Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawdatain*, in *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, *Hist. arab.*, iv. 435 sq., 453—456).

After the death of Grigor IV (July 1193), the Armenians made his young nephew Grigor V Manug ("the young") or as Michael Syrus calls him, Dīrāsū ("the cleric") Catholicos (1193—1194; Mich. Syr., iii. 411 sq.). Leon of Cilicia in 1195 had him carried off and thrown into the fortress of Gubidara (Kopitar) where he perished in an attempt to escape. The Armenians thereupon made his predecessor's cousin, Gregoras, son of Shahan, his successor as Catholicos Grigor VI known as Abirad ("the scoundrel") (1194—1203; Mich. Syr., iii. 413; *Hist. or. des crois.*, *Docum. arm.*, i., p. cxx.). His successors were: Howhannēs VI of Sis (1203—1221), Costandin I Barzberde'ci (1221—1267), Hakob I Klayec'ci (1267—1286), Kostandin II (1286—1289) and Stephanos IV Hromklayec'ci (1290—1293).

In Rūm Ǵal'a in the xiiith century there were also many Jacobites, among whom the presbyter Iṣḥō' (Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, i. 665) and his sons (Benē Iṣḥō': Barhebraeus, i. 691, 695, 721, 751, 759), Ya'qūb (*ibid.*, i. 683—685, 751, 779), the presbyter and physician Shem'ōn (*ibid.*, i. 735, 741, 747, 759—767) with his followers (Bēth Shem'ōn: *ibid.*, i. 759, 767, 769) and Iṣḥō' Shankit (*ibid.*, i. 741) played an important part. The Jacobite patriarch Ignatius II (Rabban Dawid, 1222—1252), celebrated for his wealth, endowed Ǵal'a Rōmaitā among other places with a splendid church (Barhebraeus, i. 665). Later he chose this fortress as the see of his patriarchate (Barhebraeus, i. 685). He did not come out openly against the Armenian Catholicos but he endeavoured as far as possible in secret to advance the Syrian church at the expense of the Armenian (Barhebraeus, i. 687—689). On the other hand, we are told that at this time, when the doubtless very profitable cult of the Jacobite saint Barṣawmā was at its height in the monastery at Gargar called after him (now Borsūn Ǵal'esī between Malatya and Sumaisāt), the Armenians also "out of covetousness" built a monastery "called after Barṣawmā" in Rūm Ǵal'a and received many gifts from the people, to the vexation of the Jacobites. The patriarch Ignatius therefore resolved to build a Jacobite monastery there also and to buy a suitable site for it on the Nahrā dhe-Pharzemān (Arab.: Nahr Marzubān, now Merziman-Çai) from the Benē Iṣḥō' and also to get from them an agreement of sale by which they

were to surrender any authority over the monks living there. When they stubbornly refused, the patriarch excommunicated them and established himself in a cave on the Euphrates but was brought back by the Armenian Catholicos. Later on he fell ill, and after a reconciliation with the Benē Iṣḥō' through the offices of the Katholikos, died in Rūm Ǵal'a on June 14, 1252 (Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, i. 691 sqq.).

In 1260 Hūlagū crossed the Euphrates by bridges of boats at Malatya, Ǵal'at al-Rūm, Bira and Ǵar-ḳisiya' (Barhebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar Ta'rikḥ al-Duwal*, Bairūt 1890, p. 486; *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 509). In the decades following, the Jacobite patriarch Ignatius III (1264—1282) had to defend his possession of the Barṣawmā monastery at Gargar in a desperate struggle with the physician Shem'ōn of Ǵal'a Rōmaitā; both had received or alleged they had received new charters of ownership from Hūlagū and Abāḳā (Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, i. 753—766; ii. 439 sqq.); later on they made up their quarrel (Barhebraeus, i. 769). After the death of Ignatius, the presbyter Ya'qūb of Ǵal'a Rōmaitā made his nephew Philoxenos or Nemrōd patriarch in 1283 (Ignatius IV). The latter died at the beginning of July 1292 in the monastery of Barṣawmā (Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, i. 781); after his death the Jacobite patriarchate disintegrated and three rivals appeared in Malatya, Cilicia (Gawikāt monastery) and Mārdīn and as a result of this permanent schism the Jacobite church sank to complete insignificance (Barṣawmā [?], additions to Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, i. 781 sqq.).

It was perhaps not merely chance that the end of the united Jacobite patriarchate which in recent years had been closely associated with the town of Rūm Ǵal'a, happened almost the same day as the collapse of the Armenian Catholicate of Hromklay.

In the reign of Ǵalā'ūn an Egyptian army of 9,000 horse and 4,000 foot under Baisari as well as Syrian forces under Ḥusām al-Dīn of 'Aintāb had come to Rūm Ǵal'a and laid siege to the fortress on the Pharzemān on May 19, 1280. The sultān demanded that the Catholicos should surrender the fortress and move with his monks to Jerusalem, or if he preferred, to Cilicia. When the Catholicos refused to do so, the Egyptians laid waste the country around the town which was inhabited by Armenians, on the next day forced their way over a wall only recently built into the town and set it on fire. The whole population fled into the citadel. After the Egyptians had ravaged and plundered the country round for five days, they retired.

In the reign of al-Aṣḥraf Khalil they undertook a new expedition against Rūm Ǵal'a in 691 (1292) in which the prince of Ḥamā, Malik al-Muza'far, took part with Abu 'l-Fidā' in his retinue (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales Muslemici*, ed. Reiske-Adler, v. 102 sqq.). On Tuesday, the 8th Djumādā II, the Egyptians appeared before the town and erected 20 pieces of siege artillery. It fell after a siege of 33 days. On the 11th Raddjab (June 29, 1292) it was plundered and a massacre carried out among the garrison of Armenians and Mongols. Among the 1,200 prisoners who were mostly taken to the sultān's arsenal on June 28 (al-Nuwairi, MS. Paris, fol. 100 sq., in Quatremère, *Hist. des Sult. Mamlouks*, II/i., p. 141, note 30) was the Armenian Catholicos (Arab. "*Khalīfat al-Masīḳ*", whom they call *Kāthāghikūs*"), cf. Yāqūt, iv. 164), Stephanos IV of Rūm Ǵal'a with his monks; he died a prisoner

in Damascus (Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, p. 579). According to the inscription of ownership in a Syrian manuscript (Brit. Mus., MS. Syr., No. 295), it belonged to a certain Rabban Barsawmā of Ḳal'a Rōmaitā, high priest of Ra'bān who in a note refers to the harsh imprisonment which he suffered from the Egyptians; Armenian verses on the fall of the fortress are preserved on a relic casket (Wright, *Catal. syr. Mss. Brit. Mus.*, i. 231^b; Carrière, *Inscription d'un reliquaire arménien*, in *Mélanges orientaux*, Paris 1883, p. 210, note 1; Promis, *Mem. dell' accad. di Torino*, xxxv., 1884, p. 125–130). The inscription on the great gate of the citadel which was restored by al-Ashraf (cf. above, vol. ii., p. 235a) speaks of him as a victor who among other feats had put the Armenians to flight, an allusion to the capture of Rūm Ḳal'a (van Berchem, in *J. A.*, 1902, May–June, p. 456; the inscription published by Sobernheim, in *Ist.*, xv., 1926, p. 176). The sultan sent boastful bulletins of victory to the cities of Syria in which he proclaimed the capture of this impregnable citadel as an unprecedented feat of arms and concluded with the words: "After the capture of this fortress, the road is open to us to conquer the whole of the East, Asia Minor and the 'Irāk so that with God's will we shall become owners of all the lands from the rising of the sun to its setting" (al-Nuwairi, MS. Leyden, fol. 58, transl. by Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iv. 183 sq.).

The fortress of Ḳal'at al-Rūm was rebuilt by orders of the sultan by the *nā'ib* of Syria, Sandjar Shudjai, and given the name of Ḳal'at al-Muslimin; another part of the town was left in ruins however (Quatremère, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, II/i., p. 139 sq.).

The successor of the imprisoned Armenian patriarch Stephanos, Grigor VII of Anavarza (1293–1307) took up his residence in Sis in Cilicia, which henceforth was the seat of the Catholics. Rūm Ḳal'a, in spite of its restoration as a frontier fortress (cf. also Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 226; al-Dimishkī, ed. Mehren, p. 214), under the Mamlūks never seems to have recovered from the blow. In 775 (1373–1374) much damage was done by floods in Ḳal'at al-Muslimin as well as in Ḥalab, al-Ruhā', al-Bira and Baghdad (al-Ḥasan b. Habib, *Durrat al-Astāk fī Dawlat al-Atrāk*, in Weijers, *Orientalia*, ii., Amsterdam 1846, p. 435).

In the spring of the year 1477 the Mamlūk sultan Ḳā'itbai made a tour of inspection as far as Ḳal'at al-Muslimin (described by al-Djirān Abu 'l-Bakā', ed. R. V. Lanzzone, *Viaggio in Palestina e Soria di Kaid Ba*, Torino 1878; transl. R. L. Devonshire, in *Bulletin I. F. A. O.*, xx., Cairo 1921, p. 1–43). After the battle of Mardj Dābiq, the fortress became Ottoman and in modern times came under the pashalik of Ḥalab (Ḥādjdī Khalifa, *Djikhān-numā*, p. 598).

The Armenian and European authors give the name Rūm Ḳal'a or Ḳal'at al-Rūm in many forms. Among the Armenians we find the forms Htōm-klay, Klay-Hōfōmakan, vulg. Arm. Oufōum-gala (works of St. Nersēs, St. Petersburg, p. 80; his poems, Venice, p. 224, 277; Indjidjean, *Altertümer Armeniens*, iii. 278; Saint-Martin, *Mémoires... de l'Arménie*, i., Paris 1818, p. 196). Gulielmus Tyrius (*Histor.*, xvii. 16) writes *Ranculath*; but it is no doubt identical with his *Rangulath* (xi. 11; French text, ed. Paulin Paris, ii., Paris 1880, p. 164), which however he takes to be a quarter

of Edessa. Schiltberger (*Reise*, p. 47) calls the fortress *Urumkula*.

Only a few remnants of the fortress now remain as well as of an Armenian monastery and a mosque (plans of the fortress in Moltke and following him in Humann-Puchstein, *Reisen...*, p. 175, and in A. Nöldeke, in *Peterm. Mitt.*, 1920, pl. 3, map: *Plan von R. K. in 1:2000*; photographs: F. Frech, in *Geogr. Zeitschr.*, xxii., 1916, pl. 1; Cumont, *Études syriennes*, p. 170, fig. 54; from the north: Humann-Puchstein, *op. cit.*, p. 176, fig. 25; from the east with the Euphrates: A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, pl. 13).

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(E. HONIGMANN)

RUMELI, RUMELIA. The name *Rum-eli*, *Rum-ili* (i. e. land of the Rhomaeans) was given in the narrower sense to the province proper of this name, which comprised Thrace and Macedonia i. e. an area which was bounded on the north by the Balkans, in the east by the Black Sea and the Bosphorus, in the south by the sea of Marmara and the Aegean, the so-called White Sea, then by the Olympus range and in the west by the Pindos, Barnos and Shar-Dagh (Šar planina), embracing the old territories of Thrace, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Serbia and Albania as well as the ancient Hellas, with the exception however of the strip of coast and all the islands of the Aegean or Archipelago, which were a separate governorship (*djezā'ir*) under the Grand Admiral (*kapudan paša*; q. v.; after 1849 the *Djezā'ir-i Bahr-i Sefid* formed an *eyālet*, cf. *Revue de l'Orient*, xvi. 117, and later a *wiyālet*).

The governorship of Rumelia (*Rum-eli eyālet*?)

was bounded in the north by Austria and Wallachia, in the northeast by Moldavia and Russia, in the east by the Black Sea, in the southwest by the Ionian Sea and in the west by the Adriatic, in the north west by Austria and Bosnia [q. v.]. It is to be noted that these frontiers include the *sandjaks* [q. v.] belonging to the governorship of the Archipelago (*djema'ir eyaleti*) Gallipoli [q. v.], Negropont (Eghripos, Euboea) and Ainebakhti (Nau-pactos), the former of which comprised the coast from Stambul to the exit of the *Qara Su* into the Aegean Sea with a considerable stretch of land running into the interior, the second and third of which comprised the east and south coast of Greece proper with the exception of the Morea (Peloponesus). The area of the province at its greatest extent was estimated at about 5,100 square miles while the population was estimated at not more than 5—5½ millions of different nationalities (*millet*), Turks (Ottomans, who, although the ruling nation, formed the smallest part), Tatars, Greeks, Slavs, Arnauts, Armenians, Jews and Gipsies. The predominant religion was Islām, while of the Christian confessions that of the so-called non-uniat Greeks was the largest.

The residence of the *beglerbeg* of Rumelia was at first Philippopolis (Filibe, now Plovdiv), which was conquered by the Ottomans in 1363. The first governor to reside there was Lālā Shāhin Pasha, conqueror of that country, whose *türbe* is still to be seen not far from Stara Zagora. In 787 (1385) there appears Timurtash-Beg [q. v.] as *beglerbeg* (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 191, following Feridūn-Beg) with his residence in Sofia.

The governorship of Rumeli was divided into *sandjaks*, the number of which varied in course of time and the boundaries of which were constantly changing. About 1830 there were 24 of them, namely: Wiza, Kırk Kilise [q. v.], Silistria (Silistra), Nikopolis [q. v.], Widin, Sofia, Çirmen, Küstendil, Selānik [q. v.], Tirhala (Trikkala; q. v.), Yānia (Ioānnina), Delōnia (Delvina), Awlōna (Valona), Elbašan (cf. F. Babinger, *Die Gründung von Elbasan*, in *M.S.O.S.*, ii., vol. xxiv., 1931, p. 84—93), Iskenderiye (Scutari, Albania), Dukaghin (Dukadzin), Okhri (Ohrid, Ochrida), Perzerin (Prizren), Velētrina (Vučitrn), Üsküb (Skoplje), Aladja Hışar (Kruševac) and Semendria (Semendria, Smederovo). By an imperial *khatt-i sherif* of 6th Rabi' I 1252 (June 21, 1836) the area under the *Rüm-ili wālisī*, governor of Rumelia, was redefined. As previously the position of Sofia as the centre of administration had favoured the rebellion of treacherous vassals and attempts to secure independence by the mountain tribes especially in Albania, Monastir (Toli Monastir, now Bitolj) at the S. E. extremity of this area was chosen as the centre of government. The province of the *Rüm-ili wālisī* was divided as follows: 1. the district of the town of Monastir directly under the governor, 2. the personal estates of the sultān's mother (*wālide*) or the land of Okhri, 3. the *sandjaks* of Elbašan, Kavaja, Tirana [q. v.] and Lesh (Alessio), which were governed by Arnaut governors who could be dismissed, 4. the *paschaliks* of Ishkodra (Iskenderiye, Scutari), Perzerin (Prizren) and Ipek (Peć) which were under military officers (generals of division, *ferik's*), 5. the *a'yānlik's* Podgorica, Bar (Antivari), Ulcinj (Dulcigno), which were under native hereditary *a'yān* whose powers

were very minutely regulated, 6. the districts of Zadrim, Mirdit, Dibra (Debar) which were under chiefs self-elected, the only Turkish officials being those who collected the taxes. The *paschaliks* of Priština, Niš [q. v.] and Tetovo, originally part of the *eyalet* of Rumili, were transferred in 1839 to the *müşir* of Sofia. The *paschaliks* of Üsküb (Skoplje) and Kalkandelen (Tetovo) were only under the political supervision and not the administration of the *Rumili wālisī*, while the northern Arnaut tribes and Montenegro (Karadagh), although nominally under the governor of Rumeli and in particular the pasha of Scutari, in reality were in no organic connection with the Ottoman government (cf. Josef Müller, *Albanien, Rumelien und die österreichisch-montenegrinische Gränze*, Prague 1844, p. 2—3). The remainder of the former Rumili was divided into *paschaliks* of which Adrianople (formerly called "*sandjak* of Çirmen"), as Adrianople was the chief residence of the sultān; in 1840 there were still law-courts in Çirmen) and the three Bulgarian *paschaliks* of Ruschuk [q. v.], Vidin and Silistria were the most important (cf. Ami Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, vol. iii., Paris 1840, p. 181—189 with further details of the division and of the officials in 1840). The division continued to change frequently so that J. Gg. v. Hahn in 1860 found the *eyalet* of Rumelia divided into four *livās*, namely Ishkodra, Okhri, Monastir and Kesriye (Kastoria) of which Ochrida comprised the whole of Central Albania i. e. down to the coast of the Adriatic (cf. J. Gg. v. Hahn, *Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik*, Vienna 1861, p. 116 = *Denkschriften der Wiener Ak. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.*, vol. xi.). Rumelia remained divided in this way until 1864, when the first *wilāyet* law — i. e. the law the object of which was to create larger provinces and entrust them to able governors — was promulgated. The new governors were to carry through the progressive plans of the government with the help of expert officials and numerous subordinate governors (*mutesarrifs*). The governor-generalships, formerly *eyālets*, now called *wilāyets* at the head of which was a *wāli*, remained divided into *livās*, formerly *sandjaks*, at the head of which was a *mutesarrif*. As a model province the Danube *wilāyet* (*Tuna wilāyeti*) was first created in Radjab 1281 (Dec. 1864) and entrusted to Midhat Pasha [q. v.] who had already made a name for himself as governor of Niš and Prizren. The *wilāyets* of Salonica and Yānia (Ioānnina) were formed in 1867. The name Rumili, Rumelia disappeared completely until it was revived in 1878. In this year by the treaty of Berlin, the new principality of Bulgaria, which was declared an independent tributary principality recognising the suzerainty of the sultān, was created and limited to Bulgaria on the Danube, the former Danube *wilāyet* (*Tuna Wilāyeti*). From the trans-Balkan district of southern Bulgaria, an autonomous province of Turkey was formed and called eastern Rumelia (cf. Carl v. Sax, *Geschichte des Machtverfalls der Türkei*², Berlin 1913, p. 373, 446). Aleko Pasha from 1879 to 1884 and Gavril Pasha from 1884 to 1885 acted as governors there. Western Rumelia formed part of the Ottoman empire and was divided into three *wilāyets*: Adrianople, Salonica and Monastir. While Eastern Rumelia was occupied by the Bulgars in 1885, by the peace of Bucarest (1913) Monastir (Bitolj) was ceded to Serbia and Salonica to Greece and

only the *wilāyet* of Adrianople [q. v.] remained to the Ottoman empire.

The history of Islām in Rumeli, which is closely associated with the expansion of Ottoman power on European soil, is still very obscure, at least as regards the xivth-xvth century. Political dissensions and the mixture of peoples favoured in Rumelia more than elsewhere the formation of sects, so that even directly after the arrival of the Ottoman on European soil (cf. Johs. Draeseke, *Der Übergang der Osmanen nach Europa im XIV. Jahrh., in Neues Jahrbuch für das klassische Altertum*, xxxi. 7 sqq. and H. A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1916), perhaps even earlier in the Byzantine period, as is clearly shown by the not sufficiently explained problem of the *Shi'ī* sectarian *Şarī Saltık Dede* (q. v.; i. e. "Father Yellow Pate", as an English traveller of 1652 explains the strange name), not to speak of the obscure history of the Turks in the Wardar valley (Wardariots), all kinds of Muslim sects developed in Rumeli, the study of which has not yet been begun. Islām was built upon all kinds of religious ideas and a kind of syncretism was created which raises difficult problems for the study of religions. In particular we must recall the converts to Islām, formerly Bogomiles, who inhabited certain areas of Bulgaria, Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and the Muslim sects and derwish monasteries of northern Bulgaria, where the *Kızılbaşes* have flourished down to the present day, being undoubtedly favoured in their rise by the remarkable sectarian *Şaikh* Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (d. 1416 in Serres; cf. IBN KĀDĪ SIMAWNA and Fr. Babinger, *Sheikh Bedr ed-Dīn, der Sohn des Richters von Simaw*, Berlin and Leipzig 1921), who gained an astonishingly large following in Southern Bulgaria, particularly in Deli Orman [q. v.]. Closely connected with the advance of Ottoman power is the history of the *Bektashīs* [q. v.] in Rumeli. They founded settlement everywhere (cf. F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, 2 vols.), and quickly propagated *Shi'a* views as far as the coast of the Adriatic. At the same time in Bulgaria, in the inaccessible forests of the vast Deli Orman, the *Kızılbaşes* seem to have made considerable progress (cf. thereon also T. Kowalski, *Les Turcs et la langue turque de la Bulgarie du Nord-Est*, Cracow 1933). Their still unelucidated history there seems to be closely connected with the holy man Demir Baba and his brothers and descendants who are still to be found there (cf. F. Babinger, *Das Bektashikloster von Demir Baba*, in *M. S. O. S.*, ii., vol. xxxiv., Berlin 1931, p. 84 sqq.; cf. thereon already Ewliyā Çelebi, *Siyāhatnāme*, vol. v., p. 579). After the prohibition of the derwish orders in Turkey, banished *shaikhs* and monks to some extent have sought refuge here and found followers. As well as in Bulgaria the derwishes have flourished in the modern Southern Serbia where monasteries of the different orders are still to be found (cf. D. G. Gadžanov, in vol. i. of the *Makedonski Pregled*, Sofia 1925, p. 59—66). A problem not yet fully explained is raised by the Pomaks [q. v.] in the Rhodope mountains and round Lofča (now Loveč; the so-called *Pomak nāhiye*; cf. A. Boué, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 24) and the Gagauz on the coast of the Black Sea. But even the history of official Islām in Rumelia still requires investigation. It is certain that in many places like Adrianople [q. v.], Philippopolis,

Sofia, Šumla (Šumen), Razgrad (Hezarghrad), Dupnica, Küstendil, Lofča (Loveč), Plevna (Pleven) where there were the numerous and rich *wakfs* and buildings of the *Mikhal-oghlu*; cf. Jordan Trifunov, *Istoria na grada Plēven do osvoboditel-nata vojna*, Sofia 1933, p. 35—41), Üsküb, İstip (Štip), Prizren, Priština, Kaḳandelen (Tetovo), Prilep, Monastir (Toli-Monastir, Bitolj), and particularly in Thessaly and Macedonia, there were formed centres of Muslim culture, as the schools, mosques etc. founded there show. In these centres were born men who made a name for themselves in the intellectual history of Turkey. Üsküb, Prizren and Priština in particular are rich in such names and it may be assumed that their bearers were mainly South Slavs converted to and Islām. Epirus Albania play a special part in the cultural history of Islām; from there the Ottoman empire, apart from Bosnia and the Herzegovina, drew its ablest and greatest statesmen and generals, for the supply was in the main maintained by the tribute of youths (*dewshirme*; q. v.) levied in the Balkans. The number of men born in Rumelia who played an important part in the political and intellectual life of Turkey is legion. They were almost exclusively natives, not Ottoman immigrants, the number of whom must always have been small, as the Turks confined themselves to exploiting the land, divided into large and small fiefs (*zi'āmet* and *tīmār*; q. v.). Ami Boué put the number of Turkish fiefs at 614 *zi'āmet* and 8,360 *tīmār* (cf. A. Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, vol. iii., Paris 1840, p. 182, without however saying to what date his figures refer).

The rule of the Ottomans in Rumeli, which began with the crossing of the Turks to European soil (1356—1357) and soon found visible expression in the capture of Adrianople in the spring of 1361 (cf. F. Babinger, in *M. O. G.*, ii. 311 and the article *ORKHAN*), is only very superficially known, so far as the xivth and even the first half of the xvth century is concerned. It is to be supposed that certain bases such as Salonica frequently changed hands, which is the simplest way to explain the different dates given of the capture of this town for example. In view of the great political dismemberment of S. E. Europe the advance of the Ottomans met with varying degrees of resistance, and it looks as if the great Ottoman generals of the xivth and xvth centuries, who distinguished themselves on Rumelian soil and soon won tremendous influence as margraves and great landowners — e. g. the Ewrenos-oghlu, the Mikhal-oghlu, the Timurtash-oghlu, the Malkoç-oghlu, the Kawanos-oghlu, a "feudal family of Asia Minor" (C. J. Jireček), who ruled in and around Tatar Bazar-djık since the xvith century, but perhaps already much earlier, till the year 1835 when the *wālī* of Rumelia for the second time Kawanos-zāde Ḥusain Paşa died (cf. *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, ii. 223 sq. and *ibid.*, ii. 206), families [see the articles on them] who were able to hold their hereditary estates in some cases down to the sixteenth century — were able to win over by an elastic policy the people who had lost their own princes and chiefs. In the course of centuries some tribal chiefs were here and there (especially in Albania and Epirus and in Thessaly) to make themselves more or less independent of the Porte so that they had to be granted a certain degree of autonomy. This is shown by the case of the Yürükbeys, of whom there were 7 in Rumelia about 1840, and

particularly of the *ayān* in Albania who were able to make themselves more or less independent. The case of 'Alī Pasha of Janina [q. v.] and his whole family is the most eloquent example of this. Although the decline of Turkish rule in Rumelia has now been going on for over a century, the influence of Turkish culture there is in many ways so distinct that even if there were no monuments of the Muslim period to recall the past, it will remain in manners, customs and traditions.

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tienne, Paris 1866. — The Slav peoples of Rumelia are dealt with by: Albert Dumont, *Le Balkan et l'Adriatique. Les Bulgares et les Albanais. L'administration en Turquie. La vie des campagnes. Le Panславisme et l'Hellénisme*, Paris 1873², Paris 1873; Cyprien Robert, *Les Slaves de Turquie, Serbes, Monténégrins, Bosniaques, Albanais et Bulgares, leurs sources, leurs tendances, et leur progrès politique*, Paris 1844 (², *ibid.*, 1852, with an *Introduction nouvelle sur leur situation pendant et depuis leurs insurrections de 1849 à 1851*); Mackenzie and Irby, *Travels in the Slavonian provinces of Turkey*, London 1866 etc.; suggestive descriptions of travel in Rumelia are given by A. Viquesnel, *Voyage dans la Turquie d'Europe. Description physique et géologique de la Thrace*, Paris 1856, with atlas; H. F. Tozer, *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey*, 2 vols., London 1869; Anton Tuma, *Die östliche Balkan-Halbinsel*, Vienna 1886; do., *Griechenland, Makedonien oder die südliche Balkan-Halbinsel*, Vienna 1888; Léon Hugonnot, *La Turquie inconnue: Roumanie, Bulgarie, Macédoine, Albanie*, Paris 1885; Dora d'Istria (i. e. Helene Prinzessin Ghica), *Excursions en Roumélie et en Morée*, Paris 1862—1863; E. Parmentier, *Voyage dans la Turquie d'Europe*, Paris 1890; James Baker, *Turkey in Europe*², London 1877 (German transl.: *Die Türken in Europa*, transl. by Karl Emil Franzos, 1st and 2nd [title] ed., Stuttgart 1878—1879; French: *La Turquie d'Europe*, Paris 1882); Sir Charles Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*², London 1908; Heinrich Barth, *Reise quer durch das Innere der europäischen Türkei* (in the Berlin *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, 1863—1864, also separately). — The principal Ottoman sources for our knowledge of Rumelia are: Hādjīdī Khalifa [q. v.], *Rumeli und Bosna*, transl. by Jos. v. Hammer, Vienna 1812 (cf. thereon Fr. Taeschner, in *M.O.G.*, vol. ii., Hanover 1926, p. 308 sqq.), and the travels of Ewliyā Ćelebi [q. v.], parts of whose sections on Rumelia have been translated into various European languages: Albania: cf. Fr. Babinger, *Ewlija Ćelebi's Reisewege in Albanien*, Berlin 1930; Greece: S. A. Hudaverdolu Theodotos, in *Ελληνικά*, vol. iv., Athens 1931, p. 429—438 (cf. do., in *Message d'Athènes*, N^o. 2960 of Dec. 21, 1931: *Un voyageur turc en Grèce au XVII^{ème} siècle*) and Ioannis Spatharis, in *Θρακικά*, vol. iv., Athens 1933, p. 113—128, vol. v., Athens 1934, p. 179—217, also Jean Deny, *Un voyageur turc en Tsakonie*, in Hubert Pernot, *Introduction à l'étude du dialecte Tsakonien*, Paris 1934, p. 497—508; Bulgaria: D. G. Gadžanov, in *Periodičesko spisanie na bǎlgarskoto knižovno družestvo v Sofija*, vol. lxx., Plovdiv 1909; on South Slavia cf. the literature collected by F. Babinger, *Ewlija Ćelebi's Reisewege in Albanien*, p. 1, note; on the Dobrudža, Rumania etc. cf. the extensive literature collected by F. Babinger, *Robert Bargrave, un voyageur anglais dans les pays roumains du temps de Basile Lupu (1652)* (= *Academia Română, Memoriile secțiunii istorice, seria III, tomul XVII, mem. 7*, Bucarest 1936), p. 10, note 3. — On the Ottoman geographer Mehmed 'Ashīk b. 'Ömer, who included Rumelia in his work, cf. F. Babinger, in *M.O.G.*, i. 163 sqq. and do., *G.O.W.*, p. 138 sq.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

RUMILI HİŞÂR [See ANADOLİ HİŞÂR.]

RUPĪYA (P.), an Indian coin, a rupee. In the latter xvth and early xvth centuries the silver *tanka* [q.v.] of the sultāns of Dehli had become so debased that when Sher Shāh (1539—1545) reformed the coinage, the name could no longer be given to a silver coin. To his new silver coin, corresponding to the original fine silver *tanka*, he therefore gave the name rupīya = rupee, i.e. the silver coin (Sanskrit, *rūpya*, *rūpaka*), and *tanka* became a copper denomination. The weight of the rupee was 178 grains (11.53 grms.) and it rapidly established itself in popular favour. Under the Mughals it was struck all over India at over 200 mints and with the decline of Mughal power continued to be struck by their successors, notably the English East India Company. In the xviith century Akbar and Djahāngir struck many square rupees; on one coin of Akbar the name rupīya occurs. Djahāngir for a short period struck a heavy rupee of 220 grains (14.259 grms.), but on the whole the rupee has shown little variation in weight. In the xixth century the English rupee gradually drove the local issues out of circulation and with few exceptions the local mints have now been closed. Such native states as still issue their own rupees strike them on the same standard as the Indian government rupee.

Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī adopted the rupee as his monetary unit on becoming independent and until quite recently it remained the standard coin of Afghānistān. The Hindu kings of Assam also struck the rupee.

The Indian rupee having become current in British East Africa, it was adopted in 1890 as the standard coin of German East Africa also.

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RŪS, the Russians; at first the Normans, then the founders of the dukedom of Kiev.

The Rūs of the west. In his description of Spain Ya'qūbī, *B.G.A.*, vii. 354, says that in 229 (843—844) "the Madjūs called Rūs" invaded Seville and committed all kinds of depredations. The name Madjūs [q.v.] is regularly applied to the Normans. The name even passed into the Spanish *Primera Crónica General* (xiiith century) according to which the *Almouices* were worshippers of fire (!). The origin of this use of *madjūs* is obscure. Did the Arabs and Spaniards allude to such rites as the cremation of the dead [cf. Ibn Faḍlān]? Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i. 364—365, speaking of events in Spain about 300 (912—913) also uses the term Rūs although he gives it a special meaning.

The Rūs of the east. There is quite a literature on the origin of the name of the Russians. The "Norman" school claims that the name *Rus'* belongs to the Normans; the Finns call the Swedes *Ruotsi* whence in Russian *Rus'* (Рѹсь), the name of the Finns *Suomi* similarly becomes in Russian *Sum'* (Сѹмь); the basis of *Ruotsi/Rus'* must be a Scandinavian word (cf. the names of the coast *Roslagen* and of its inhabitants

Rods-karlar "rowers"). The names of the earliest Russian princes are undoubtedly Scandinavian (R'urik < *Hroerekkr*, Igor < *Ingvær* etc.); the testimony of Constantine Porphyrogenetus (chap. ix.) is equally positive; in his list of the cataracts on the Dniepr, he gives the names "in Russian" (ῥωσσιστι) and "in Slav" (σλαβενιστι), e.g. Οὐλβορι < in Scandinavian **hólm* "isle" + *fors* "rapids" = Ὀστραβονίπρασ < in Slav *ostrov'nŷy* "of the isle" + *prag* "the cataract". The "anti-Norman" school pronounces in favour of the native origin of the name but its arguments are mainly useful to show certain contaminations of the term *Rus'* (in Greek Ῥῶς, Ῥωσία) by names in Hebrew (Ῥῶς, Ezek., Septuag., xxxviii. 2—3; xxxix. 1), Greek (ῥοσία χελάνδια "the red boats") etc. [It is evident that the *asḥāb al-Rass* mentioned in the Qur'ān with the 'Ad and Thamūd (Sūra xxv. 40 and l. 12) have nothing to do with the Araxes or the Russians, in spite of the late texts, Dimishkī, text, p. 106, transl. Mehren, p. 131 and the fancies of European commentators like v. Hammer, *Sur les origines de l'état russe*, St. Petersburg 1825, p. 24—29].

According to the Russian Chronicle, the Varangians (Var'ag; see below) came from beyond the sea in 859 and levied tribute on certain Slav and Finnish peoples until in 862 they were driven away by the latter. The civil wars which broke out soon afterwards among them, however, forced these tribes to invite from beyond the sea "the Varangians called Rus'". The *Rus'* at first settled in the region of the great Russian lakes (Ilmen, Ladoga) but in 882 Oleg (< *Helgi*) moved to Kiev. This was certainly not the first appearance of the "Russians" for previously under 839 the *Annales Bertiniani* mention the arrival at the court of Louis the Pious of a Byzantine embassy accompanied by envoys from the *Rhos* whom their king *Chacanus* had sent to Constantinople and who now wished to return home. An enquiry as to their identity showed that they were Swedes (*gentis esse Sueonum*). The Normans in Kiev were not numerous and their marriages with Slav women accelerated their assimilation. Sviatoslav (born in 942) already has a Slav name and c. 1000 the process of slavisation of the Normans was complete (cf. Thomsen, *op. cit.*, p. 123—124).

The sources of the ixth and xth centuries. The Muslim sources are acquainted with the Rūs from their first appearance in eastern Europe. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 154, mentions only Rūs merchants whom he regards as "a kind of Slavs" (*djins min al-Ṣaḳāliba*), and describes their journeys (by sea: from the remotest parts of the *Ṣaḳlaba* to the Black Sea, to the Khazar capital and the Caspian Sea, and by land: from Tangier to Damascus, Baghdad, Basra and then into India and China; or again they travelled still farther beyond [= to the north of] Rome through the Slav countries to reach the Khazar capital, Balkh, the lands of the Toghuzghuz and China; cf. Ibn Faḳīh, p. 271). Ibn Khurdādhbih does not assign any definite territory to the Rūs. It is true that the available text of his book is incomplete but another detail is significant. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 154, speaks of *nahr al-Ṣaḳāliba* "which de Goeje identifies with the Tanais (Don) [Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 352, reads *Tin* for *Don*]. The term later disappears from geographical literature but Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 276, and the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*

speak of a "river of the Rūs" and although the meaning they give to the term is doubtful, it is possible that their nomenclature indicates the transformation of the *Ṣaḳālība* into *Rūs* while Ibn *Khurdādhbih* reflects the situation before the consolidation of Norman power in Russia. [In Idrīsī, ii. 385, the *Nahr al-Rūsīya* is certainly the Don].

On the other hand, the common source [Muslim b. Abi Muslim?; cf. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 190] used by Ibn Rusta, the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, Gardizī, 'Awfi, etc. formally distinguishes between the Rūs and the Slavs. The latter (probably the western Slavs) lived under their own princes, while the Rūs occupied an island three days' march in length and breadth, situated in the middle of a lake. Their king bore the title of *khākān Rūs*. This version seems to refer to the sojourn of the Norman chiefs in the region of the great Russian lakes (cf. Novgorod, in Scandinavian *Hölm garðr* "the Town of the Lake"!). The *Hudūd al-'Ālam* adds that the Russians have many towns and Gardizī says that the population of the island is 100,000 men (*mardum*); these additions may reflect the gradual expansion of the Rūs or rather their amalgamation with the Slavs.

The third tradition is represented by Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Hawqal (< Abū Zaid Balkhī) who place the Rūs between Bulghār and the Slavs. The point from which the description starts must be the town of Bulghār on the Volga. Three groups of Rūs are described. The king of the group nearest the Bulghār lives in **Kūyāba* (Kiev; Const. Porphy., ch. 9: *Κιόβα, Κιόβα*). The most remote are the *Ṣalāwīya* (probably the original inhabitants of Novgorod, the *Sloveni*). The third group are the *Arthāniya* whose king lives in *Arthā* (many variants, reading doubtful). They are savages who kill strangers; they come down the rivers to export the skins of black *samūr* and lead (*riṣāṣ*). Since the time of Fraehn, *Arthā* has usually been explained as *Erz'a*, the name of the eastern branch of the Finnish people Mordva (in the basin of the Sura, a tributary of the Volga to the west of Kazan). Another explanation (Reinaud, Chwolson) which starts with the variant *ألارقا* and explains **Abārma* by Biarmia (Perm) is very doubtful. In both cases, it is necessary to suppose the previous subjection of these regions by the Rūs. In a recent work P. Smirnov seeks to prove the existence of a Russian "*khākānat*" in the region between the Volga and the Oka, cf. the incident quoted above from the *Annales Bertiniani*. Cf. also M. Vasmer, *Wikingerspuren in Russland*, in *S. B. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1931, p. 649—674, on the traces of Scandinavian place-names on the Upper Volga.

The fourth independent source is Mas'ūdī (cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 330—353). In the *Murūdj*, ii. 15, he calls the Black Sea "Sea of the Rūs" for they are the only people who sail upon it and they live on one of its shores. This last allusion may be to the Russian colony of Tmutarakan (*Ταμταράκη*, the ancient *Θαναγόρεια* on the peninsula of Taman) [although Westberg and Marquart, *op. cit.*, suppose the Baltic to be meant here]. Among the many tribes that composed the Rūs, Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii. 18, mentions *اللودغانة* = *Tanbih*, p. 141; *الكودكانة*, who trade with Spain, Rome, Constantinople and the *Khazars*. This name is probably identical with *الأردمانيون* *al-Urdmān* <

**Nordmān* of the Arab chroniclers of Spain [cf. MAḌJŪS] and with the *Lordmani* of the Latin chronicles, i. e. the Northmen. [Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 352, prefers to connect the word with *الأندانية* but in Ibn *Khurdādhbih*, p. 153, this name refers to Jewish merchants].

An attempt to define the frontiers of Russian territory is made in the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (372 = 682) but it cannot be regarded as very successful.

Of first rate importance for our knowledge of the manners and customs of the Rūs is the narrative of Ibn Faḍlān [q. v.] who in 921—922 observed the customs and funeral rites of the Russians, somewhere on the Volga, perhaps near Bulghār, quoted in Yāqūt, ii. 834—840. The Arabs knew of the expeditions of Sviatoslav against the peoples of eastern Europe (Bulghār, Burtās, Khazar), cf. Ibn Hawqal, p. 286, who dates the expedition in 358 (968—969), instead of 965 as in the Russian chronicles, but Barthold has rightly pointed out that this date really refers to the investigation conducted into the question by Ibn Hawqal, p. 282, at Djurdjān. 'Awfi [q. v.] who wrote before 633 (1236) has preserved the name of St. Vladimir (*Bulādhmīr*, popular etymology "prince of steel") who converted the Russians to Christianity in 988. 'Awfi's version (perhaps collected in *Khwārizm*) puts the date of this event in 300 (912) and adds that the Russians, whose only trade was war, had repented of their conversion and sent envoys to *Khwārizm*, from which an *imām* was sent to convert them to Islām (cf. Barthold, in *Zap.*, ix., 1895, p. 262—267). Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ix. 30 is better informed for he knows the circumstances of the marriage of the *malik al-Rūsīya* (Vladimir) to the sister of the two Byzantine emperors Basil and Constantine; but he puts the event in 375 (985—986; cf. Dimishḳī, transl. Mehren, p. 378).

The Russians on the Caspian Sea. The Muslim statements regarding Russian raids to the south of the Caspian Sea are of considerable value. At the time when the 'Alid Ḥasan b. Zaid (250—270 = 864—884) was ruling in Ṭabaristān the Rūs made a raid on Ābaskūn [q. v.]. In 297 (909—910) the Rūs coming in sixteen ships ravaged the same region. In the following year the Rūs penetrated as far as Sārī and Panjāh-hazār but suffered a defeat in Gilān (cf. Ibn Isfandiyyār, in *G. M. S.*, p. 199). This last raid, according to the commentators (F. B. Charmoy, Kunik), must have taken place in 301 (913) after Igor's accession. Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii. 18—25, describes it in detail "after 300 (912)", during the reign of the *Shirwānshāh* 'Alī b. Haitham. In 332 (943—944) the Rūs ascended the Kur and seized Bardha'a (q. v. and cf. *MUS'ĀḌIRI*; cf. the very circumstantial record in Ibn Miskawaih, *The Eclipse*, ii. 62—67). Dorn's *Caspia*, a book written without any definite system but full of facts, deals especially with these raids. Cf. also Barthold, *M'esto prikasp'iyskikh oblastey*, Baku 1925.

Warank. Another name applied to the Normans, *Warank* (old Russ. *Varęgū*), usually explained as "member of a merchant association who has taken the oath", from the Scandinavian *vár* "promise, contract", is found in Muslim literature at a much later date. Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 35, says that he found the term *Bahr-Warank* only in al-Bīrūnī and in the *Tadhkira* of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī. Cf. al-Bīrūnī, *al-Tafhīm*, ed. R. Wright, 1934,

p. 121, on a large gulf (the Baltic Sea) which separates from the *Baḥr al-Muḥiṭ* and extends north of the Ṣaḫāliba as far as the vicinity of the Muslim Bulghars.

Idrīsī. After the tenth century Idrīsī alone affords any independent information about the Rūs, under clime vi., sect. 5 (the river of the Russians, the towns along the Dniepr) and clime vii., sect. 4 and 5 (the sources of the *Dnys't*, Dniester, Russia and Ḳumāniya, i. e. the land of the Comans); cf. Jaubert's transl., ii. 395—398, 401, 404, 433—434, and the passage (clime vii., sect. 5) transcribed in O. Tallgren-Tuulio, *Idrīsī. La Finlande*, Helsingfors 1930 (*Soc. Orient. Fennica*), p. 115—121. Idrīsī however confuses traditional and contemporary data by putting them in juxtaposition, e. g. *Kūyāba* is mentioned alongside of *Kāw* (Kiev).

Persian poetry. Nizāmī in his *Iskandar-nāma* celebrates Alexander's campaign against the Russians who had devastated Bardha'a and carried off queen Nūshāba, an ally of Alexander's. The king of the Russians who rules over the Burtās, the Khazar, the Alans, the Isū (in Russian *Ves'*) etc., is called

قنطال, perhaps a corruption in transcribing or in hearing the title *kinnāz* (Russ. *knez'*) already found in Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 17. Cf. F. Erdmann, *De expeditione Russorum Berdaam versus*, Kazan 1826, 1828, 1832, 3 vols., and the French translation by F. B. Charmoy, *L'expédition d'Alexandre*, St. Petersburg 1829, English by H. W. Clarke, 1881, *The Sikandar-nama*, p. 663—664, German by G. Jacob, *Iskanders Warägerfeldzug*, 1932 (free and incomplete version). In the *Haft Paikar* of Nizāmī, ed. H. Ritter and Rypka, 1934, p. 11, 178—196 (transl. C. E. Wilson, i. 171—188), is found the daughter of the king of the fourth clime (*sic*), "the fair Slavonian, rosy-red of cheek" who tells a story that happened in a "Russian" town. There is more reality in the odes of Khākānī dedicated to the Shīrwānshāh Akhsitān (530—590 = 1135—1193) from which we learn of a raid by the Russians which this ruler successfully repelled; cf. Khānīkov, in *Bull. Ac. SPb.*, xiv., No. 23—24 (= *Mél. Asiat.*, iii. 114—136).

From the Mongol period. The statements by the later writers regarding the Russians are very fragmentary; cf. for the Mongol period: Djuwainī, i. 224; Abu 'l-Fidā', p. 201, 207 (the Russians, a Turkish tribe), p. 222; Dimishkī, transl. Mehren, p. 131, 378 (the Russians live on the islands of the Maeotis, probably confused with a northern lake); Mustawfī, *Nuṣḥat al-Ḳulūb*, p. 264; and for the period of Timūr: *Zafar-nāma*, i. 759—762 (as well as the geographical introduction to the *Zafar-nāma*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 18406, fol. 13^b, on the Rūs, descendants of Japhet).

Turkish libraries and archives must contain important information about Russia; cf. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 310 and index, as well as the journal of a Turkish officer at St. Petersburg in the time of Catherine II, quoted in V. D. Smirnow, *Obras. proizv. osm. liter.*, St. Petersburg 1891, p. 228—242 (wanting in the edition of 1903). In Persia the Ṣafawī chronicles only mention briefly the Russian embassies; the chronicles of the Ḳādjārs, such as the *Ma'āthir-i sulṭānī* of 'Abd al-Razzāk b. Nadjaf-ḳulī (transl. Brydges), the *Rawḍat al-Safā-yi Nāsirī* of Riḍā-ḳulī Khān, and the *Nāsiḫ al-Tawārīkh* of Siphīr [q. v.], contain information about the Russo-Persian wars and the subsequent

negotiations [cf. TEHERAN]; a curious paragraph no the Russians is to be found in the *Bustān al-Siyāḥa* of Zain al-'Ābidīn Shīrwānī, Teheran 1315, p. 299; of no value from the geographical point of view, it is curious as reflecting the ideas of the Persians about 1830: the Russians, like the other *Firang*, are clever in worldly matters (*dar šurat-garī*), but devoid of spirituality (*djān nadārand*).

Bibliography: See the article SLAVS. — A bibliography of the Muslim sources will be found in the commentary on the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* by V. Minorsky (in *G.M.S.*, in the press). The principal studies on the Muḥammadan sources are: Fraehn, *Ibn Foszlans und anderer Araber Berichten über die Russen*, St. Petersburg 1823; Chwolson, *Izvestiya Ibn Dasta* (read: *Ibn Rusta*) etc., St. Petersburg 1869; Garkavi (Harkavy), *Skazaniya musulm. pisateley*, St. Petersburg 1870 and 1871 (translations from 26 + 6 Arab authors; on the necessity for a new edition of these texts and the preparation of a *Corpus* of Arabic sources on the Russians etc. see Kračkovskiy, in *Zap. Inst. Vost.*, 1932, i. 55—62); Dorn, and Kunik, in *Caspia*, in *Mém. Ac. SPb.*, series vii., vol. xxiii., No. 1, 1875 (Russian edition *ibid.*, vol. xxvi., app. i., 1875); Kunik and Rosen, *Izvestiya al-Bekri*, St. Petersburg, i. (1878) and ii. (1903); A. Seippel, *Rerum Normannicarum fontes arabici*, fasciculus i., textum continens, Christiania, i. (1896), ii. (1928) (variants, critical remarks); Westberg, *Zur Klärung oriental. Quellen*, in *Bull. Ac. SPb.*, 1899, vol. xi, No. 4 and 5, and *Aknalizu vostočnikh istočnikov*, in *Jour. Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1909, xiii. and xiv.; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 330—353 (Mas'ūdī on the Rūs). A general survey of the literature on Russian origins has recently been given by V. Mošin, *Var'ago-russkiy vopros*, in *Slavia*, x. (1931), 1—3. A still valuable survey is that of Thomsen, *The relations between Russia and Scandinavia and the origin of the Russian state*, Oxford 1877 (new edition in Thomsen, *Samlede Afhandlingar*, i., 1919, p. 231—444); many difficult questions are dealt with in the works of Kunik, Marquart, *Streifzüge*, *passim*, and Westberg. Among recent works must be mentioned P. Smirnov, *Vol'skiy shlakh* ("The Volga route and the early Russians"), Kiev 1928 (in Ukrainian; an original work). (V. MINORSKY)

AL-RUṢĀFA (RUṢĀFAT AL-SHA'M, RUṢĀFAT HISHĀM), a town in the desert in the Syrian Palmyrene, 4 farsakhs or 25 miles south of the Euphrates.

The town already bore this name in the pre-Muḥammadan period. The Assyrian lists of eponyms mention in the years 840, 838, 804, 775, 747, and 737 B. C., a town Ra-ṣap-pa as the residence of the Assyrian governor (*shaknu*). On a relief stèle of Adadnirari IV Raṣappa is mentioned among the lands governed by Urīgallu-eresh and formed with Ḳatni (now Tell Djellal on the Khābūr) an administrative district (Unger, *Reliefstèle Adadnirari's III. aus Saba'a*, Publikationen der Ksrli. Osmanischen Museen, ii., Stambul 1916, p. 10—12, pl. 2, l. 23 *sqq.*). The identification of Raṣappa with Beled Sindjār by E. Forrer (*Provinzeinteilung des assyr. Reiches*, Leipzig 1921, p. 15) can hardly be maintained (Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, p. 210 *sq.*). In the Bible (2 Kings xix. 12; Isaiah xxxvii. 12) Resef, for which we should no doubt read Reṣaf, is mentioned along

with Gozan, Ḥaran and Benē 'Eden in Tēlassar. Ptolemy (*Geogr.*, v. 14, 19) mentions our town in Palmyrene as Ῥωσάφα; the *Tabula Peutingeriana* writes Risapa, the geographer of Ravenna (*Cosmogr.*, ii. 15, ed. Pinder-Parthey, p. 89, 1) Risapha, the *Notitia dignitatum* (or., xxxiii. 5, 27) Rosafa, the Metropolitan Alexander of Hierapolis in a letter (*Acta Concil. Oecumen.*, ed. E. Schwartz, tom. i. vol. iv., p. 171, 28) Rasapha. The name (cf. *Rasīf*) means "cemented road" (Clermont-Ganneau, in *R. A. O.*, iv., 1901, p. 112 sq.).

About 434 the town was raised to be a bishopric against the otherwise usual practice by the patriarch Ioannes of Antioch, not by the Metropolitan Alexander of Hierapolis. It was then famous for its church of St. Sergios dedicated to the memory of the martyrdom of the two officers of the imperial palace Sergios and Bacchos ("in the reign of Maximianos") (the *Acta Martyr.*, ed. in Greek by Delahaye, in *Anal. Boll.*, xiv. 373—395; in Syriac by Bedjan, *Acta martyri. et sanctor.*, iii. 283—322, do not bear historical criticism: Harnack, *Chronologie der altchristl. Litteratur*, ii. 481, note; Delahaye, in *Anal. Boll.*, xxiii. 478). The first bishop of Ῥωσάφα was Marinianos, who is mentioned in 434, 444 and 451 (is not mentioned in the list of bishops of Resapha-Sergiopolis in Le Quien, in *O. C.*, ii. 951 sq.; cf. E. Honigmann, in *Oriens Christianus*, xii. 214—217). The emperor Anastasius (491—518) had the thumb of St. Sergios brought from Resapha to Constantinople and stories of the miracles associated with this relic spread even as far as Gaul (Gregor. Turonens., *Hist. Francor.*, vii. 31). In honour of this event the town was given the name Sergiopolis and the privileges of an ecclesiastical metropolis (Ioannes Diakrinomenos in Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca e codd. Paris.*, ii. 109). Perhaps we have Σεργιοπολίτου as early as 512 in the trilingual inscription of Zebed (Neubauer in Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, p. 126, note 1; otherwise in Prentice, *Publ. of the Americ. Archaeol. Exped., Greek and Latin Inscr.*, p. 262). Georgios Kyprios (ed. Gelzer, v. 863) knows as a third name of the town Ἀναστασιούπολις, the correctness of which has wrongly been doubted; probably the great basilica in al-Ruṣāfa also dates from this emperor (Dussaud, *Topographie de la Syrie*, p. 254, who however also wrongly takes Tetrapyrgia to be a name of al-Ruṣāfa). The Syriac name also remained in use (ῥδ [Ῥε]σάφας: Ioannes Moschos, *Pratum spirituale*, chap. 180, in Migne, *Patr. Graec.*, lxxxvii/iii., col. 3052). The Armenian Basileios who in the ixth century sought to transform the profane geography of Georgios Kyprios into an ecclesiastical handbook added to the town the epithet ἡ σήμερον Ῥατταφά (M. Hartmann, in *Z. A.*, xiv. 340 sq.; Chapot, *La Frontière de l'Euphrate*, p. 330, note 8).

Rabban Bar 'Idtā (d. Jan. 8, 611), the teacher of the Persian Yōhannān who wrote his life (Baumstark, *Gesch. d. syr. Litt.*, p. 203, § 31b), was born in Ruṣāfa (E. A. W. Budge, *The history of Rabban Ḥormīz the Persian and Rabban Bar 'Idtā*, i., London 1902, p. 115).

The town, which was situated in the desert βαρβαρικὸν πεδίον (Procop., *Bell. Pers.*, ii. 5, 29; Theophyl. Simoc., ed. de Boor, v. 13, 3; Syriac, *Barbarāyā*: Kugener, in *Oriens Christ.*, 1907, p. 408—412), was at first defended against the Saracens only by fortifications of no great strength; Justinian is said to have been the first to surround

it with proper walls (probably before 542 A. D.) (Procop., *De aedif.*, ii. 9, 3; 9), a statement which however the results of modern archaeological research show to be exaggerated (Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäol. Reise*, i. 138; Guyer, *ibid.*, ii. 28, 37). Justinian also built bazaars and other fine buildings and large cisterns to provide the town with water (Procop., *De aed.*, ii. 9, 6 sqq.).

Khusrāw I, who on his campaign to Syria in 540 had been promised by Kandidos, bishop of Sergiopolis, 200 pounds of gold for the ransom of 12,000 captured inhabitants of Sūra on the Euphrates, on his third campaign in 542 took prisoner the bishop, who had come to meet him to make excuses for not carrying out his promises, and sent a force against the town, which had however soon to withdraw on account of the lack of water (Procop., *Bell. Pers.*, ii. 20, 2—14). Half a century later, the story was already told of the miraculous rescue of the defenceless city by St. Sergios and his heavenly forces (Euagrios, *Hist. eccl.*, iv. 28). About 570 there were five bishoprics under the metropolitan of Sergiopolis (*Notitia Antiochena*, in *Byz. Zeitschr.*, xxv., 1924, p. 75, 83). Besides the already mentioned bishops Marinianos and Kandidos we know of the following metropolitans: in 524 Sargis (Sergios) of Bēth Rōṣāfā (Guidi, in *Atti della R. Accad. dei Lincei*, 1881, p. 507), in 550 Joseph, bishop of the Sacred Monastery of Raṣīfā (Assemani, in *B. O.*, i. 117), 553 Abraamios (Mansi, ix. 390; Wright, *Catal. syr. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, ii. 797b), between 793 and 986 Michael Syrus (*Chron.*, transl. Chabot, iii. 451 sqq., 501 sq.) mentions eleven further Jacobite bishops, and from inscriptions we know of a certain Sergios (between 910 and 922; cf. Mich. Syr., iii. 462, N^o. 18) and Simeon, who, in 1093, restored the great Basilica (Musil, *Palmyrena*, p. 160, 267 sq.).

The veneration and pious awe which was generally felt with regard to the sanctity of the place is shown with particular clearness in the fact that the Ghassānid al-Mundhir b. Ḥārith only dared to meet the Byzantine envoys here (summer of 578) as he felt himself safe nowhere else from their treachery (Johann. Ephes., vi. 4; Nöldeke, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1887, p. 24). At this time the town was apparently not in the possession of the Ghassānid; the inscription ascribed to him *νικῆ ἡ τύχη Ἀλαμουνδάρου*, which was found at the "Central Church extra muros" also indicates that the inner town was still Roman at this date.

In the sanctuary of Sergios at a later date among the gifts dedicated to the saint was shown a richly decorated cross given by Justinian and Theodora, then taken to Persia by Khusrāw I after the plundering of Kallinikos and Barbalissos (Mich. Syr., iv. 296), but given back by his grandson Khusrāw II with another cross and a gift, both of which bore long inscriptions (Euagrios, *Hist. eccl.*, iv. 28; vi. 21; Niceph. Kallist., *Hist. eccl.*, xviii. 21 sq.; Theophyl. Sim., v. 13; Firdawsī 1946, in Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 287, note 1; C. de Boor, in *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, v. 315—322). On his flight to the Byzantines Khusrāw II lived in 590 in Edessa in the house of the general Johannes Rōṣāfāyā, a member of the family of the Bēth Rōṣāfāyē (Mich. Syr., ii. 380, 412; Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, i. 271).

The cistern built by Justinian and later destroyed by a Lakhmid is said to have been restored by the Ghassānid Nu'mān b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Aiham (Hamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 120;

Yākūt, ii. 784; against Nöldeke, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1887, p. 51, who says al-Ḥārith b. Djabala, cf. E. Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, i. 138, note 5; *Jahrb. d. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 1921, p. 112 sq.).

In the Islāmic period this desert town sprang into fame when the caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, who as a prince had moved his *bādiya* from the midge-plagued Euphrates thither, made it his residence in 105 (723–724); he died and was buried here in 125 (743) (al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. de Goeje, ii. 1467, 1729 sq., 1737 sq.; al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 179 sq., 186; H. Lammens, in *M. F. O. B.*, iv. 94 sq.). The town therefore received the name of Ruṣāfat Hishām (al-Balādhuri, *op. cit.*, to distinguish it from Ruṣāfat Baghdād, the eastern suburb of Baghdād with the palace of the same name, cf. vol. i., p. 565); it was also called Ruṣāfat al-Sha'm. Whether Hishām did a great deal of building is doubtful (cf. E. Reitemeyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber*, p. 75).

Other Omayyads also lived occasionally in this town; for example Marwān, Sulaimān b. Hishām and Muḥammad b. al-Walid (al-Ṭabarī, ii. 1897, 1908; iii. 95, 98; Yākūt, ii. 786; Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, i. 139). Shortly after Hishām's death, his successor al-Walid ordered the confiscation of all his predecessor's property in al-Ruṣāfa (al-Ṭabarī, ii. 1751). Sulaimān b. Hishām gathered an army in al-Ruṣāfa in 127 (745), and then encamped opposite Marwān II's army at Kinnasrīn; after his defeat he came back to al-Ruṣāfa (al-Ṭabarī, ii. 1896 sq., 1908; Mich. Syr., ii. 505). The 'Abbāsīd 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī came in 132 (749–750) to al-Ruṣāfa and dishonoured and burned the embalmed body of Hishām (al-Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 427 sq.). 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī [q. v.] spent a night here when fleeing before the army of his nephew Abū Dja'far al-Manṣūr in 754 (Ṭabarī, iii. 98).

In the spring of 244 (858) Mutawakkil came from Damascus to visit the town in order to see the palaces of Hishām and Sulaimān and the old Byzantine monastery (al-Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 379). The sons of Zikrwaih b. Mihrwaih al-Karṣatī fell upon the town in 289 (902) along with the Bani al-Aṣḡagh by order of Subk al-Dailamī, a mawlā of the caliph Mu'taḍid, murdered the inhabitants, burned the mosque and laid waste the neighbouring villages (Ṭabarī, iii. 2219). Ibn al-Faḳīh (in 295 = 908) again mentions al-Ruṣāfa as a flourishing town. Saif al-Dawla passed in 344 (955) from Salāmya via Tadmur, 'Urd and al-Ruṣāfa to al-Raḳqa (M. Canard, *Sayf al-Dawla*, Algiers–Paris 1934, p. 226, 230).

The Arab geographers describe al-Ruṣāfa as situated in the middle of barren desert land; its inhabitants drank only water from cisterns within its walls or when this failed they had to bring water from the Euphrates 3–4 farsakhs distant. Al-Aṣma'ī, who died in 215 (830), tutor of Ḥārūn al-Raṣhīd, identifies the town with al-Zawra' and mentions the wonderful monastery there. The inhabitants had to pay tribute to the Banū Khafāḍja in return for which they were protected. The rich inhabitants were merchants or landowners, the Beduins were labourers. As a flourishing domestic industry the weaving of woollen garments is mentioned (al-Aṣma'ī in Yākūt, ii. 784); in addition to articles of clothing, bags and sacks were manufactured (al-Ḳazwīnī, *Adja'ib*, ed. Wü-

stenfeld, ii. 132 sq.). According to Ibn Buṭlān (in Yākūt, ii. 784 sq.), Ḳaṣr al-Ruṣāfa was smaller than the Dār al-Khalāfa of Baghdād. He describes the church, the outside of which was adorned with gold mosaics, and says it was built by Constantine, son of Helena. Below this church and of the same dimensions was a subterranean cistern panelled with alabaster slabs. The inhabitants of the fortress were for the most part Christians who earned their living by guarding caravans and transporting merchandise, but they also made bargains with thieves and robbers. The desert around al-Ruṣāfa is so flat that one can see to the horizon on all sides. According to al-Idrīsī (transl. Jaubert, ii. 137), the town in his day (1154) had a flourishing market; a much used road led from there through the desert to Salāmya and Ḥimṣ. Yākūt was still able to see in the centre of Ruṣāfat Hishām the monastery of al-Ruṣāfa which, on account of its architectural beauty, he describes as one of the wonders of the world (Yākūt, ii. 660 sq., s. v. *Dair al-Ruṣāfa*). Abu 'l-Fiḍā' (ed. Reinaud, p. 271) gives the distance of the town from the Euphrates as less than a day's journey.

In 1240 the Khwārizmians on their return from Syria came via Salāmya to al-Ruṣāfa; troops from Ḥalab followed them and fought them at Ṣifīn (Abu 'l-Fiḍā', *Annales Muslem.*, ed. Reiske-Adler, iv. 458). In 668 (1269) the inhabitants of al-Ruṣāfa fled from fear of the Mongols to Salāmya; henceforth the town remained uninhabited (B. Moritz, in *Z. G. Erdk. Berl.*, xiii. 174 sqq.; *M. S. O. S. As.*, i., 1898, p. 144).

In 1300 al-Dimishkī (ed. Mehren, p. 205) includes Ṣifīn and Ruṣāfat Hishām, which, as he knew occupied the site of a Greek city, in the district of Bālis, while Ḥādjidjī Khalīfa (Stambul 1145, p. 593) includes Bālis and al-Ruṣāfa in the province of Kinnasrīn with Ḥalab as capital.

The imposing ruins of the town date almost entirely from ancient times. They have in modern times been several times surveyed, thoroughly examined and fully described.

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Ar-Rušāfa, Sergiopolis; Antonin Mendl, *A reconstruction of ar-Rešāfa*, in Musil, *op. cit.*, p. 299—326; on the ancient town: Beer, art. *Resapha*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, vol. I A, p. 620; Honigmann, art. *Sergiopolis*, *ibid.*, vol. II A, p. 1684—1688. (E. HONIGMANN)

RUSČUK, capital of a district and port on the Danube in Bulgaria (often wrongly written and pronounced Ruščuk) in Bulgarian Ruse (*Pyce*; Roussé), is situated at the junction of the eastern Lom (Turk. *Kara Lom*) and the Danube, here 1,400 yards wide, opposite Giurgiu (Gjurgjevo, Turk. *Yer Kökfi*), in part high on the loess plateau, on the state railway from Ruščuk to Varna (since 1866) and Ruščuk to Tirnovo and is one of Bulgaria's nine ports on the Danube (with about 50,000 inhabitants).

After the decay of the mediæval Červen some 15 miles inland, which survived as the name of a Bulgarian eparchy and the ruins of which could still be seen in the xviiith century (cf. *Hādjdji Khalifa, Rumeli und Bosna*, transl. J. von Hammer, Vienna 1812, p. 44), the new Ruse arose on the Danube half a day's journey away. The Turkish name Ruščuk, by which the town is still almost exclusively known outside of Bulgaria, is undoubtedly a diminutive from Ruse (Ruse = Rus-čuk; cf. the name of the island of Rhodes, Turk. *Rodos* and *Rodos-čik* for *Rodosto*; q. v.), but only seems to have come into being in the first third of the seventeenth century. In the two treaties concluded between the Porte and Hungary on Aug. 20, 1503 (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, II, 331 sq. and the text on p. 618: *Rwcz* = Ruse) and April 1, 1519 (cf. Theiner, *Monumenta Hungarica*, II, 624: *Kusly for Russy*) and in Mercator's map of 1584 the Bulgarian form still appears. The town must have already attained considerable prosperity in the xviith century. It quickly developed under Turkish rule and became an important centre of traffic, trade, industry and strategy in Danubian Bulgaria and surpassed the two fortified towns of Nicopolis [q. v.] and Silistria which played the leading part there at the beginning of Ottoman rule (cf. A. Iširkov, *Bulgarien, Land und Leute*, Leipzig 1917, II, 102 sq.). The French traveller Pierre Lescapier, who reached Ruščuk on June 14, 1576, in his valuable journal, which has only been published in part, describes *Rusci* as a populous town: *ceste ville est peuplée et y a quantité de marchandise de toutes sortes et des vivres en abondance et à bon pritz* (cf. *Revue de l'Histoire diplomatique*, vol. xxxv., Paris 1921, p. 46). Shortly before, the famous Ottoman architect Sinān [q. v.] built a mosque there for the grand vizier Rustem Pašha [q. v.] still admired in the xviiith century, presumably in the north at the water's edge. The figure given for the population as for mosques varies; of the latter Ruščuk had at one time a considerable number. The Franciscan Peter Bogdan Bakšić, later archbishop of Sofia, in 1640 found in *Ruhcich* 3,000 Turkish houses with 15,000 inhabitants and 10 mosques of stone (*fatte die pietra bianca*), and 200 Armenian houses with over 1,000 inhabitants and a citadel with five towers (cf. Eug. Fernendžin, *Acta Bulgariae ecclesiastica* = vol. xviii. of the *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, Agram 1887, p. 74). In 1659 Filip Stanoslavov counted 6,000 Turkish wooden houses with over 30 mosques (*ibid.*, p. 263; cf. also p. 7, 10, 26, 31, 88, 137, 299 [*Russi o*

Ruhcich: 1685], 300 with further particulars). Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāhetnāme*, III, 313 sq.; cf. the Bulgarian transl. by D. G. Gadžanov, in *Periodičesko spisanie na bŭlgarskoto kniževno društvo v Sofija*, vol. lxx., Plovdiv 1909, p. 654 sq.) about the same time mentions 2,200 houses of wood, also three Christian quarters, the mosque of Rustem Pašha, baths and three caravan-serais in "Uruschuk". The only Jews, he says, were those who visited the place on their trading journeys. The people, whom he praises for their hospitality, lived by commerce and spoke Bulgarian as well as the "language of Wallachia and Moldavia". Ewliyā Čelebi says the pumpkin (*kawun*) there was particularly good, 10 being sold for 1 *pen(e)* (5 of which = 1 Vienna groschen or 3 kreuzers, 150 = 1 taler).

Ruščuk is regularly mentioned in the many records of travel on the Danube in the following centuries. References to the town in the xviiith and first half of the xixth century are in general agreement. The inhabitants seem at all times to have conducted a busy trade in wool, cotton, silk, leather and tobacco, which at an earlier period was for a considerable part in the hands of Ragusan merchants, who had a settlement there from 1673 to 1755. The English clergyman R. Walsh (1827) estimated the population at 18—20,000 souls. The streets of the town, which was surrounded by walls on three sides after the manner of Turkish fortresses, as a rule sloped steeply to the Danube which part was partly undefended. Turks, Greeks, Bulgars and Armenians lived in some 7,000 houses and conducted a busy trade with Turkey (cf. R. Walsh, *Narrative of a Journey from Constantinople to England*², London 1828, p. 207). Helmuth v. Moltke who visited Ruščuk in 1835 and described it (cf. *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei*³, Berlin 1877, p. II sqq., 132 sqq., 424 sqq.) was surprised that "this important Turkish fortress with its long, dominated and enfiladed lines without outer works, half armed and defectively planned" could offer the enemy such resistance. As an important frontier fortress Ruščuk suffered a great deal in course of centuries. Sieges, conflagrations and bombardments (the last by the Rumanians during the world war on Aug. 28, 1916) continually altered the appearance of the town which with its regular streets and large open spaces no longer has anything of an oriental appearance. In the Turkish period Ruščuk was the residence of a sandjak-bey, at one time of a pašha (about 1840, when Bulgaria was divided into the three pašhalihs of Ruščuk, Vidin and Silistria), until in 1864 it became the capital of the new Danube wilāyet (*Ṭūna wilāyet*) with the so-called *livāṭ*'s of Ruščuk, Varna, Vidin, Tulča, Tirnova (Tirnovo), Sofia and Niš, created and administered by the reformer Midhat Pašha [q. v.] and formed out of the *eyālets* of Silistria, Vidin and Niš [q. v.]. A special printing press was instituted and in addition to a newspaper a *salnāme* (*Ṭūna Wilāyet* *Sālnāmes*) annually published, which gives a good survey of the administrative measures. After the devastation wrought in the Russo-Turkish wars of 1811 and 1828, Ruščuk attained new prosperity as the official residence of a governor (*wāli*). In 1854 Boucher de Perthes estimated that Ruščuk had about 30,000 inhabitants in 4,000 houses (cf. *Voyage à Constantinople*, vol. II., Paris 1855, p. 413 sq.); the German physician C.

W. Wutzer who became acquainted with Rusčuk in the governor-generalship of Sa'īd Mehmed Pašha, thought that the population was only 24—25,000. The number of mosques in Rusčuk is very variously given by travellers. In 1840 F. Hackländer says 29, C. W. Wutzer in 1856 only 16. The fact is that many mosques were destroyed in the fighting. Nowadays (1935) Rusčuk has 19 mosques (*džamā'at*), 9 small mosques (*masājid*) and the monastery of the *Shādhilī* darwishes founded in 1252 (1836). While in the great battle that raged on July 4, 1811 around Rusčuk the fortune of war decided in favour of the Turks under the grand vizier Aḥmad Pašha, and the Russians under Kutusov blew up the defences of the stronghold and retired across the Danube after setting the whole town on fire, in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877—1878 on Feb. 21, 1878, the Ottomans under Kaiseriḥ Aḥmad Pašha had to surrender the town and fortress to the Russians after a long siege. The defences, renewed for the last time in 1877, were razed to the ground in 1881. Since that date the town has been a Bulgarian possession.

Rusčuk was the birth-place of the grand vizier Čelebi-zāde Sherif Hasan Pašha (d. 1205 = 1791; q. v.), of the *kiatib* Amānī Čelebi (d. 1000 = 1591, according to J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iii. 83) and of the famous Ottoman author Aḥmad Sharif Ḥasan Midḥat Bey (1841—1912; cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 389 sq.).

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G. Popov, *Opisanie na Rusčuk*, Russe 1928 (contains an account of the state of Rusčuk in 1860—1879); Mihajl Hadži Kostov, *Minaloto na Ruse*, Rusčuk 1929; the periodical, publ. in Rusčuk and now defunct, *Letopis* in its second year, Nrs. 4, 5, 7, 8 and 9 contained contributions to the history of the town; Johs. Gellert, *Rustschuk*, in *Mittheilungen des Vereins der Geographen an der Universität Leipzig*, Heft 14—15, Leipzig 1936; Sāmī Bey Frāsherī, *Kāmūs ul-A'lām*, iii. 2323. — The bookseller Simeon Simeonov in Rusčuk in 1929 published a guide (96 p.) *Russe v minaloto i dnes, istoričeski, geografski i statističeski beležki to the town* but it paid little attention to Rusčuk's past.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

RUSTAMIDS, a dynasty of Ibādī Khāridjis of Tāhert. The first of the Rustamid imāms, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, of Persian origin, had been made governor of Kairawān when the Khāridjī Berbers of the Djebel Nefūsa, led by Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Ma'fārī [q. v.] seized the town in 141 (758). Three years later (144 = 761), Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath at the head of a strong Arab army recaptured Kairawān. Ibn Rustam fled to the west and founded Tāhert [q. v.] in a region where the Khāridjis must already have been very numerous. Fifteen years later, the Ibādīs conferred the imāmate upon him. Six members of the same family in turn succeeded him. The chronology of their reigns is however rather uncertain. With certain gaps it may be arranged as follows:

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam 160—168 (776—784)
'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān 168—208 (784—823)
Abū Sa'īd al-Aflāḥ b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb 208—258 (823—871)
Abū Bakr b. al-Aflāḥ, dethroned 258—? (871—?)
Abu 'l-Yaḳzān Muḥammad b. al-Aflāḥ ?—281 (?—894)
Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf b. Muḥammad, dethroned 281—? (894—?)
Ya'qūb b. al-Aflāḥ, dethroned. ?
Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf, restored ?
Ya'qūb b. al-Aflāḥ, restored 294—296 (906—908)

The history of the foreign relations of the Rustamids, all that authors like Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn 'Idhārī or al-Bakrī, knew of them, is limited to a few facts. Although the kingdom of Tāhert was surrounded by enemies (the territory of the Aghlabids of Kairawān included the Zāb [q. v.] and the Idrisids of Fās were suzerains of Tlemcen [q. v.]), its existence was not directly threatened for 150 years. We find the second imām, 'Abd al-Wahhāb, associated in the attack by the Khāridjī Berbers (Huwwāra and Nefūsa) on the town of Tripoli which was under the Aghlabid amirs. At the same time the Rustamids, who could not recognise the 'Abbāsīd caliphate and had to defend themselves against the Aghlabids who were vassals of Baghdād, seem to have sought the friendship of the Umayyads of Cordova. Ibn 'Idhārī under 207 (822) mentions the magnificent reception given by the Umayyad 'Abd al-Raḥmān II to an embassy from Tāhert which included the son of the imām 'Abd al-Wahhāb. We also know that this Umayyad had a Rustamid among his viziers (information supplied by E. Lévi-Provençal) and that in 239 (853) al-Aflāḥ received a present of 100,000 dirhems from the

Umayyad Muḥammad I. The reign of this imām al-Aḫḫāḥ saw a conflict between the Rustamids and the Berbers of the region of Tlemcen, partisans of the Idrisids of Fās, in which Tāhert was victorious. Lastly we know how in 296 (908) the kingdom of Tāhert collapsed in a few days before the onslaught of the Kutāma Berbers led by the Shīʿī missionary Abū ʿAbd Allāh [q. v.]. Several Rustamids were put to death and their heads sent to Raḡḡāda and carried through the streets of ʿAīra-wān. Others, among whom according to some authors were the imām Yaʿqūb and his son Abū Sulaimān, were able to escape and reach the oasis of Wargla.

What is of more importance than the relations with the other powers of Spain and Barbary, is the internal life of the Rustamid state which our usual sources ignore but of which we get a glimpse from Ibādī chroniclers like Abū Zakāriyāʾ.

Although hereditary, the succession of imāms was in theory regulated by the vote of the Ibādī community. The imām, regarded as the most worthy, most honourable and best educated man, the temporal and spiritual chief of the state, whose prestige extended to the communities in the east, was in reality under the control of the religious caste: *shurāt*, *mashāʾikh*, *ṭalaba*, the guardians of the strict observance of the laws of the sect.

In a theocratic state of this kind, crises naturally took the form of schisms. The most serious took place during the reign of the second imām, ʿAbd al-Waḥḥāb. At the instigation of a rejected candidate for the imāmate a group of malcontents demanded that the elected imām should rule with the control of a regular assembly. This innovation was put to the Ibādī doctors in the east, who rejected the principle completely. The advocates of the reform separated from the community and formed the sect of the Nukkārīs [q. v.].

A second schism took place in the region of Tripoli on the death of a governor of the province and the question of his successor designated by the imām of Tāhert.

Crises no less serious which seem however to have been more of the character of dynastic rivalries disturbed the peace of Tāhert from the fourth imāmate. The claimants to the throne gained the support of an opposition formed of diverse elements. No less than the religious prestige of the imāms, the resources of the region and the activity of its commerce attracted to Tāhert foreigners from Persia, the ancestral home of the Rustamids, or from different parts of Barbary, Arabs from Ifriḡiyya, Nafūsa from Tripolitania, and Christian Berbers. The Zenāta nomads of Ifriḡiyya and the Central Maghrib frequented its markets and grew rich in them. Among these heterogeneous groups, some, like the Nefūsa, Persians and Christians, showed themselves regularly the supporters of the established authority; while others, the Arabs in particular, and very often the nomads, were disposed to encourage the ambitions of pretenders.

Exposed to the troubles stirred up by its guests and its neighbours, this ideal state had then a somewhat agitated existence. The dynasty included able politicians, like al-Aḫḫāḥ who, using the maxim *divide et impera*, secured peace and whose reign marks the apogee of Rustamid power. Several Rustamids were learned imāms, caring less for their tasks as rulers than for theological speculations, not to mention profane studies like astronomy. Their

surprising tolerance of foreigners, even those hostile to the sect, encouraged the entrance of dissident elements into the administration and prepared the way for the collapse of Tāhert and the annexation of the kingdom by the victorious Shīʿīs.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i. 154; transl., i. 242—243; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, i. 150—151; transl. E. Fagnan, i. 209—210; al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. de Slane (Algiers 1913), p. 67—69; transl. (Algiers 1911), p. 139—141; Abū Zakāriyāʾ, *Kitāb al-Sira wa-Aḫbār al-Aʿimma*, partial transl. by Masqueray (*Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*), Algiers 1898; Ibn Ṣaghīr, *Chronique... sur les imams Rostemides de Tahert*, ed. and transl. A. de C. Motylinski (*Actes du XIV^{ème} Congrès des Orientalistes*, 3rd section, Algiers 1905); al-Barrādī, *Kitāb al-Djawāhir*, Cairo 1302; al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301; R. Basset, *Les sanctuaires du Djebel Nefousa*, in *J. A.*, 1899, ii.; do., *Étude sur la Zenatia du Mzāb d'Ouargla et de l'oued Riv'* (*Publications de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger*, xii.); R. Strothmann, *Berber und Ibāditen*, in *Isl.*, 1928.

(GEORGES MARÇAIS)

RUSTEM PASHA, Ottoman grand vizier and historian, was born in 1500 in the vicinity of Sarajevo (q. v.; cf. the report of the Bailo B. Navagero in Albèri, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato*, ser. iii., vol. 3, p. 89: *d'un casale appresso il serraglio da Bosna*, i. e. Bosna-Serāy), either in Botomir or perhaps on the western border of Sarejevsko polje (cf. Č. Truhelka, in *Bosnische Post*, Sarajevo 1912, N^o. 80, who comes to this conclusion because Rustem Pasha built a bridge with 15 arches over the Željeznica of which remains still exist), of parents probably originally Christian. In a *sidjill* of the Sheriʿat court in Sarajevo, "Nefisa Khanum, daughter of Muṣṭafā and sister of Rustem Pasha" in the middle of Shaʿbān 964 (June 1557) sold through her agent Ḥādīdī ʿAlī Beg b. Khair al-Dīn, *mütevellī* of Rustem Pasha's *beziştān* in Sarajevo, her house there; this gives the name of the father Muṣṭafā. The family are said to have been originally called Opuḳović while Č. Truhelka, *op. cit.*, says the name was Čigalić. The local tradition of Sarajevo knows Nefisa Khanum as a sister of Rustem Pasha and daughter of a Muṣṭafā Beg or Pasha. Rustem Pasha's brother was the *kapudan pasha* (q. v.; grand admiral) Sinān Pasha. As a boy Rustem entered the school for pages in Stambul and then the service of the court. He became stirrup-holder (*riḳābdār*; q. v.), gained the favour of the sultān and was appointed governor of Diyārbakr [q. v.], later of Anatolia. In 1533 he became third and in 1541 second vizier. On Dec. 1, 1544 he received the imperial seal for the first time. In 1553 at his own request Rustem Pasha was relieved of office and retired to Scutari where his wife Mihr-i Māh [q. v.], a daughter of Sulaimān I Ḳānūnī [q. v.], had built a palace. But by 1555 he was again grand vizier, and held this office until his death in July 10, 1561 (28th Shawwāl 968; of the various dates given, this must be the right one; J. H. Mordtmann, in *M. S. O. S.*, xxxii./2 [1929], 38, however, gives the 26th Shawwāl 978 [July 8, 1561] as the day of his death). He was buried in his own splendid *türbe* in Stambul beside the Shah-zāde mosque (cf. *Ḥadiḳat al-Wuzarāʾ* p. 28 sqq.

and Ḥusain b. Ismā'il, *Ḥadīkat al-Diawāmi*, i. 16; wrongly in *Sidjill-i 'othmāni*, ii. 378). In addition to the many buildings, notably mosques, which he erected with his vast wealth in various parts of the empire and for which he employed the great architect Sinān, Rustem Pasha made a reputation for himself by a chronicle of the Ottoman empire, *Tawārikh-i Āl-i 'Othmān*, which goes under his name. In the completest version that has survived, it comes down to 968 (1560—1561). The narrative, as regards the earlier period, closely follows the anonymous *Tawārikh-i Āl-i 'Othmān* and the Annals of Muḥyi al-Dīn Djemālī and Neshri [q. v.]. It is only from the reign of Mehmed II the Conqueror, that it shows a certain independence, although perhaps here also an original source may be found. It only becomes important when it describes the events of his time. Although Rustem Pasha is known to have encouraged historical studies (cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 82, note), it is by no means certain whether he is himself the author of the Chronicle that bears his name or whether he only had it compiled. A German translation of part of it was published by Dr. Ludwig Forrer under the title *Die osmanische Chronik des Rustem Pascha in der Türkische Bibliothek*, xxi. (Leipzig 1923; cf. thereon *O.L.Z.*, xxviii. [1925], p. 246 sq.; *Isl.*, xvi. [1925], p. 154 sqq., and *Hist. Zeitschrift*, vol. cxxviii. [1928], p. 571 sq.).

Bibliography: 'Othmānzade Aḥmad Ta'ib, *Ḥadīkat al-Wuzarā'*, p. 28 sqq.; Mehmed Thuraiyā, *Sidjill-i 'othmāni*, ii. 377 sq.; F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 81 sq.; Mehmedbeg Kapestanović, in *Wissenschaftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegovina*, Vienna 1895, p. 524 sq.; Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Rustempaša, veliki vezir Sulejmana II*, in *Nastavni Vjesnik*, xxxvi., Zagreb 1928, p. 272—287; Mehmed Handžić, *Književni rad bosanske hercegovačkih muslimana* (reprinted from the *Glasnik vrhovnog starješinstva islamske vjerske zajednice*), Sarajevo 1933, p. 35 sq.; Safvetbeg Bašagić, *Znameniti Hrvati, Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u Turskoj Carevini*, Zagreb 1931, p. 65. (FRANZ BABINGER)

RÜYÂN, a district comprising the western half of Māzandarān [q. v.].

Iranian tradition. According to Darmesteter, *Avesta*, ii. 416, Rūyān corresponds to the mountain called *Raodita* ("reddish") in *Yasht*, 19, 2, and *Rōyishn-ōmand* in *Bundahishn*, xii. 2, 27 (transl. West, p. 34). Birūnī, *Chronologie*, ed. Sachau, p. 220, makes Rūyān the scene of the exploit of the archer Arīsh (cf. Zāhir al-Dīn, p. 18 [*Yasht* 8, 6, in this connection mentions the hill Aryō-xshnā]). In the letter addressed to the mobad Tansar by king *Gushnaspshāh (iiird century A.D.?), the latter claims to be lord of Ṭabaristān, Patishxwār-gar, Gilān, Dailamān, Rūyān and Damāwand.

Geography. According to Ibn Rusta, p. 150, and Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 304 [the latter cites Balādhuri as authority, but the passage is lacking in the *Futūḥ al-Buldān*], Rūyān was at first an independent *kūra* attached to Dailam. It was conquered by 'Omar b. al-'Alā' (after 141 = 758) who built a town there with a *minbar* and attached it to Ṭabaristān. Rūyān comprised an extensive area the districts of which lay between two mountains [Ibn al-Faḳīh: "between the mountains of Rūyān and Dailam"]; each township could supply from 400 to 1,000 soldiers [Ibn al-Faḳīh: in all 50,000]. The *kharaḍj* levied on Rūyān by Ḥārūn al-Rashid

was 400,050 dirhams. The town of Rūyān called Kadjdja was the headquarters of the *wālī*. Rūyān was near the mountains of Raiy and was reached via Raiy. The text of the two authors above quoted suggests that between Rūyān and unsubjected Dailam was a region which formed the military zone from which operations were conducted against Dailam. To this zone belonged Shālūs (*Čālūs), a town called *al-Kabira* [situated opposite Kadjdja], another (?) town called al-Muḥdatha and lastly Muzn. [But on these frontiers see the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* and Zāhir al-Dīn].

Iṣṭakhri, p. 206, enumerates the mountains of "Dailam" [in the broad sense] as the following: Djibāl Qarin, Djibāl *Fādhūsban and Djibāl al-Rūbandj (according to Barthold: *al-Rūyandj = Rūyān). In these last named highlands there were formerly kingdoms (*mamālik*); in the part adjoining Ṭabaristān the kings were of Ṭabaristān and in the part adjoining Raiy they were of Raiy.

According to the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (written in 372 = 982, ed. Barthold, fol. 30^a), Nātil (according to Iṣṭakhri, p. 217: one marḥala west of Āmul) Čālūs, Rūdhān (= Rūyān) and Kalār (west of Čālūs) formed a province of Ṭabaristān but the authority there belonged to a king named Ustundār. Rūdhān produced red woollen materials for water-proofs and blue *gilīm* (a kind of carpet material).

Rustamdār. From the Mongol period we find the geographical term *Rustamdār*. According to the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 161, the greater part of its territory was irrigated by the Shāh-rūd (!) and the *Ta'rikh-i Khānī*, ed. Dorn, p. 298, says that Ṭalākān (on the upper Shāh-rūd) adjoined Rustamdār. On the other hand, Zāhir al-Dīn gives the term a larger connotation and uses it sometimes as a synonym of Rūyān and sometimes with a special meaning. An examination of the passages leads R. Vasmer, *op. cit.*, p. 123—124 to the conclusion that Rustamdār in the proper sense was situated towards Kudjūr and Kalār while Rūyān primarily meant the country between Rustamdār and Qasrān (i. e. the country towards Raiy). According to Zāhir al-Dīn (p. 19—20), the eastern frontier of Rustamdār was originally at Si-sangān (near the mouth of the river of Kudjūr), but in the time of the Saldjūk Sandjar was brought back to Alīsha (near Āmul?); the western frontier was at first at Malāt (near Lengerūd in Gilān), but in 590 (1193) was brought back to Sakhtsar (on the eastern frontier of Gilān) and in 640 (1242) at Namak-āwa-rūd (west of Kalārastāk). It is curious that Zāhir al-Dīn, p. 17 seems to place the "town of Rūyān" (Kadjdja of Ibn Rusta) at Kudjūr but the passage is not very explicit and the legend of the foundation of the town given by Zāhir al-Dīn may belong to a period before the appearance of the term Rustamdār.

The princes of Rūyān. The title attested for the dynasty is Ustundār (perhaps **Ustan-dār* < *Ōstān-dār*; cf. Ṭabari, i. 2638). It is not clear if the dynasty also took the title of *pādshāspān* (< *pātḡspān*) which in Sāsānian terminology was at first borne by the viceroys of the four great divisions of the empire, the prerogatives of which were lessened in time by the increase in power of the military commanders (*sipāhbadh*; cf. Christensen, *L'empire des Sāsānides*, p. 41, 43). The fact is that in the passage in Iṣṭakhri, p. 206, the mountain of *Fādhūsban is mentioned separately and, it seems, to the east of *Rūyandj but it is possible that the

two names only mean the two parts of "Rūyān" which at this time were under Ṭabaristān and Raiy respectively. In any case, in the genealogy of the Ustundār (Zahīr al-Dīn, p. 146—154 and 320—321), Pādūspān appears as the personal name of the eponymous founder and of certain princes only. The eponym Pādūspān (towards the end of the viith century?) was regarded as one of the three sons of Gil-Gaubāra, a descendant of the Sāsānian Djamasp (who reigned 497—499). Towards the beginning of the xth century (Iṣṭakhri, p. 206 [see above]), the dynasty seems to have passed through a crisis which it survived. After the death of Djalāl al-Dawla Kayūmārth b. Bisūtūn b. Gustahm in 857 (1453) his possessions were divided between his two sons: the line of Kā'ūs reigned in Nūr, in the valley of the left bank tributary of the river of Āmul (Haraz-pey), and that of Iskandar at Kudjūr, on the northern slopes of the mountains of Nūr.

On the feudal wars in Māzandarān see Zahīr al-Dīn, ed. Dorn, index. The princes of Rustam-dār retained their autonomy down to the time of the Ṣafawids. In 947 (1540) the expedition of Shāh Tahmāsp against Malik Djahāngir b. Malik Kā'ūs who had shut himself up in the fortress of Lāridjān, was a failure (cf. *Aḥsan al-Tawārikh*, ed. Seddon, p. 299). In 997 (1589) the maliks Djahāngir b. 'Aziz of Nūr and Djahāngir b. Muḥammad of Kudjūr came to pay homage to Shāh 'Abbās but finally in 1003 (1594) they were both dispossessed of their lands: the ruler of Nūr submitted voluntarily while he of Kudjūr was seized by force (cf. *Ālam-ārā*, p. 265, 334, 354—357).

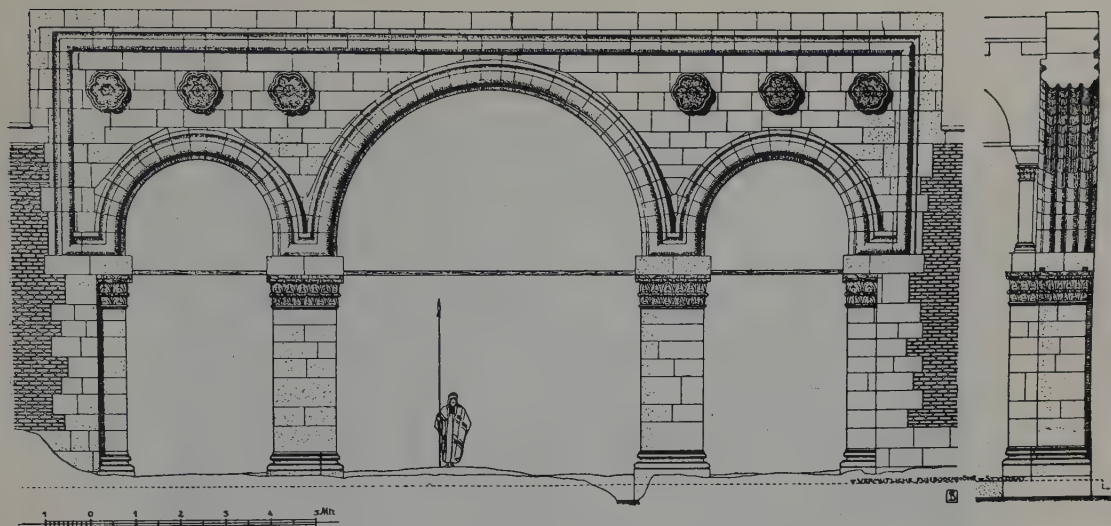
The Rhode Island School of Design (U. S. A.) possesses a sarcophagus of wood originally placed over the tomb of the Imām-zāda Abu 'l-Kāsim b. Mūsā al-Kāzīm by *al-malik al-a'zam iftikhār mulūk al-'adām malik Djalāl al-Dīn Gustahm b. al-marḥūm Malik Ashraf Ustundār* dated Ramaḍān 877 [or 879?] = Feb. 1473 (cf. *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art in London, 1930—1931*, No. 141). This prince must be added to Justi's list. Perhaps the sarcophagus comes from the sanctuary of Ibn Imām Mūsā in the valley of Lār, i. e. immediately south of Nūr (cf. Rabino, *op. cit.*, p. 115 and the map: on the road from Baladeh to Teherān [via Afēa]).

The names of the carpenters are Aḥmad and Ḥusain (?) b. Ḥasan (?), cf. the name of Aḥmad b. Ḥusain who carved a gateway at Bārfurūsh in 870, Rabino, *op. cit.*, p. 14, and *ibid.*, p. 10, Ḥusain b. Aḥmad who carved the gate of Buland-Imām, near Ashraf, dated 873 (1468).

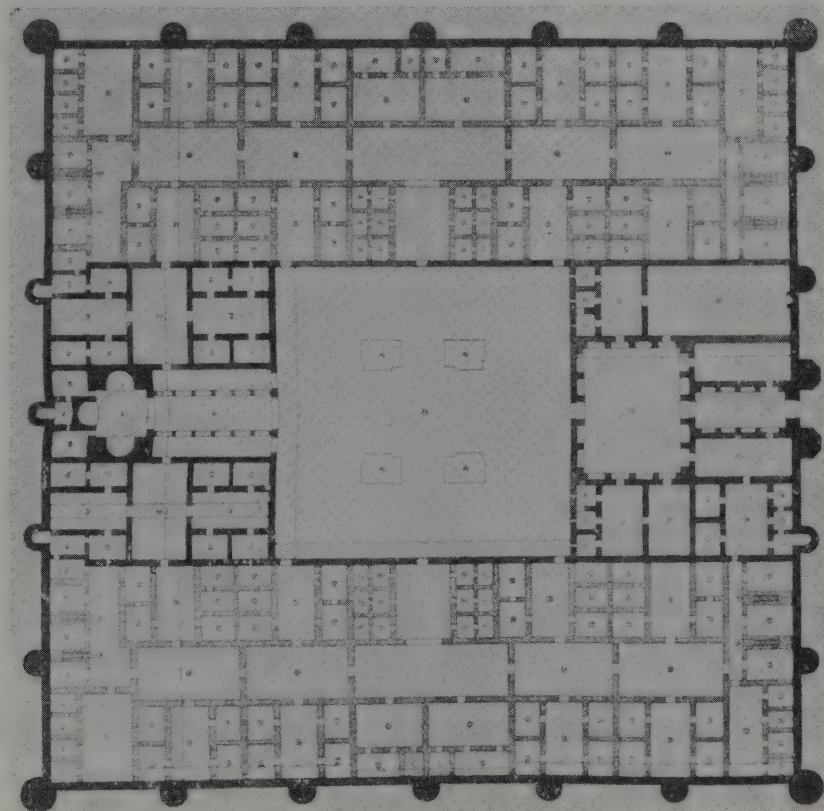
Bibliography: Cf. the art. MĀZANDARĀN; Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s. v. *Patkōspān*, *Ustundār* and p. 433—435; Marquart, *Ērān-shahr*, p. 131, 135 (*Rvan*); Barthold, *Istor.-geogr. obzor Irana*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 155 and 159; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 373—374; R. Vasmer, *Die Eroberung Ṭabaristāns durch die Araber*, in *Islamica*, III/1, 1927, p. 115—125 (a detailed analysis of the sources); Rabino, *Māzandarān in G.M.S.*, 1928, see index. (V. MINORSKY)

RUZZĪK B. ṬALĀT' AL-MALIK AL-'ĀDIL, BADR AL-DĪN ABŪ SHUDJĀ' MAJID AL-ISLĀM, Fātimid wazīr, of Armenian origin, succeeded his father Ṭalāt' [q. v.] after the latter's assassination on 20th Ramaḍān 556 (Sept. 12, 1161), and remained in office for fifteen months. The only event of importance during this period was a Berber invasion in 557 (1162) under Ḥusain b. Nizār [see NIZĀR B. AL-MUSTAṢIR], who was captured and put to death. Ruzzik inherited the literary tastes of his father and is said to have governed well, but when, in the same year, he attempted to remove his rival Shāwar [q. v.] from the governorship of the Upper Ṣā'id, the latter, encouraged by the Caliph al-'Ādīd [q. v.], rebelled and marched on Cairo. The wazīr, deserted by his partisans [see DIRGHĀM], fled from the city (18th Muḥarram 558 = Dec. 29, 1162) but was betrayed, and executed by Taiy b. Shāwar. The historian al-Maḥrizī remarks (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 207—208) that Ruzzik was the last holder of the office of *nāẓir al-maẓālim* in the Fātimid period.

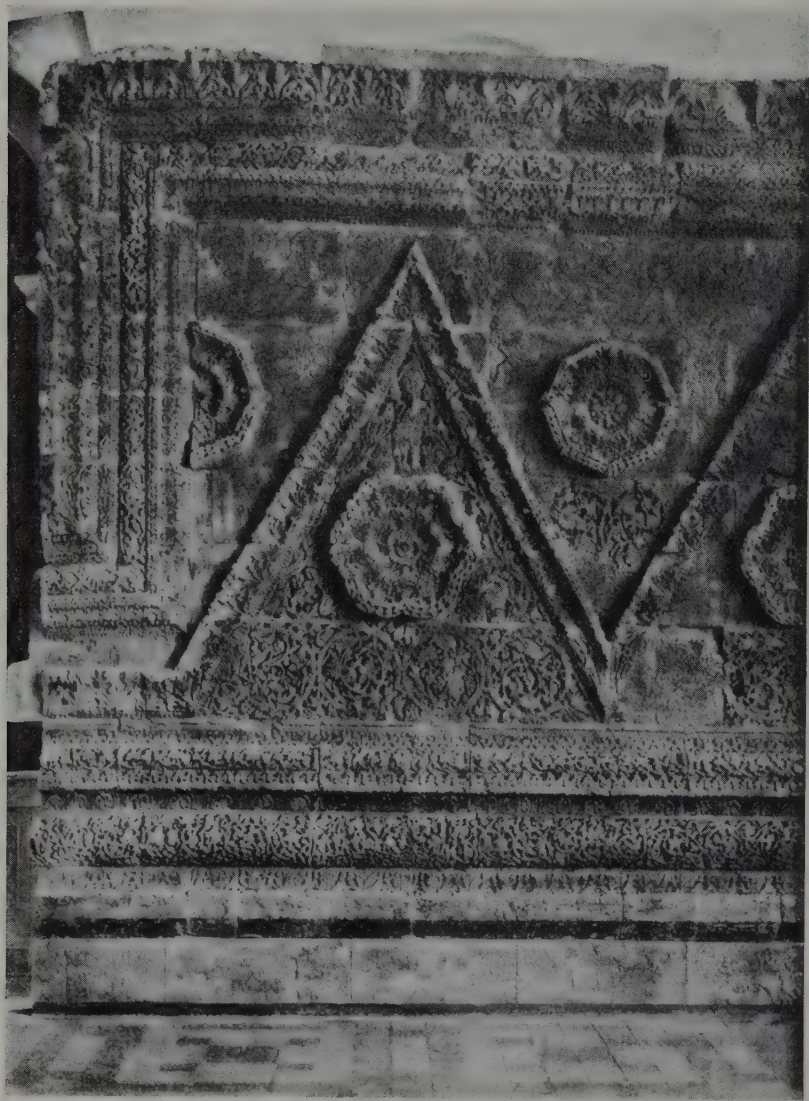
Bibliography: Ibn Taghribardī, ed. Popper, iii. 88, 94—95, 109; Ibn Khallikān, transl. de Slane, i. 608, 660; Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, ed. Jewett, p. 146; Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, MS. Brit. Mus. Or. 3685, fol. 90b—91b; H. Derenbourg, *Oumāra du Yémen*, 3 vols., in *P.E.L.O.V.*, 1897—1904. (H. A. R. GIBB)



Mshattā. Front of the three-naved Hall. Reconstruction.



Mshattā. Suggested Reconstruction. Plan.



Mshattā. Façade.



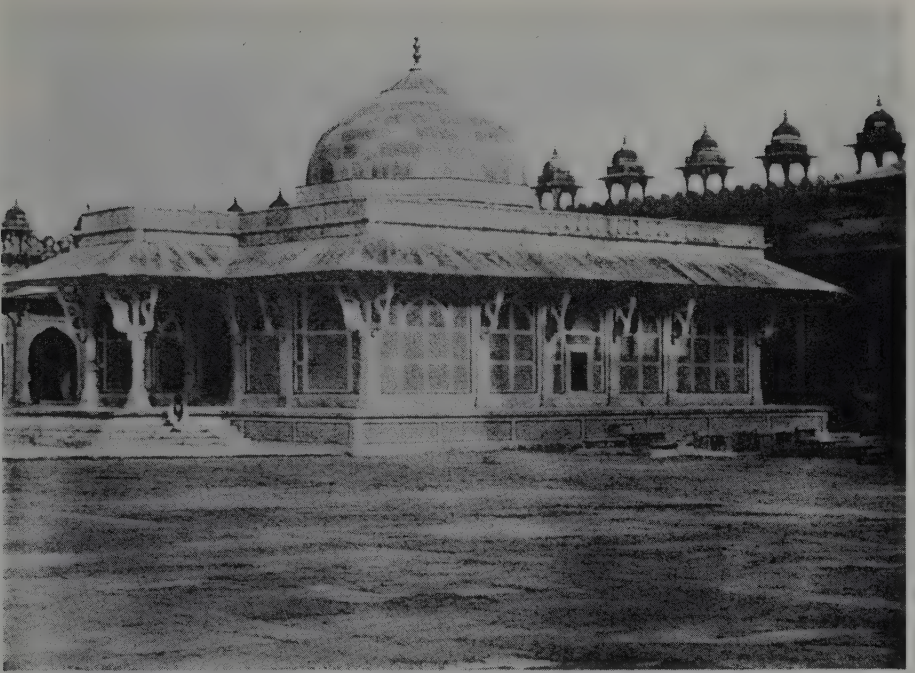
Tāj-i Mahall, Agra. General view showing fountains.

ART. MUGHAL III.



Sikandra, Agra. Akbar's tomb, general view. From parapet of main entrance to the garden.

ART. MUGHAL III.

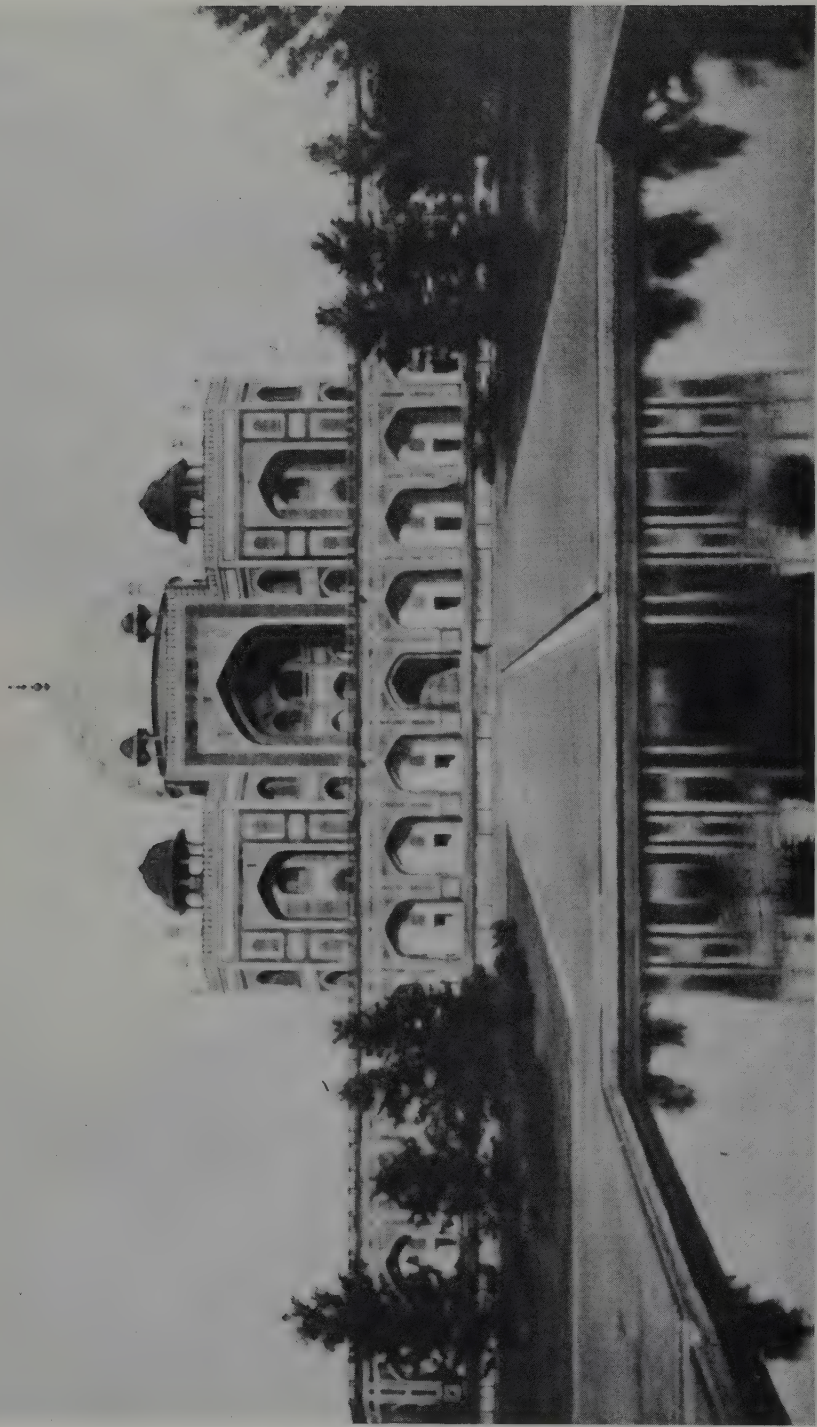


Fathpur Sikri, Agra. Sheikh Selim Čishti's tomb. General view.



Fathpur Sikri, Agra. House of Birbal's daughter. General view.

ART. MUGHAL III.



Delhi. Tomb of Humāyūn. General view.

ART. MUĞHAL III.

Group of 29 seals accompanying the address to Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha by the principal religious authorities in Mecca: the governor at the time, the imāms, khaṭībs, muftis of the four schools etc. The text dated at the end of the month of Muḥarram 1226 (Feb. 2 ? 1813) contains congratulations on the occasion of the victory over the Wahhābīs and expressions of gratitude for the restoration of freedom of pilgrimage.

Art. MUHR



1*



2



3



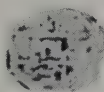
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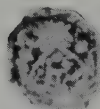
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19*



20*



22*



21*

Art. MUHR

*) slightly enlarged

Seals of various individuals, Ottoman,
Algerian and Hidjarian
(beginning of the sixteenth century).

1. Giritli İbrâhîm Agha, *wakil* of Algiers at Chios. Document of 11 Muh. 1211 (July 17? 1796).
2. Esmâ Sultân, sister of Maḥmūd II. 11 Ram. 1222 (November 12? 1807).
3. Mūsâ Pasha, *kā'immaḥkām* or grand vizier interim. 8 Shaw. 1222 (December 9, 1807).
4. Selim Thābit, correspondent of Mehmed 'Alī at Constantinople, later his *kapu-kiehyası*. 13 Saf. 1225 (March 20? 1810). Cf. N^o. 18.
5. Kāsim Agha, chief eunuch. 19 Rab. II 1225 (May 24, 1810).
6. Ghālib, *Sherif* of Mecca. 20 Shaw. 1226 (November 7, 1811).
7. Kara Kiehya, banker to Mehmed 'Alī at Constantinople (seal in Armenian characters). 21 Djum. II 1226 (July 13? 1811).
8. Mehmed 'Arif Efendi, former *sheikh-ül-islām*. 9 Saf. 1227 (Feb. 21? 1812).
9. Mehmed Sa'id Khālet, Minister of the Interior. 23 Djum. II 1227 (July 4? 1812).
10. Shākir Aḥmad, *kā'immaḥkām*. 28 Djum. II 1227 (July 8? 1812).
11. Mehmed Khusrav Pasha, *kapudan-pasha* (at this date). 15 Saf. 1228 (Feb. 17? 1813).
12. Tosun Aḥmad Pasha, son of Mehmed 'Alī. 12 Muh. 1228 (Jan. 15? 1813).
13. Mehmed Nedjib Efendi (later Pasha), *kapu-kiehyası* of Mehmed 'Alī at Constantinople (later *wālī* of Syria, for Mehmed 'Alī). 3 Rab. I 1228 (March 6? 1813).
14. Ismā'il Pasha, son of Mehmed 'Alī. 9 Djum. I 1228 (May 10, 1813).
15. Khurshid Aḥmad Pasha, grand vizier. 18 Djum. I 1228 (May 19, 1813).
16. al-Saiyid Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *khaẓnadji* of Algiers 1237 (1821—1822).
17. Sarf Aḥmad, *wakil al-haramain el-sharifain* at Medea. 3 Shaw. 1241 (May 11? 1826).
18. Selim Thābit, as *wakil* of Algiers at Constantinople. 7 Shaw. 1242 (May 4? 1827. Cf. N^o. 4: same seal, but on this impression the signature of the engraver 'Ömer appears clearly under the fleuron on the left).
19. al-Saiyid Khalil, *wakil* of Algiers at Smyrna. End of Ram. 1243 (April 15, 1828).
20. Mustafā Kapudan, commander of the Algerian frigate Miftāḥ al-Djihād. 22 Saf. 1244 (Sept. 14? 1828).
21. Mehmed 'Izzet Pasha, grand vizier (great seal). 7 Sha'b. 1244 (Feb. 12? 1829).
22. Sulaimān Ismā'il, *gümriük emini* and *wakil* of Algiers at Durazzo. 7 Ram. 1244 (March 13? 1829). To left under the fleuron: signature?

